

VOLUME IX

SUPPLEMENT

E. J. BRILL'S  
FIRST  
ENCYCLOPAEDIA  
OF ISLAM  
1913-1936











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# CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

(VOL. I)

- P. 7<sup>a</sup>, l. 20 omit line.
- P. 10<sup>a</sup>, l. 7 infra: according to Ibn Sa'd, iv/i. 17 ult. Muḥammad forbade his uncle to take part in the disposal of his body on the ground that he was his *wālid*.
- P. 19<sup>b</sup>, l. 15 infra: cf. Ṭabarī, i. 2768.
- P. 24<sup>b</sup>. Add to *Bibl.*: Baiḥaqī, ed. Schwally, p. 467 ult.
- P. 27<sup>a</sup>. Add to *Bibl.*: v. Vloten, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx. 443.
- P. 30<sup>a</sup>. Add to *Bibl.*: Friedländer, *Z.A.*, xxiii. 296 sqq.; xxiv. 1 sqq.
- P. 40<sup>b</sup>, l. 17. According to a letter in the Swedish archives from 'Abdu 'l-Madḡid to the King of Sweden, notifying the birth of Prince 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamid, afterwards Sulṭān, the latter was born in 1258 ماه شعبان شريفك اون التنجي چهارشنبه كوني.
- P. 52<sup>a</sup>, l. 52: cf. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 47, 49.
- P. 72<sup>b</sup>, l. 3—4: cf. on the other hand, M. Hartmann, *Die arab. Frage*, p. 507 sq.
- P. 76, art. ABRAHA: Abraha is mentioned in Labīd, xlii. 10 and Kais al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, xiv. 15. Add to *Bibl.*: Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung d. Islams u. das Christentum*, p. 13.
- P. 85. On Abu 'l-Fidā's tomb see *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiii. 331, 353.
- P. 86. On Abū Fuṭrus, see Guthe: *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.*, 1911, p. 35.
- P. 121<sup>b</sup>, l. 10: cf. also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii./2, 128.  
l. 26: cf. Wellhausen, *Wāḡidī*, p. 24 ult.; the use of 'ādī with the meaning of "giant" is worth noting: *Aghānī*, ii., 182, 10; cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Liber poesis*, ed. de Goeje, p. 217.  
3, and glossary to the *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 297, 1.
- P. 136<sup>a</sup>. Add to *Bibl.*: Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, p. 41, 44 sq.
- P. 140<sup>a</sup>, l. 13: Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 72 sq.; Labīd, ed. B. Huber-Brockelmann, p. 41, 37, fragment, i. 4; Ḥātim Taiy, ed. Schulthess, p. 33, 1; Imru' al-Ḳais, p. 50, 5; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 287, 16; add to *Bibl.*: Euting, *Tagbuch*, ii. 113.
- P. 141<sup>b</sup>, l. 12 infra. See on the other hand, Dalman, *Pal. Jahrbuch*, ix. 34; cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 225. Caetani, *Annali*, iii. 22—81 thinks there is a copyists's error and following Mejednikoff, proposes *al-djanābataini*.
- P. 142<sup>a</sup>, l. 5 infra: cf. עבר ערנן, Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, p. 203.
- P. 145<sup>a</sup>, art. AFĀMIYA: *B.G.A.*, vi. 75, 161; vii. 107—324; Mart. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 60; *American Expedition to Syria*, ii. 1904, p. 52 sqq.
- P. 187<sup>b</sup>. Add to *Bibl.* of the art. AḤMAD B. ABĪ KHĀLID AL-AḤWAL; see also Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, l., p. 308—311 and Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*.
- P. 300<sup>a</sup>, art. ALILAT, add to *Bibl.*: Nöldeke, in *Isl.*, xiv. 135; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 113, 116; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 225.
- P. 332<sup>b</sup>, art. 'AMMĀN, add to *Bibl.*: *B.G.A.*, iii., vi. 77; Abu 'l-Fidā, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 247.
- P. 432<sup>b</sup>, art. AL-ARISH, add to *Bibl.*: R. Hartmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. 487; *Palästina Jahrbuch*, x. 65.
- P. 503<sup>a</sup>, art. ASWAD, add to *Bibl.*: Caetani, *Annali dell Islām*, ii/i. 672—685.
- P. 559<sup>b</sup>, l. 31 for i. 2 read ii. 1.
- P. 648<sup>b</sup>, l. 6 "in the year 1154": according to Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königr. Jer.*, p. 275, in 1153, as the same incident must be meant. Cf. also Zetterstéen, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Mamlukensultane*, p. 233—234.
- P. 663<sup>b</sup>, l. 4: 1308 (1801) more correctly 1399, see Abu 'l-Maḡāsin, ed. Popper, vi. 1 and Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, v. 62.
- P. 878<sup>a</sup>, l. 14 for 1126 read: 1198.
- P. 892<sup>b</sup>, l. 19 for xii. read: xxvii.
- P. 924<sup>b</sup>, art. DARĪYA, add to *Bibl.*: Lammens, *Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 61 sqq., 173.
- P. 966<sup>a</sup>, art. DHU 'L-SHARĀ, add to *Bibl.*: Dalman, *Petra*, p. 49 sqq.; Eerdmans, *Alttest. Studien*, ii. 13; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 323 sqq.; *Palästina Jahrbuch*, viii. 167; cf. Krauss, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. 340.
- P. 991<sup>b</sup>, art. DJADHĪMA AL-ABRASH, an inscription of his has been found in which he calls himself גדימת מלך חנוך [cf. the art. \*TANUKH]: see the art. ḤĪRA; *Florilegium de Vogüe*, p. 389, 463 sqq.; Buhl, *Leben Muhammeds*, p. 5, 27, 53. To the *Bibl.* add: Rothstein, p. 140 and M. Hartmann, *Die arab. Frage*, p. 489.
- P. 1012<sup>b</sup>, art. DJAMRA. See the picture, vol. ii., art. AL-ḤADĪD. Add to *Bibl.*: Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 402 sqq.; Ibn Sa'd, ii. 129, 25; art. MINĀ; Chauvin, *Le jet des pierres au pèlerinage de la Mecque (Annales d'archéologie de Belgique, ser. v., vol. iv., p. 272 sqq.)*. Cf. also the art. MUḤASSAB and Hell, *Z.D.M.G.*, lix. 604; *Z.A.*, xxvi. 5 sq.
- P. 1066<sup>b</sup>, l. 43: ed. Hirschfeld, lxxx. 5.
- P. 1067<sup>a</sup>, art. DJURHUM, add to *Bibl.*: Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 15 (traces of Djurhum and 'Amaleḡ in Yathrib); Dinawari, ed. Guirgass, p. 9 (a woman of 'Amaleḡ bore a son Djurhum to Ḳaṭṭam); cf. also Krauss, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. 352.



## (VOL. II)

- P. 70<sup>b</sup>, art. FARSAKH. Muḥaddasī gives the following figures (*B.G.A.*, iii. 58, 20; 59, 9; 65, 2; 66, 10): one degree = 25 parsang = 3 miles = 12,000 ells. In the Irāk a barid = 2 miles in Syria and Khurāsān = 6. According to Samhūdī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 12, the parasang = 3 miles, the mile = 3,500 ells, the ell = 24 inches; the inch = 6 grains of barley.
- P. 83<sup>a</sup>, *Bibl.* art. AL-FATH B. KHĀKĀN. See also Pinto, *al-Fath b. Ḥāqān, favorito di al-Mutawakkil*, in *R.S.O.*, xiii. 133—139.
- P. 108<sup>a</sup>, art. FILASTĪN, add to *Bibl.*: on the revenues, cf. Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 44—48; R. Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern*, p. 31.
- P. 195<sup>b</sup>, art. ḤADJAR, on the name cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon aethiopicum*, p. 20. Bahrain is sometimes used of the whole country. Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 953; Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammeds an die Stämme Arabiens*, Berlin 1916, p. 21. On Ḥadjr in Yamāma see Dināwārī, p. 20, 4.
- P. 223<sup>a</sup>, l. 19 infra for Adhārī, Ḥadhārī, read Ḥdhārī.
- P. 225<sup>a</sup>, l. 20 infra: for i. 693, read: i. 633.
- P. 233<sup>a</sup>, l. 18: "Ḥhāzī died in 615". Cf. i., p. 484<sup>a</sup>, l. 12 infra: "on the death of al-Zāhir Ḥhāzī of Aleppo (613 = 1216)". 613 also according to Lane-Poole, *Khalil Edhem and von Zambaur*; according to the latter he died in Djumādā II, 613.
- P. 233<sup>b</sup>, l. 24 for 659 read 658. See Abu 'l-Fidā' ed. Reiske, iv. 594; articles 'AIN DJĀLŪT and HULAGŪ.  
l. 31 instead of "at the end of the year at Ḥimṣ", read: on 5 Muḥarram 659 (Dec. 10, 1260) at Ḥimṣ (see Abu 'l-Fidā', iv. 612 and Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerus.*, p. 911).
- P. 241, l. 21: "Abu 'l-Fidā' Ismā'il was the nephew of the last sulṭān". According to von Zambaur and Khalil Edhem, not nephew but cousin.
- P. 258<sup>b</sup>, art. ḤANĪF, ult. Add: Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 156; Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 55, 5.
- P. 259<sup>b</sup>, l. 5 infra the Mandæan form is 𐌪𐌰𐌹𐌶𐌰𐌫𐌹, e.g. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, p. 176, 5.
- P. 273<sup>a</sup>, art. HĀRŪT, add to *Bibl.*: Littmann, in *Festschr. f. Andreas*, 1916.
- P. 286<sup>b</sup>, art. HĀSHIM, l. 7 for "grandfather" read "great-grandfather".  
l. 12 in Hirschfeld's edition clxxxiv. To the *Bibl.* add: Ibn Ḥishām, p. 107.
- P. 290, art. ḤATṬĪN, to the *Bibl.* add: Dalman, *Palästina Jahrb.*, x. 41 sqq.
- P. 309, art. ḤIMS. According to Albright, *Journ. of Pal. Or. Soc.*, i. 59, the ancient Ḳarna.
- P. 309<sup>b</sup>, l. 41 according to Ibn al-Athīr, x. 237, Djanāḥ was killed in 475, according to Ibn al-Ḳalānīsī, ed. Amedroz, p. 23, 11<sup>f</sup>, in 496.
- P. 314<sup>b</sup>, art. HĪRA, another derivation of the name in Landberg, *Glossaire Dathina*.
- P. 324<sup>a</sup>, art. ḤODAIDA, add to *Bibl.*: Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, p. 207 sqq.
- P. 325<sup>a</sup>, art. HOFHUF, add to *Bibl.*: Barclay Raunkiaer, *Gennem Wahabitterenes Land paa Kamelryg*, 1912, p. 220 sqq.
- P. 327<sup>b</sup>, art. HUBAL, add to *Bibl.*: Nöldeke, *Z.A.*, xxiii. 184 sqq.
- P. 352<sup>b</sup>, *Bibl.* to art. IBN 'ABBĀD, see also Seybold, in *Isl.*, viii. 99 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 130 sq.
- P. 372<sup>a</sup>, *Bibl.* to art. IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, see also Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī Ibn 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928.
- P. 375<sup>a</sup>, l. 38: for III read 101.
- P. 406<sup>b</sup>, art. IBN MUṬṬĪ: the two first chapters of the *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-khamsīn* have been edited with a Swedish translation by E. Sjörgreen, *Kitāb al-fuṣūl, Kap. I—II* (Upsala dissertation 1899, pr. Leipzig).
- P. 583<sup>b</sup>, art. KA'B B. AL-AṢHRAF, cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/ii.
- P. 685<sup>b</sup>, l. 50 for sixth read: seventh.
- P. 883<sup>b</sup>, l. 26 for Constantine read Ignatius.  
On the title page of the *Tableau général* (folio ed. of 1787 and oct. ed. of 1788) Constantine does not occur: the documents prepared by him in the imperial archives are signed Ig. Mouradega, and in the official list of Swedish consular officials by J. A. Almquist (Stockholm 1912 sqq.) he is called Ignatius Mouradega d'Ohsson.  
Has Constantine come from "the Constantinopolitan"?
- P. 966<sup>a</sup>, l. 8—9 for Muḥammad al-Ṣaddok read al-Ṣadiḳ, as in the art. TUNISIA. In the original documents in the Swedish archives the name frequently occurs and is always written محمد الصادق.
- P. 968<sup>b</sup>. Add to *Bibl.*: Mehmed Spaho, *Gazi Husrefbeg, Slika iz bosanska prošlosti*, Sarajevo 1907; Mirza Safvet (= Safvetbeg Bašagić), *Gazi Husrefbeg*, Sarajevo 1907; Ćiro Truhelka, *Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba*, in vol. xxiv. of *Glasnik zemaliskog muzeja*, Sarajevo 1912, p. 91 sqq.
- P. 1028, art. KĪRK KILISE. To this article it should be added that the town is now called *kırktaş eli* (cf. my note in *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, ii. 198). Kırk Kilise no longer appears on Turkish maps.  
(KOWALSKI)
- P. 1038, art. KĪṢĀṢ: on section 1, cf. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, 1928, p. 181 sqq.
- P. 1065<sup>b</sup>, l. 51. Add A. Haqq, *Abrogations in the Koran*, Lucknow.  
Art. ḲUR'ĀN. In contrast to the view above given and generally held of the origin of the



authorised *Qurʾān*, A. Mingana (*The Transmission of the Qurʾān* reprinted from the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1915—1916 and *An Ancient Translation of the Qurʾān* reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. ix., Jan. 1925) following Casanova claims to prove that the authorised version of the *Qurʾān* and the preparation of a uniform text was brought about by al-Ḥadīdjādī [q. v.] in the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (685—705). He bases his argument partly on the silence of earlier Christian writers regarding a sacred book of the Muḥammadans and partly on direct statements in Barhebraeus, Maḥrīzī and particularly al-Kindī (see ii., p. 1021<sup>a</sup>) regarding the steps taken by the two men above mentioned for the introduction of an authorised and uniform *Qurʾān*. In the *Qurʾāns* of Ubaiy, Ibn Masʿūd, ʿUthmān and others, he sees only independent products of an anxiety, which arose after the death of the Prophet in several of his followers to record the available utterances of the Prophet not in the form of books but on loose leaves. ʿUthmān's collection only attained greater importance from the fact that he became caliph, but it was only with the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik assisted by al-Ḥadīdjādī that there came into existence an officially recognised version in book form, which Muslims were bound to use. Against this view however, we have the above mentioned references to older recensions, especially to Ibn Masʿūd's *Qurʾān*, of which copies existed for a considerable time. From these references, it is evident that these were not loose collections of material, but contained essentially the same matter and only differed in the order of the earlier *Sūras*, i. e. they were regular books and not loose leaves. This is also true of ʿUthmān's recension and there is absolutely no reason for doubting what has been handed down regarding the authorised version. What these writers say about Ḥadīdjādī probably only means that the authorised *Qurʾān* still met with opposition in some districts in his time and he tried to put an end to this opposition.

Of greater interest is what Mingana says in his second article about a work found by him of the Syrian bishop Dionysios bar Ṣalībī (d. 1171; cf. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, 1922, p. 295—298) which in a refutation of Muḥammadanism contains a number of verses and pieces of the *Qurʾān*, in Syriac translation. In this translation which Mingana, no doubt rightly, attributes to an earlier period we find readings differing from the *textus receptus* and verses which do not occur in the authorised *Qurʾān*, including some which are known from other sources as non-canonical (cf. above ii., p. 1071).

P. 1071<sup>a</sup>, l. 24 add: Casanova, i. 17, 24.

P. 1095<sup>a</sup>, l. 21 art. *ḲUDS*. On the Madaba mosaic, see Vincent and Abel, ii. 922—925, pl. xxx., xxxii.; P. Thomsen, *Z.D.P.V.*, xlii. 149 sqq., 192 sqq. (where further references are given).

P. 1096<sup>b</sup>, l. 34. E. Mader, *Z.D.P.V.*, liii. 219 sqq., sees the Theotokos church of Justinian in the large building on the mosaic map at the south end of the stretch of columns and presumably the Christian predecessors of al-Aḳṣā in the smaller basilika to the north.

P. 1104<sup>b</sup>, art. *AL-ḲUDS*: for l. 40 put: Vincent and Abel, *Jerusalem*, vol. ii. with plates, 1914, 1922.

P. 1161<sup>b</sup>, art. *ḲUSS*. Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, p. 201 sqq. has suggested *Ḳuss* as the man who very much influenced Muḥammad and through whom he became acquainted with Christianity: cf. Fr. Buhl, *Leben Muhammads*, p. 63, 68.  
Add to *Bibl.*: Ibn Saʿd, i/ii. 55, 5.

## (VOL. III)

P. 206, art. *MĀLIK B. ANAS*, add: Mālik's tomb was destroyed by the Wahhābīs: cf. Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, vol. ii., p. 257.

To section iii. 1: In its literary form the *Muwattaʿa* should rather be regarded as the oldest stage of development, combining *Fikḥ* and *Ḥadīth*. On its recensions see K. J. López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, p. 72 sqq.; on the recension of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb cf. Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa s. v. *al-Muwattaʿa*; on the recension of Aṣḥhab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz not quoted in the lists cf. *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ des al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Schacht, p. xviii. sq.

To section iii. 2: The material utilised in the *Sīrat ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 241; pr. Cairo 1927) is based in part on Mālik's traditions.

To section iv.: In the field of dogmatics Mālik attacked Ibn Iṣḥāḳ for Ḳadarī tendencies. To section v.: Cf. Pröbster, in *Islamica*, vol. iii., p. 342 sqq.; J. López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, 1931.

P. 222<sup>b</sup>, art. *AL-MAʾMŪN*, ʿAbbāsīd caliph. See also Gabrieli, *al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidī*, in *Morgenländische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. by A. Fischer, ii. 1—62.

P. 249<sup>a</sup>, art. *AL-MANṢŪR*, ʿAbbāsīd caliph. See also Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamica*, iii. 86—150.

P. 309<sup>b</sup>, art. *MARWĀN II*, add to *Bibl.*: See also Amélineau, *Les derniers jours et la mort du khalife Merouān II, d'après l'histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, in *J. A.*, ii., ser. iv., p. 421—429.

P. 394<sup>b</sup>, art. *MASLAMA B. ʿABD AL-MALIK*. See also Canard, *Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *J. A.*, ccviii. 61—121.





- 1304 and 1306, and also together with N<sup>o</sup>. 2; 2. pr. Cairo 1322, in a collected volume *Madjmu' Sharh Djam' al-Djawāmi'*; 7. also pr. Cairo n. d., on the margin of a collected vol. *Tafriḍj al-Muhadj*.
- P. 595<sup>a</sup>, l. 56 instead of: with '*ilm al-siyāsa* (cf. to be read: '*ilm al-siyāsa*; cf.
- P. 612<sup>b</sup>, l. 38, for "when expressing terror", read: redolent of the soil.
- P. 629<sup>b</sup>, art. TAKLID add: The taklid and indeed all the work of the earlier *mudjtahids* is rejected by Ibn Tūmart; cf. Goldziher, *Le Livre de Mohammed ibn Toumart*, introduction, p. 21, 40.  
Add to *Bibl.*: Cf. Goldziher, *Z.D.G.M.*, liii. 650, note 1; do., *Streitschrift des Gāzālī*, p. 1 *sqq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vi. 22, 27; Asín Palacios, *Abenhamem*, i. 141 *sqq.*
- P. 637<sup>a</sup>, art. TALĀḲ. On sect. iii. The appointment of arbiters, more fully dealt with in Tradition, is already provided for in the Qur'ān: cf. Sūra iv. 39.  
Sect. vi. A woman thrice divorced cannot among the *Shī'is* under any circumstances again contract a marriage with her former husband.  
Sect. vii. Modern Egyptian legislation in the field of the *Shari'a* shows a tendency to do away with talāk as far as possible; cf. Schacht, *Isl.*, xx. 227 *sqq.* — As a marriage is rendered null and void by a secession from Islām, women in countries under European rule sometimes take this extreme step to procure a divorce when the husband refuses to grant them talāk; cf. Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica*, p. 79 *sqq.*
- P. 710<sup>a</sup>, l. 26 instead of: disregarding the development in legal theory of this tradition by the commentators to be read: disregarding the legal theory of this tradition as it had been valued by the commentators,
- P. 710<sup>b</sup>, l. 40 instead of: even if to be read: unless.
- P. 728<sup>a</sup>, art. TEWFIK MEHMED: add to *Bibl.*: Th. Menzel, *Mehmed Tewfik's Istambolda bir sene*, in *Kelele Szeimle*, x., Budapest 1909, p. 1—60.
- P. 778<sup>b</sup>, l. 11 delete "occupied Moscow for over a year".
- P. 868<sup>a</sup>, l. 13 "since 1885" error for 1883<sup>2</sup>. Cf. l. 41 "The Journal officiel which has appeared since 1883". According to a letter in the state archives from the Tunisian government to the Swedish consul, the newspaper الرائد التونسي was to appear from Jan. 17, 1883. Whether this actually happened is not clear from the documents in question. (ZETTERSTÉEN)
- P. 843<sup>a</sup>, l. 37 *sakkādjin* (saddler): one expects *sarrādjin*.
- P. 1014<sup>b</sup>, art. UMM AL-WALAD. Sect. A. add.: In India (Haidarābād) and Indonesia (Java) an official concubinage of the princes with free women is found ("marriage by the kris"); the children are rendered legitimate by a temporary divorce of one of the four wives by *khul'* (hence the procedure is known as *koeloe*) and marriage with the concubine entered upon (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 376 note 3); *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch Indië*, s. v. *Talak*.
- P. 1040<sup>a</sup>, l. 66 instead of: wedding to be read: matrimony.
- P. 1044<sup>a</sup>, l. 64 instead of: bride to be read: bridegroom.
- P. 1044<sup>b</sup>, l. 47 instead of: the bridal chamber to be read: the chamber of the bridegroom.
- P. 1052<sup>b</sup>, l. 52 instead of: buildings to be read: institutions.
- P. 1052<sup>b</sup>, art. ÜSKÜB, l. 54 add: a Waqf Me'arif Office ("Vakufsko-mearifska direkcija").
- P. 1063<sup>a</sup>, art. 'UZAIR. Add to *Bibl.*: *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933, p. 162.
- P. 1071<sup>a</sup>. Insert before VARNA: VARADİN, Turkish name of Petrovaradin [q. v.].
- P. 1096<sup>b</sup>, l. 18 instead of: age to be read: puberty.
- P. 1099<sup>b</sup>, l. 59 instead of: a lump sum down to be read: once a fixed sum.
- P. 1133<sup>a</sup>, art. WAŞİVA, add to *Bibl.*: Peltier et Bousquet, *Les successions agnatiques mitigées*, Paris 1935.
- P. 1138<sup>b</sup>, l. 43 instead of: are that to be read: are not that.
- P. 1227, art. ZINĀ<sup>3</sup>. Add: According to the teaching of the Ḥanbalis, the *muḥṣan* is liable first to scourging and then to stoning.
- P. 1232<sup>a</sup>, l. 61, for *arasinda*, read: *arasindaki*;  
for *münāsibet*, read: *münasebet*.
- l. 62, for *Tedjribesi*, read: *Tedjribesi*.
- l. 70, for *Edebîyâti*, read: *Edebîyâti*.
- P. 1232<sup>b</sup>, l. 4, for *filosof*, read: *filozof*.

## (SUPPLEMENT)

- P. 35, Replace the article BĀB-I 'ĀLĪ by the following.  
The Sublime Porte or Ottoman Porte, the official residence of the Grand Vizier. The custom of calling the palace or court of the sovereign or his minister "Porte" (door) or "Threshold" came to Turkey from Persia where it was usual as early as the Sāsānid period, cf. the Persian words: *der*, *dergāh*, *derbār*, *derkhāne* and the Arabic: *bāb*, *sudda*, *ataba*, *a'tāb*. The Eastern Turkī *eshik* (door) had sometime this sense. This mode of expression which is already found in Xenophon (*αι θύραι τοῦ Βασιλέως*), passed into Armenia (Christensen, *L'Empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p. 96) and was adopted by the historians for their rulers (*al-abwāb al-sultāniya*). In Turkey the word *kapu* (*kapı*) "door" was applied to the imperial palace and the great governments offices (*kapu kulu* or *dergiāh-i*



'*ālī yenīcerileri* „Janissaries”, i. e. “servants of the door” and a number of similar expressions). To this day servants use the word *kapı* to denote the master's house and officials their office or department. The city of Constantinople itself was called *der-i se'adet* “door of bliss (of the sultān)” and *ās(i)āne* (in Egyptian Arabic: *istāne* and *ustāne*; cf. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, index, under these words and *a'tāb*).

The epithet '*ālī* “sublime” which in the feminine is always written '*ālīya* (with short *a*), was reserved for the sultān or as *bāb-i 'ālī* the grand vizier.

The expression *bāb-i 'ālī* was never so popular in Turkey as its equivalent (Sublime Porte in French and English, Hohe Pforte in German, Porta fulgida in Latin etc.) in the west where these words have been applied since the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, not only to the office of grand vizier but also to the Ottoman government (in general), the Ottoman state, Turkey (as a political entity). In the latter sense the Turks use expressions like *dewlet-i 'ālīye* or down to the xix<sup>th</sup> century, *dīwān-i hümāyūn* “Imperial Diwān” (which referred to the Sultān's palace and not to the Sublime Porte proper). Towards the end of the Ottoman empire, under the influence of western usage, however, the expression *bāb-i 'ālī* was used in the same general sense as “Sublime Porte”.

The Turkish viziers conducted business in their private houses (*konak*). Meḥammed II built them in 872 (1467—1468) a house which received the name *Pasha Kapusu* “Door of the Pasha”, later *Bāb-i 'Aṣafī* or *Bāb-i 'Ālī* “Sublime Porte”. The Porte which from 1654 became an administrative office of the state was only separated from the Sultān's palace (*top kapu serāyi*) by a street. The work of the grand vizier attained considerable importance after the abolition of the “vizier of the dome”. His chief assistants were the deputy (*Kehya Bey*) and the chancellor (*Re'is ül-Küttāb*) who later became minister of the Interior (*Dākhiliye Nāzir-i*) and of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiye Nāzir-i*) respectively but always remained in the same building as the grand vizier. The Sublime Porte thus modernised also included the Council of State (*Shūrā-i Dewlet*, earlier: *Dīwān-i Aṣafī*), the Committee for the Settlement of Disputes (*Ikktilāf-i Merdji' Endjümeni*), the Commission for the Appointment of Civil Servants (*Me'mūrīn-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*) and the Statistical Commission of the Porte (*Bāb-i 'Ālī İstatistik Endjümeni*). These two last named departments were abolished under the young Turkish regime.

From 1908 onwards, the grand vizierate proper included: the Record Office (*Teshrifāt-i 'Umūmiye Dairesi*), the Office of the Imperial Recorder (*Amedi-i Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*), the Chancellery (*Dīwān-i Hümāyūn Beylikdžiliyi*), the Office of Indirect Estates (*Eyālāt-i Mümtāze ve-Mukhtāre Kalemī*).

The offices of the Porte must not be confused with those of the imperial “Palace” (*Mābein*) which sometimes played a very important part (e. g. under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II).

In 1911 the Sublime Porte was destroyed by fire.

Five days after the abolition of the Sultānate (Nov. 1, 1922) the offices of the Porte were used for the meetings of the Delegation of the government of Ankara (Ref'et Pasha, for several days, then Ra'ūf Bey and Adnān Bey) and later for the wilāyet of Istanbul.

The street which — known as *Bāb-i 'Ālī* (or Babalī) *Djaddesi* — rises from Sirkedji and runs round the Porte is now called *Ankara Caddesi* (*Djaddesi*). In it are the booksellers and the newspaper offices of the former capital.

*Bibliography*: Ad. Joanne and Em. Isambert, *Itinéraire . . . de l'Orient*, Paris 1861, p. 365; A. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, chap. vi.: *Pacha capouci — La Sublime Porte* (deals only with the former personal of the grand vizierate); 'Abd al-Rahmān Sheref Bey (Pasha), *Bāb-i 'ālī Hārīkleri* (the fires at the Sublime Porte), in *T. O. E. M.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 7 of April 1—14, 1911, p. 446—450; the *Mustakill Gazete* of March 31, 1924 contains an article on the history of the Sublime Porte in the last 50 years (inaccessible to me).

(J. DENY)

- P. 50, art. DĀRAKUṬNĪ. Add to the works: 16. The work *Kitāb al-Askhiyā' wa 'l-Adjwād* of an *adab* nature unknown to the biographical sources mentioned discovered by Wadjāhat Ḥusain in a unique MS. in the Oriental Public Library in Patna and recently published in *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., xxx. (1934), 36—145. The genuineness of the work is guaranteed by exact quotations in Yāqūt's *Irshād* and Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iṣāba*.

(HEFFENING)

- P. 57<sup>b</sup>, l. 22: for 1903, read 1933.

- P. 59<sup>a</sup>, l. 12: for 1888, read 1881.

- P. 79<sup>b</sup>, FUTUWWA. The MS. of Ibn Taimiya has been edited in: Ibn Taimiya, *Madjmu'at al-Rasā'il wa 'l-Masā'il*, Cairo 1341, p. 147—160; Schacht, *Zwei neue Quellen zur Kenntnis der Futuwwa*, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, p. 277—283, has given an analysis of this MS. — The work of Ibn al-Sā'ī has just appeared (Baghdād 1934), cf. p. 221—226; Kahle, *Ein Futuwwa-Erlass des Chalifen en-Nāsir . . .*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Oppenheim-Festschrift), Berlin 1933, p. 52—58, had published a translation and commentary. As regards the place which the futuwwa occupies in the *daradjat al-akhḫāḫ* of the Sūfis, cf. Ar. MS. Berlin, N<sup>o</sup>. 3315 (Wetzstein, ii. 1682): *Makārim al-Khallāḫ li-Ahl Makārim al-Akhḫāḫ* by Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Kinān, fol. 48<sup>b</sup>—50<sup>a</sup>. — On *ramy al-bunduḫ*, cf. also Ar. MS. Berlin, N<sup>o</sup>. 5543 (Sprenger, N<sup>o</sup>. 1941): *Idāḫ al-Marāmī li-Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Rāmī* by Muḥyi 'l-Dīn . . . al-Saltī.

Further Father Anastase the Carmelite had the kindness to inform me that the following MS. is in his library at Baghdād: *Kitāb al-Futuwwa 'l-irāḫiyya li-ahl al-ṭarīqa wa-djāmī' al-al-khīrka fi 'l-mī'ati l-hādīyata 'aṣharata li 'l-hidjira, ta'līf aḥad al-fityān al-irāḫiyyin*. —

As regards the relation between *futuwwa* and *murū'a*, cf. this art. Moreover there is an affinity between *futuwwa* and *makārim al-akhḷāq* (eminent virtues). The latter constitute one of the elements of the mystical *futuwwa* (cf. *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* of al-Sulamī [d. 412], MS. Aya Sofia, N<sup>o</sup>. 2049, fol. 80a, kindly lent to me by Prof. F. Taeschner) and they are sometimes identified with the chivalrous *futuwwa*.

- P. 89, art. IBN DĀWŪD. According to a communication in a letter from Prof. Nykl, the second part of the *Kitāb al-Zahra* is in existence: following a suggestion of Nallino's (*O. M.*, xiii. [1933], p. 490—491), Nykl discovered in the Royal Library in Turin the only known complete manuscript of this manuscript of this anthology, which consists of two parts in fifty sections, i. e. 100 in all. The Cairo MS. is therefore not unique, as was hitherto supposed. Père Anastase in Baghdād is also said to have had a finely written copy of the second part of the anthology. Nykl intends to publish further details of these discoveries in the periodical *al-Andalus*. (F. BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)
- P. 179<sup>b</sup>, l. 6. "The *radjāz* line of one foot was probably always *acatalectic*". This assumption has not proved correct. Prof. Nykl of Chicago calls my attention to a remarkable poem given by Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī in his edition of the *Diwān* of Abū Nuwās (Cairo 1898, p. 346; 1322, p. 332) among the *Khamriyāt* of this period, while al-Šūlī (MS. Aḥmad Paṣha, N<sup>o</sup>. 267, fol. 45<sup>b</sup>) expressly describes it as interpolated, but in any case, it must have existed in the first third of the fourth century A. H. It is a regular strophic poem, each strophe consisting of four hypercatalectic one foot *radjāz* lines. The rhyming formula is for the first strophe *a a a a*, for the second *b b b z*, for the third *c c c a* and so on: at least this is the case in the printed *Diwān*. The MS. Fātiḥ Paṣha, N<sup>o</sup>. 3774 of Ḥamza's recension (fol. 62<sup>a</sup>) has before the first strophe of the printed text another strophe rhyming *x a x a*. Apart from this strophe, which al-Šūlī seems not to have known and whose origin has still to be traced, the order of the rhyme given above, Nykl rightly points out, is very similar to that of many *radjāl* poems of the Spanish Arab poet Ibn Ḳuzmān. Cf. the latter's *Cancionero*, ed. by Nykl, Madrid-Granada 1933.
- P. 181, paragraph 2 and 3. The *muṣdawwidja* was cultivated to a much greater extent than by Abū Nuwās and Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya by a poet of second rank who was roughly contemporary with them, namely by Abān al-Lāḥikī [q. v.]. Professor H. A. R. Gibb kindly called my attention to al-Šūlī's *Kitāb al-Awrāk*, section *Akhhbār al-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1934). This (p. 45—50) contains a very long specimen of a versification of the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimma* which Abān prepared for the Barmakid Yaḥyā and his sons. The whole poem is said to have contained 14,000 (?) lines and to have earned the poet 15,000 dinārs. Another, also very lengthy, *muṣdawwidja* by Abān dealt with fasting and the poor tax (*zakāt*). See al-Šūlī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 *sq.* Both poems are mere school exercises, hardly better than the later compilations of Ibn Mālik, al-Djazarī and Ibn ʿĀṣim. (A. SCHAADE)
- P. 205, art. SHĀIDĀ. There is some confusion about the date of the death of Shaidā. Some of the *tadhkkiras* do not give it at al-Ḡhulām ʿAlī Āzād in his *Maʿāthir al-Kirām* (*Sarui Āzād*) does not give any date while in his other *tadhkkira*, the *Khiṣāna-i ʿAmira*, he says that Shaidā died in the 8<sup>th</sup> decade after 1000. This is, in my opinion, not correct as the poet must have been in rather advanced age in 1024.
- P. 208<sup>b</sup>, l. 6 *ab infra*, instead of 2°, to be read: 22°.
- P. 253—5, art. UKAIL, 2. According to J. J. Hess, in *Isl.*, vii. (1917), 105 and n. 1, the pronunciation is not: ʿAgēl, but ʿŌkēl or ʿŌghēl and ʿŌghēlāt, sing.: ʿŌghēlī.





## Abbreviations

- Abh. G. W. Gött. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen  
 Abh. K. M. = Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes  
 Abh. Pr. Ak. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.  
 Afr. Fr. B = Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française  
 Afr. Fr. RC = Bulletin du Com. de l'Afr. franç., Renseignements Coloniaux  
 AM = Archives marocaines  
 AMZ = Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift  
 Anth. = Anthropos  
 Anz. Wien = Anzeiger der philos.-histor. Kl. d. Ak. der Wiss. Wien  
 AO = Acta Orientalia  
 AQR = Asiatic Quarterly Review  
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft  
 As. Fr. B = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française  
 BAH = Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana  
 BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, ed. de Goeje  
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien  
 BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire  
 BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution  
 BTLV = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië  
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
 CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum  
 CIS = Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum  
 EC = L'Égypte Contemporaine  
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur  
 GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen  
 GJ = Geographical Journal  
 GMS = Gibb Memorial Series  
 GOR = Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches  
 GOW = Babinger, Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke  
 Gr. I Ph. = Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie  
 GSAI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana  
 HOP = Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry  
 IG = Indische Gids  
 IRM = International Review of Missions  
 Isl. = Der Islam  
 JA = Journal Asiatique  
 J Afr. S = Journal of the African Society  
 J Am. OS = Journal of the American Oriental Society  
 J Anthr. I = Journal of the Anthropological Institute  
 JASB = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal  
 JE = Jewish Encyclopædia  
 JPHS = Journal of the Punjab Historical Society  
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review  
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
 JRGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society  
 JSF Ou = Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne  
 KCA = Körösi Csoma Archivum  
 KR = Koloniale Rundschau  
 KS = Keleti Szemle (Revue orientale)  
 LA = Lisān al-'Arab  
 Mach. = Al-Machriq  
 MDPV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins  
 MFOB(eyrouth) = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth  
 MGG Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien  
 MGMN = Mitt. z. Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften  
 MGWJ = Monatsschrift f. d. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums  
 MI = Mir Islama  
 MIÉgypt. = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien  
 MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire  
 Mitt. DOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  
 Mitt. VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft  
 MMAF = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Franç. au Caire  
 MO = Le Monde oriental  
 MOG = Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte  
 MSFO = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne  
 MSL = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique  
 MSOS Afr. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für oriental. Sprachen, Afr. Studien  
 MSOS As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für oriental. Sprachen, Westasiat. Studien  
 MTM = Milli Tettebbül'er Medjmu'asf  
 MW = The Moslem World  
 NE = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi  
 NGW Gött. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. Göttingen  
 NO = Der Neue Orient  
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv  
 OC = Oriens Christianus  
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung  
 OM = Oriente Moderno  
 PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement  
 PELOV oder P. Ec. Lang. Or. Viv. = Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes  
 Pet. Mitt. = Petermanns Mitteilungen  
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society  
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales  
 RAAD = Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas  
 RAfr. = Revue Africaine  
 REJ = Revue des Études Juives  
 RE Isl. = Revue des Études islamiques  
 RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions  
 RI = Revue Indigène  
 RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman  
 RO = Rocznik Oryentalistyczny  
 ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien  
 ROL = Revue de l'Orient latin  
 RRAH = Rev. dela R. Academia de la Historia, Madrid  
 RRAL = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di sc. mor., stor., e filol.  
 RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali



- RT = Revue Tunisienne  
 SBAk. Heid. = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. Heidelberg  
 SBAk. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien  
 SB Bayr. Ak. = Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
 SBPMS Erlg. = Sitzungsberichte d. Phys.-medizin. Sozietät in Erlangen  
 SB Pr. Ak. W. = Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. der Wiss. zu Berlin  
 TA = Tādj al-<sup>6</sup>Arūs  
 TBGKW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen  
 TOEM = Tārikh-i 'Othmāni (Türk) Endjümeni Medj-mū'asf, Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane  
 TTEM s. TOEM  
 TTLV = Tijdschrift v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde  
 Verh. Ak. Amst. = Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
- Versl. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam  
 WI = Die Welt des Islams  
 Wiss. Veröff. DOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  
 WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes  
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie  
 Zap. = Zapiski  
 ZATW = Zeitschrift f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft  
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft  
 ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins  
 ZGERdk. Berl. = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin  
 ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik  
 ZK = Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen  
 ZOEG = Zeitschrift f. Osteuropäische Geschichte  
 ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik

**AB** (A.). [See **ABŪ**.]

\***ABAD** (A.) is that which has no end, *azal*, that which has no beginning. The forms *abadīya* and *azaliya* are commonly used in theological and philosophical writings. According to orthodox teaching, only God has neither beginning nor end; this world (*dunyā*) has both, the next world (*ākhirā*) has a beginning but no end; there is no fourth possibility, that a thing without beginning should have an end.

*Kidam* seems to be preferred by the theologians while the philosophers and mystics use *azaliya*. Ibn Rushd even used *azaliya* also for the endlessness of the world (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*; see ed. by Bouyges, index).

The beginninglessness of the world is categorically denied almost universally by the theologians. Ash'ari however (*Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter, ii. 489) mentions adherents of a Mu'tazili sect (*azaliya*) according to whom all things (i. e. their spiritual forms) exist eternally in the divine being. In this sense, the world could be called eternal, beginningless. In a similar way Māturidi is said to have talked of an eternal *takwīn* in the divine being.

**Bibliography**: Cf. the articles **KHALĀḤ** and **ZAMĀN**.

(TJ. DE BOER)

\***ABĀN** B. 'OTHMĀN B. 'AFFĀN. According to Yāqūt (*Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 36) and al-Ṭūsī (*Fihris*, ed. Sprenger, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, N<sup>o</sup>. 60, p. 7), it was not this Abān but Abān b. 'Othmān b. Yaḥyā who composed the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*; see Horovitz, in *O. L. Z.*, 1914, p. 183.

\***AL-'ABBĀS** B. AL-MA'MŪN. For Ṭuwāna in this article, read al-Ṭuwāna; s. Seybold, in *G. G. A.*, 1920, p. 190.

**Bibliography**: Add: Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 558, 567 sq., 574 sq., 581; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. Paris, vii. 102 sq., 136 sq.; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, *passim*; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 258, 473, 474.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***AL-'ABBĀS** B. MUḤAMMAD. 186 (802) is given as the date of his death.

**Bibliography**: Add: Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. Paris, vi. 266; ix. 64 sq.; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, p. 225, 227, 265, 275, 284; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, i., see index; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***AL-'ABBĀS** B. AL-WALID.

**Bibliography**: Add: Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed., Paris, v. 361, 454, 480, 506; vi. 71 sq.; ix. 59; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, *passim*; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables al-*

*phabétiques*; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1901, p. 436 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***ABBĀSIDS**. The theory, generally accepted by European historians, of the solemn transfer of the caliphate by al-Mutawakkil, the last Egyptian 'Abbāsīd, to the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm is devoid of any foundation and has been definitely relegated to the realm of legend by Barthold (*M. I.*, St. Petersburg 1912, i. 203—226, 345—400; see also Becker, *Barthold's Studien über Kalif und Sultan*, in *Isl.*, vi. 250—412). It owes its dissemination to a Stambul Armenian in Swedish service, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who published it in his *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788—1824, i. 232 and 269 sq.; cf. also the articles **KHALĪFA** and **SELĪM I**.

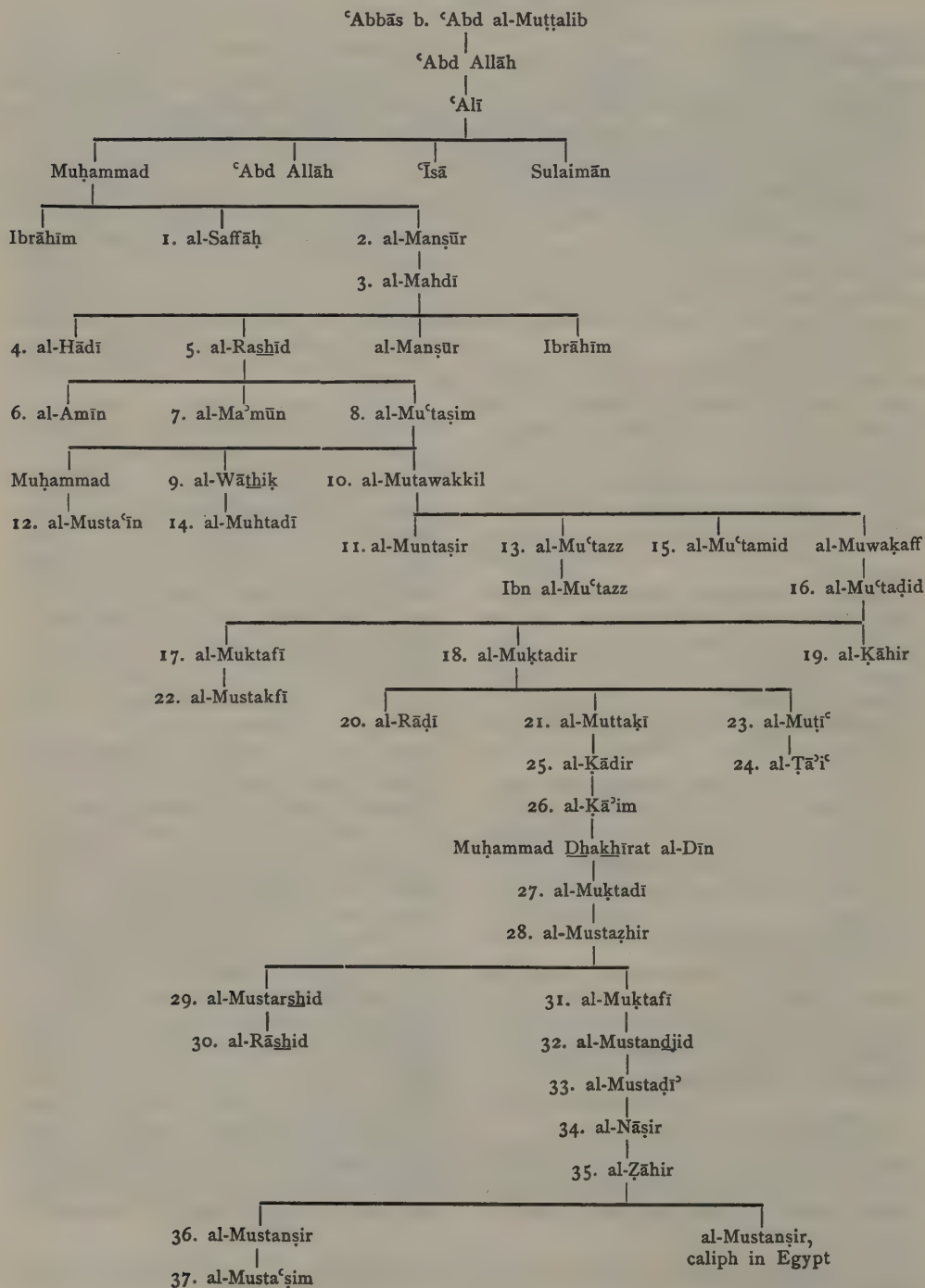
**Bibliography**: More or less complete bibliographies are given in Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1912—1913, and Muir, *The Caliphate*, ed. Weir, Edinburgh 1924; reference may also be made to the articles on contemporary dynasties, e.g. Aiyūbids, Ḥamdānids, etc. Here we shall only mention the following sources: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje; 'Arib, ed. de Goeje; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg; Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, transl. into German by Rescher; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. Paris; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf*, in *B. G. A.*, viii., transl. into French by Carra de Vaux; Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḍjārīb al-Umam*, ed. Caetani, *G. M. S.*, vii. 1, 5, 6; ed. and transl. by Amedroz and Margoliouth, in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Kitāb al-Wusarā'*, ed. Amedroz; Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Dhail Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz; Sibṭ b. al-Djāwzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. Jewett; al-Makīn, *Historia Saracenica*, ed. Erpenius; Barhebraeus, *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Šālḥānī; Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, transl. into French by Amar, *Archives marocaines*, xvi.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales musulmici*, ed. J. J. Reiske and J. G. C. Adler; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn b. Taghribardī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i—ii., ed. Juynboll and Matthes, continued by Popper; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Khulafā'*, Cairo 1305 and printed several times elsewhere in the East, transl. into English by Jarrett, *Bibl. Ind.*, N. S. 440 sqq., 1880—1881; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, Būlāk 1311—1312, part iii. transl. into English by Salmon, *Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S., xxv.; also edited by Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā in conjunction with Sobernheim, *Bibl. Islam.*, v.; Zaidān, *Umayyads and 'Abbāsids*, English transl. by Margoliouth,

The subjects to which an article has already been devoted in the corpus of the Encyclopaedia, are marked with a \*.

*G.M.S.*, lv.; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*; Khalil Edhem, *Düwel-i islāmīye*; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*; do., *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*;

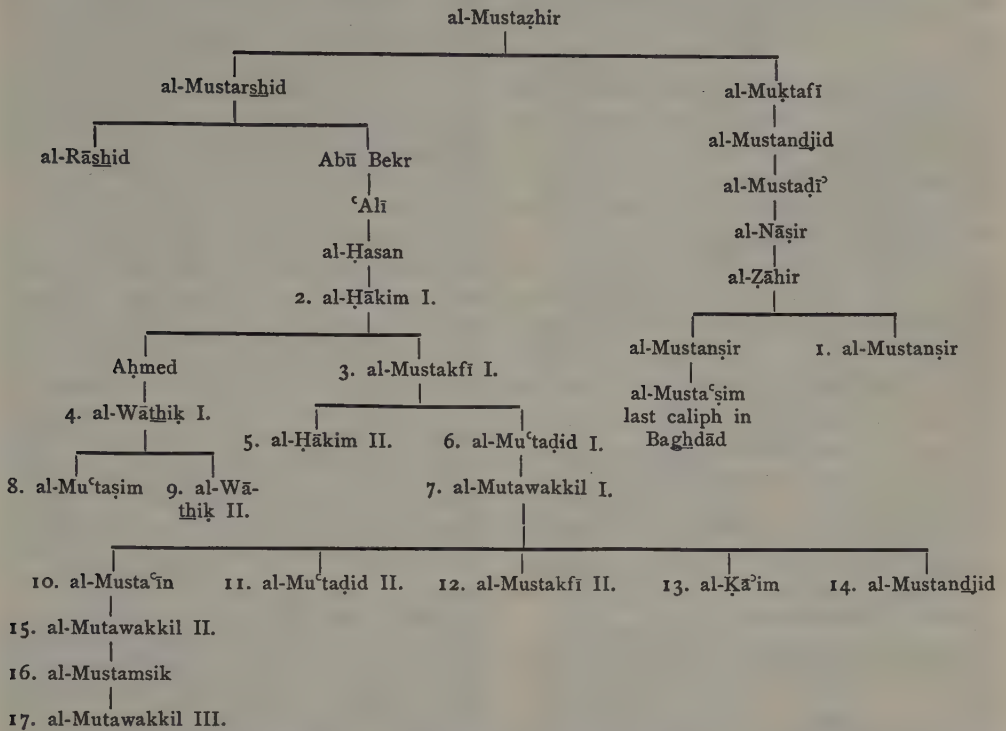
Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*; do., *Islamstudien*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*<sup>4</sup>; *The Cambridge Medieval History*, iv.; Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 802—867.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS OF BAGHDĀD



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ‘ABBĀSID CALIPHS OF EGYPT

(from *Khalil Edhem, Dürwel-i islāmīye*, p. 21)



According to others, the second ‘Abbāsid caliph in Egypt, al-Ḥakim I, was directly descended from al-Rāshid as follows: al-Ḥakim b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Rāshid.

‘ABBĀSID CALIPHS OF EGYPT

A.H.		A.D.
659	al-Mustanṣir bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Ḳāsim Ahmed	1261
660	al-Ḥakim bi-Amr Allāh Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Ahmed	1261
701	al-Mustakfi bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Rabi‘ Sulaimān	1302
740	al-Wāthik bi ‘llāh Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm	1340
741	al-Ḥakim bi-Amr Allāh Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Ahmed	1341
753	al-Mu‘taḍid bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Faḥḥ Abū Bekr	1352
763	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad	1362
779	al-Mu‘taṣim (al-Musta‘sim) bi ‘llāh Abū Yahyā Zakariyā	1377
779	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘llāh (second reign)	1377
785	al-Wāthik bi ‘llāh ‘Omar	1383
788	al-Mu‘taṣim bi ‘llāh (second reign)	1386
791	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘llāh (third reign)	1389
808	al-Musta‘in bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās	1406
816	al-Mu‘taḍid bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Faḥḥ Dāwūd	1414
845	al-Mustakfi bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Rabi‘ Sulaimān	1441
855	al-Kā‘im bi-Amr Allāh Abū ‘l-Bakā’ Ḥamza	1451
859	al-Mustandjid bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf	1455
884	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘llāh Abū ‘l-‘Izz ‘Abd al-‘Aziz	1479
903	al-Mustamsik bi ‘llāh Abū ‘l-Ṣabr Ya‘qūb	1497
914	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘llāh Muḥammad	1508–9
922–923	al-Mustamsik bi ‘llāh (second reign, as fully authorised representative of his son al-Mutawakkil)	1516–1517

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*‘ABD ALLĀH B. ‘ALĪ. Further *Bibliography*: Ibn al-Aṭḥir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v., *passim*; Ya‘qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii., see index; Mas‘ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, v. 83, 471 sq.; vi. 71, 73, 75–77, 86, 90 sq., 99, 104, 106 sq., 176 sq., 183, 214 sqq., 222, 271; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 126, 151, 192, 294, 371; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*,

ed. de Goeje and de Jong, see index; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 341; cf. also Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 731.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*‘ABD ALLĀH B. DJA‘FAR. See also Ya‘qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 67, 200, 331; Mas‘ūdi, *Murūdj*,



Paris, iv. 181, 271 sq., 313, 329, 434; v. 19, 148, 383 sqq.; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier* (M. F. O. B.), index.

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. ḤANẒALA. See also Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier* (M. F. O. B.), p. 213 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. MU'ĀWIYA. Further *Bibliography*: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, vi. 41 sq., 67 sq., 109; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, v. 2, p. 98 sq.; cf. also Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 853. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD. P. 27<sup>a</sup>, l. 14. On the part which in spite of his cruelty, he played in the history of Spain as precursor of his celebrated grandson 'Abd al-Rahmān III, see the article UMAIYADS, vi. 1006 sq. — l. 51. As Seybold, *G. G. A.*, 1920, p. 182 observes the article in al-'Adhārī should be omitted; we also find

العذاري (al-'Idhārī) "addito semper articulo"; see Gildemeister, *Catalogus librorum manu scriptorum or. qui in Bibl. Acad. Bonnensi servantur*, p. 13 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 337. — According to Seybold, to the *Bibl.* should be added: Ibn al-'Albār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā*, in Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, p. 65—68 and Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, ii. 438—460.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. MUṬĪ'. Further *Bibliography* in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 922. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. 'OMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ. Cf. further Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 982. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. 'OMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB. See also Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, iv.; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier* (M. F. O. B.); further references in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 986.

\*'ABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR. Further *Bibliography* in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 171. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'ABD ALLĀH DJEWDET. [See DJEWDET.]

\*'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. MARWĀN. Further *Bibliography* in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 973. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. AL-WALĪD. He died in 110 (728—729); see Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii. 183. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'ABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ḠHAIBĪ AL-ḤĀFIẒ AL-MARĀGHĪ, the greatest of the Persian writers on the theory of music (Bouvat, *J. A.*, 1926, calls him 'Abd al-Ḳādir Gūyandi. The forms Ibn 'Īsā, Ibn Ḡhanī, Ibn Ḡhainī, Ibn 'Ainī are all misreadings of Ibn Ḡhaibī, as the autographs of the latter prove). He was born about the middle of the viii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) century at Marāgha in Ādhar-bāidjān. In the late "seventies" of that century he was one of the "boon companions" of al-Ḥusain, the Djalā'irid Sultān (1374—1382) of al-'Irāk, who spent so much time with his minstrels (*J. A.*, 1845). Ibn Ḡhaibī himself tells us (Bodleian MS., Marsh, N<sup>o</sup>. 282, fol. 95) that, in 1379, at the court of al-Ḥusain, he accepted a challenge, as to musical ability, from Riḍā al-Din Riḍwānshāh, the most famous musician and theorist of his day, for the sum of 100,000 *danānīr*, and won. (The historians

wrongly place this incident in the reign of Sultān Aḥmad). Ibn Ḡhaibī became the chief minstrel of Aḥmad, the succeeding Djalā'irid Sultān (1382—1410), until 1393, unless, as has been supposed (Helmholtz, *op. cit.*, p. 282), he was for a time at the court of the Turkish Sultān Bayazid (1389—1403). When Timūr [q. v.] captured Baghdād in 1393, Ibn Ḡhaibī was one of the many men of eminence in art and science whom the conqueror transported to Samarkand, his capital (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 619; *History of Timur-Bec*, i. 439). With Timūr, he became his chief minstrel and a great favourite (*History of Timur-Bec*, i. 537—538). In 1397 he was still at his court, but in 1399, we find him at Tabriz in the circle of Mirānshāh (d. 1400), the irresponsible son of the conqueror. The erratic conduct of the prince was attributed to the influence of his "boon companions", amongst whom was Ibn Ḡhaibī, and Timūr had several of them put to death, although the primest musicians of the day were among them: Kuṭb al-Din-i Nāyī, Ḥabīb-i 'Udī and Ardāshīr-i Čangī (Dawlatshāh, p. 330—331; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 195). Ibn Ḡhaibī, warned in time, fled from the city disguised as a *ḵalandar*, and took refuge at Baghdād with his old protector Aḥmad, the Djalā'irid Sultān. When Timūr recaptured Baghdād in 1401, Ibn Ḡhaibī fell into his hands once more. Brought before Timūr, he was sentenced to death but, bethinking himself of his abilities as a *ḥāfiẓ* (Qur'ān reciter), he began declaiming a *sūra* in such a beautiful voice, that Timūr forgave him and took him into his service again (*Khwāndamīr*, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 212; *J. A.*, 1861, p. 283). Ibn Ḡhaibī may have served Ḳhalīl who ruled at Samarkand (1404—1409) after the death of Timūr, but we certainly know that he was at the court of Shāhruḵ (1404—1447), and Dawlatshāh mentions him (p. 340) as one of the four brilliant men of art who shed lustre on his court. In 1421, having written a treatise on music for the new Turkish Sultān Murād II, he journeyed from Samarkand to Brusa so as to present the work in person to this monarch. Owing to the troubles which beset Murād II during the early years of his reign, it appears that Ibn Ḡhaibī did not remain long at the Ottoman court, but returned to Samarkand (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2977—2978). He died in March 1435 at Herāt, being one of the illustrious victims of the terrible plague which ravaged the city in this year (Munadjjim-bāshī, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akḥbār*, iii. 57).

Mu'īn al-Din-i Isfīzārī, the author of the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, praises Ibn Ḡhaibī for his threefold talents as a musician, poet and painter (*J. A.*, 1862, p. 275—276). As a calligraphist too, he had a reputation. In his day, he was generally allowed to be "the glory of the past ages for his skill in music" (*History of Timur-Bec*, i. 538) and "the one who counts most in the theory of music" (British Museum MS., Or. 2361, Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise). He is usually placed, with Ṣafī al-Din 'Abd al-Mu'min, in the front rank of the theorists (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, vi. 255). His greatest work, the *Djāmi' al-Aḥwān* (Compiler of Melodies), was written in 1405. The autograph of this work is now in the Bodleian Library (Marsh, N<sup>o</sup>. 282), and from it we learn that he presented the manuscript to his son Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān, but that in 1413, he took it back and revised it. (In my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, p. 14, I have

wrongly given the date as 1418). Another autograph copy is to be found at Constantinople in the Nūr-i 'Osmāniya Library (N<sup>o</sup>. 3644), but this carries a dedication to the Sultān Shāhrukh and the date 1415. An abridgment of this work was also compiled by Ibn Ghaibī and several versions are in existence. An autograph copy in the Bodleian Library (Ouseley, N<sup>o</sup>. 264), without a title, but practically identical with the next treatise, the *Maḳāṣid al-Aḥḥān*, was written in 1418, perhaps for Bāy-sunghur [q. v.], the son of Shāhrukh. Another version is the *Maḳāṣid al-Aḥḥān* (Purports of Melodies), of which a copy exists at the Bodleian Library (Ouseley, N<sup>o</sup>. 385), whilst an autograph is to be found in the library of Rauf Yekta Bey in Constantinople (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2978). A copy at Leyden University (Or. 270—271) says that it was written for the Turkish Sultān Murād II in 1421. Another work was the *Kanz al-Aḥḥān* (Treasury of Melodies), which contained all the compositions of Ibn Ghaibī in the notation of the period. Unfortunately, no exemplar of this treasure appears to have come down to us. His last work was a *Sharḥ al-Adwār* (Commentary on the Musical Modes), a copy of which is preserved in the Nūr-i 'Osmāniya Library (N<sup>o</sup>. 3651). At Leyden (Or. 1175) there is a *Kitāb al-Adwār* in Turkish bearing the name of Ibn Ghaibī.

The treatises of Ibn Ghaibī are of the highest importance in the history of Persian and Arabian music, more especially because they contain information about the practical art of music, together with descriptions of musical instruments [see articles MŪSĪQĪ, MĪZAF, MIZMĀR, 'ŪD, TUNBŪR, etc.]. The contents of the *Djāmi' al-Aḥḥān* and *Maḳāṣid al-Aḥḥān* are described by Ethé and Sachau in their *Catalogue of Persian... MSS. in the Bodleian Library*. Although he quotes al-Fārābī, Šafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, and others, Ibn Ghaibī thinks for himself. His importance may be gleaned from an Arabic work in the British Museum (Or. 2361, fols. 168<sup>v</sup>—220) which has been called the "Muḥammad Ibn Murād Treatise", the latter being the dedicatee. Some writers have erroneously assumed that this work is by Ibn Ghaibī (*J. A.*, 1904, p. 385; Lavignac, v. 2680). Ibn Ghaibī was a performer on the lute ('ūd) and a composer (*taṣnīfī*) of eminence (Dawlatshāh, p. 206, 226, 399). His performance at the Djalā'irid court of Sultān al-Ḥusain in 1379, when he composed a piece of music each day during Ramaḍān, is commented on by the historians. Many of these compositions, handed down *vivā voce*, in a form known as the *kiār*, are still performed in Turkey (Lavignac, v. 2978), although we possess actual examples of others in notation in his treatises (*Bodleian MS.*, Marsh, N<sup>o</sup>. 282, fol. 94<sup>v</sup> sq.; *Leyden MS.*, Or. 271—272, fol. 51). J. P. N. Land (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ii. 354) has transcribed a short piece from the former, and Kiesewetter (*op. cit.*, p. 56), Fétis (*op. cit.*, ii. 68—69) and Rauf Yekta Bey (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2977) have given interpretations from the latter. (Those of Kiesewetter and Fétis are not to be relied on).

The younger son of Ibn Ghaibī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, wrote a treatise on music entitled the *Naḳawāt al-Adwār* (The Select of the Musical Modes), which was dedicated to the Turkish Sultān Muḥammad II (1451—1481). There is a solitary exemplar of it in the Nūr-i 'Osmāniya Library (N<sup>o</sup>. 3646). It is thought that he settled in Con-

stantinople after the death of his father. There is also a note in his handwriting on the last page (fol. 77<sup>v</sup>) of his father's autograph copy of the *Maḳāṣid al-Aḥḥān* in the Bodleian (Ouseley, N<sup>o</sup>. 264). A grandson, Maḥmūd, who lived during the reign of Bāyazīd II (1481—1512), wrote a *Maḳāṣid al-Adwār*, which is also to be found in the Nūr-i 'Osmāniya Library (N<sup>o</sup>. 3649).

*Bibliography*: Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 212; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'* ed. Browne, see index; Sharaf al-Dīn-i Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*; English version of the same, *History of Timur-Bec* (1723), i. 439, 538; Bélin, *Notice sur Mir Ali-Chir-Nevāī* (*J. A.*, 1861, p. 283—284); Barbier de Meynard, *Chronique Persane d'Herat* (*J. A.*, 1862, p. 275—276); Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 191, 384; Ethé and Sachau, *Catalogue of Persian... MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 1057—1063; *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibl. Acad. Lugduno Bataviae*, 1851—1877, iii., p. 302—305; Ḥadīdjā Khālifa, ii. 507; iii. 413; vi. 255; vii. 690.

For his theories see Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, 1842, p. 13, 21, 32—37, 56, 88; Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, 1870, i. 273—276; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, ii. 68—69, 170—175; Land, *Recherches sur la histoire de la gamme arabe* (*Actes VI<sup>ème</sup> Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, 1883, p. 67—75, 78—80); *Tonschriftveruche und Melodieproben aus dem muhammedanischen Mittelalter* (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ii. 347); Helmholtz, *Sensations of Tone*, Engl. ed., 1895, p. 281—283, 364, 523; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (*J. A.*, 1904, p. 379; 1906, p. 178, 180); Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, see index; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, see index; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v. 2977—2979.

(H. G. FARMER)

\*'ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN. On i. 49<sup>a</sup>, l. 47 it is to be noted that the chronology is very uncertain; cf. also the art. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUHAMMAD B. AL-ASH'ATH.

*Bibliography*: Add: Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, *passim*; Ya'qubī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 320—338; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris, v. 193, 205 sqq.; vi. 50; ix. 41, 50; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, viii. 312—317; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Ibn al-Tīkṭākā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 167—173; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, see index; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islām*, in *Abh. G. N. Gött.*, N.S., v. 2, p. 28 sqq.; do., *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1901, p. 436 sqq.; Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *J. A.*, ccviii. 61—121; Lammeus, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'āwīa I<sup>er</sup>*, see index; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *J. A.*, x<sup>th</sup> ser., ix. 193, 413.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEDEN)

\*'ABD AL-MALIK B. ŠĀLIḤ. That he died in 196 is confirmed by Mas'ūdi, *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, viii. 348. Elsewhere his death is variously dated; according to Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, vi. 437 he died in 197, according to Ibn



*Khallikān*, transl. de Slane, i. 316 in 193, do., iii. 665, cf. iii. 667, not till 199. — See in general Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, Paris, vi. 302—305, 419 sq., 437 sq.; Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 132, 155, 170, 185; Brooks, *Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the early Abbasids*, in *The English Historical Review*, xv. 728 sqq.; xvi. 84 sqq.; *Waṣīyat 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ li-Ibnihī kabīl Waṣāṭihī*, ed. Cheikho, in *Mach.*, xxv. 738—745. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***ABĪWARD.** [See BĀWARD.]

\***AL-ABNĀ'**. See also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index, ii. 1251. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***ABŪ 'L-'ABBĀS** AL-SAFFĀH. Further *Bibliography*: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, Paris, v. 471 sq.; vi. 51 sqq.; ix. 43, 51; do., *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, ed. de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, viii. see index; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 202—213; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Amedroz, *On the Meaning of the Laqab al-Saffāh as applied to the first Abbasid Caliph*, in *J. R. A.S.*, 1907, p. 660 sqq.; cf. also *R. S. O.*, ii. 447. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***ABŪ ABD ALLĀH YA'KŪB.** See also Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 250—255, 257, according to whom Ya'kūb died in 186.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\***ABŪ ḤANĪFA** has exercised a considerable influence on the dogmatics of Islām; his tradition has been kept up especially in the school of al-Māturidī [q. v.] and its adepts in Samarkand. The only authentic document by Abū Ḥanīfa which has come down to us is his letter to 'Uthmān al-Battī (unedited), in which he defends his Murdjitic [cf. *AL-MURDJĪ'*] views in an urbane way.

The *Fikḥ Akbar* (II) which is ascribed to him in the *Fihrist* and by later tradition, is an 'akīda representing an early stage of scholastic theology, possibly composed in the first half of the tenth century A. D. This work must be distinguished from another *Fikḥ Akbar* (I), the text of which has not come down to us in an integral form, but embedded in a commentary, which needs no discussion here (text and commentary printed at Haidarābād 1321).

Detached from the commentary this *Fikḥ Akbar*, which in order to distinguish it from the later work of the same name, may be numbered I, appears to consist of ten articles of faith delineating the orthodox position as opposed to the Khāridjites, Qadarites, Shī'a and Djahmites. Polemics against the Murdjites as well as against the Mu'tazilites are lacking. This means that the author was a Murdjite who lived before the rise of the great Mu'tazilī movement.

A second work in which the *Fikḥ Akbar* I was embedded is the *Fikḥ Absaṭ* (unedited), a work consisting of answers to dogmatical questions propounded to Abū Ḥanīfa by his pupil Abū Muṭīf al-Balkhī (d. 183 = 799). In this work all the articles of the *Fikḥ Akbar* I are to be found, except one.

This state of things is of a nature to leave no doubt of the authenticity of the *Fikḥ Akbar* I, not as a composition, but as to the provenance of its enunciations. It was not long before the ten articles of this creed proved to require revision and enlargement. This was done in a completely new work, which received the title *Waṣīyat Abī Ḥanīfa* and which, in some MSS., has been put in the form of a last admonition

of Abū Ḥanīfa to his disciples. The *Waṣīya* seems to represent the theology of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. On the *Fikḥ Akbar* II see above, first alinea.

The *Fikḥ Absaṭ* contains, apart from nine of the articles of the *Fikḥ Akbar* I, utterances of Abū Ḥanīfa on a number of dogmatical questions such as were debated in his days.

Of the *Kitāb al-'Ālim* only some citations seem to have been preserved. Citations from this and other writings of Abū Ḥanīfa were composed in several collections, all of which refer to the same subjects.

*Bibliography*: F. Kern, in *M. S. O. S. As.*, 1916, p. 141 sq. (wants correction); A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General Index, s. v. Abū Ḥanīfa and *Fikḥ Akbar* I; references s. v. Abū Ḥanīfa.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

\***ABŪ HĀSHIM** 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD. See also Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 356—358.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

**ABŪ KABĪR** AL-HUDHAILI, an early Arab poet, according to Abū Dhū'aib, the second greatest poet of the tribe of Hudhail [q. v.]. He belonged to the Banū Sa'd or, according to some, to the Banū Djuraib. His real name was 'Āmir (or 'Uwaimir) b. al-Ḥulais (also without the article), according to other statements, 'Āmir b. Djamra, but he became celebrated under his kunya. According to commentators (cf. e. g. Tibrizī in the *Ḥamāsa*), Abū Kabīr had married the mother of the famous Ta'abbāṭa Sharran [q. v.] and as the stepson looked askance at this union the poet is said to have been advised by his mother to kill him at the first opportunity, but failed on account of Ta'abbāṭa's bravery. This story can hardly be true but is rather an attempt to explain the well known lines of Abū Kabīr in the *Ḥamāsa* (see *Bibl.*) in which an ideal Arab hero and warrior is described. Besides, in some versions the roles are interchanged (cf. *Kitāb al-Shī'r*, p. 422): Ta'abbāṭa Sharran had married Abū Kabīr's mother and so on. The story that makes Ta'abbāṭa Sharran the constant companion of our poet deserves equally little credence because his tribe was continually at feud with the Fahmīs. He flourished in the second half of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, so that 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Djazarī (*Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280, vi. 272) and Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥadjar al-'Aḳalānī (*al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vii. 162) for example number him among the *aṣḥāb*.

From the matter of his poems he is however decidedly to be classed as a Djāhili. His *Dīwān*, edited and transl. for the first time by F. Bajrak-tarević, consists of only four longish *qaṣidas* and 19 short fragments mostly wrongly attributed to him, but is in many ways very interesting and valuable; all the *qaṣidas* are composed in the same metre (*kāmil*) and begin in the same way, which was pointed out quite early by Ibn Kūtaiba (*Kitāb al-Shī'r*, p. 420). What is specially striking in his poems is the complete absence of any description of the camel. Arab critics frequently give Abū Kabīr quite a high position as a poet. Al-Ma'arri (see *Bibl.*), it is true, accuses him of partiality but says some of his verses are very fine, while 'Awf b. Muḥallim (in Ya'kūt, *Irshād*, vi. 97) goes so far as to call him the greatest poet of the Hudhailīs.

*Bibliography*: Cairo MS. of the *Dīwān*



of the Hudhailis (cf. Hell, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv., 659—660); *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i. 36 sqq.; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shīr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 420—425; Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, *Risālat al-Ghufṛān*, Cairo 1321, p. 100—101 (English in Nicholson, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 708—709); Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, p. 81—83; 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Baghhdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Būlak 1277, iii. 466—473; iv. 165—167 and 420—421; al-'Ainī, *al-Maḳāṣid al-naḥwīya* (on the margin of *Khizānat al-Adab*), iii. 54—57, 361—364 and 558—560; Iskandar Āghā Abkārīūs, *Rawḍat al-Adab fī Ṭabaḳāt Shu'arā' al-'Arab*, Bairūt 1858, p. 192—196; Muḥammad Bakīr, *Djāmi' al-Shawāhid*, Kum 1308, p. 67 68, 167 and 278—279; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī, *Takmil al-Marām bi-Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Fās 1310, p. 18<sup>a</sup> and 24<sup>1</sup>—24<sup>3</sup>; F. Bajraktarević, *La Lāmiyya d'Abū Kabir al-Hudālī, publiée avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkārī, traduite et annotée*, in *J. A.*, cciii. (1923), p. 59—115; do., *Le Dirwān d'Abū Kabir al-Hudālī, publiée avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkārī, traduit et annoté*, in *J. A.*, ccxi. (1927), p. 5—94.

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

\*ABŪ 'UBAID ALLĀH. See also Ibn al-Ṭik-ṭākā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 246—250.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

**ADAT LAW.** In the languages of the Muslim peoples of the Malay Archipelago *adat* (sometimes with dialectical modifications), derived from the Arabic 'āda, is the word in general use for "custom, practice, use and wont". The application of the word is extended to all that a community or an individual has become accustomed to as well as to all human impulses and inclinations; even an animal has its *adat*.

In the little community within which the Indonesian usually spends his life, harmony is only secured if every one of the members observes the traditional customs or those that are felt to be traditional. Good manners demand that they be followed. An *adat* can never be neglected without misgivings for the community or the individual; unforeseen harmful results might ensue. If a misfortune actually occurs, there is nothing left for man but to bow to it. The life and activity of man is ruled by all these *adat* in so far as their influence has not been restricted by regulations by the authorities. That section of the *adat* which lays down the legal relations of men in state and society and with which legal consequences are associated, customary law, is now generally called "Adat law", following Vollenhoven's suggestion (*Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leyden 1906—1933), a name which however had already been used by several specialists and which has also found a place in colonial legislation. It is also applied to non-Muslim peoples and extended to the whole area in which Indonesian law is in force. This includes in addition to the Dutch Indies, the Philippines, Formosa and Madagascar; in these lands, there are Muslim populations in the south of the Philippine Archipelago who are known by the collective name of "Moros".

As regards the Muslim peoples, the term *adat* is by no means synonymous with *shari'a* [q. v.]. The modern *adat* law is like a variegated carpet on which the green colour of Islām is seen in a number of places in darker or lighter shades; it is

however far from being the only colour. The elements taken from the *shari'a* form the religious part of the *adat* law; the other section is formed by native law; the foundations of the latter go back to pre-Muḥammadan times. Its present form is the result of continual transformation from within as well as of influence from without. The two elements are contrasted as *ḥukūm* (Ar. *ḥukm*), *sarat* (Ar. *shar'*) or even *ḥukum-sarat* and *adat* in the narrower sense. The sole binding force of the former is, it is true, absolutely recognised in theory but in practice observed only to the slightest degree.

Alongside of these two, the uncodified law, we have the codified law: regulations made by the colonial government, based on Western principles, e. g. the criminal code; the sphere of *adat* law is circumscribed and limited by this codified law.

The *adat* law is not easy to discover and collect. The native, written sources for our knowledge of it are in the first place edicts of the chiefs, of which there are a number in existence. Works descriptive of *adat* are of less value because they take the word *adat* in its widest sense and following the common practice record the most important events in the life of man with all the ceremonial associated with them. The so-called law-books are not to be judged according to western ideas. They are the work of jurists who lay down in them their own opinions, not always in agreement with the customary law. Compiled at the instigation of chiefs, they give the laws regulating the relation of chief to subject, traditional wisdom in the guise of legal opinions.

The oldest sources of European origin are records of travel, the authors of which describe what struck them in the country and among the people; but customary law hardly found a place there. — In the sixteenth century, our knowledge of the East Indian Archipelago increased in every way and numerous ethnological studies were produced. These investigations were not however concerned with *adat* law, the existence of which had not yet been recognised. Snouck Hurgronje was the first to emphasise, in his book *De Atjehers* (1892—1893), the importance of customary law. Since then Vollenhoven's already mentioned *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië* has appeared, in which for the first time *adat* law is treated as a complete system of law. More recent students have followed up this conception. The book confines itself, as the title shows, to the *adat* law of the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of the Dutch Indies. The *adat* law of the Philippines still awaits its compiler.

The fact that much material for the study of *adat* law was to be found in older writings of a geographical and ethnographical nature, in official documents and memorials of all kinds, if only it could be dug out, resulted in the publication, at Vollenhoven's instigation, of the *Adatrechtbundel* (which has appeared regularly since 1910, up to 1933, 36 volumes). This series has the double purpose of making the older scattered material readily accessible and of adding new discoveries. The material is ample but there are many lacunae. We are thus left with society itself as our most important source, and observation of how it lives and is ruled. But these researches can never be concluded and continually reveal new aspects because the subject examined, human society, is constantly changing.

The investigation of the sources of adat law cannot afford to neglect anthropology. While for example marriage is contracted according to the law, it is frequently followed by a celebration which is now of no legal significance and has only ceremonial importance but is really nothing but the pre-Islāmic marriage ceremony. Although the validity of the marriage is completely secured by following the *shari'a*, the second part is nevertheless considered equally important by the participants. Here *adat* law comes into contact with ethnology. But if certain conduct is punished *coram populo* by the authorities because it injures the spirits, it may be disputed whether we have to deal with adat law or ethnology.

The Muslim admixture in adat law is not the same everywhere among the Muslim peoples of Indonesia. The place of ceremonial law in any group is decided by the stress which the individuals lay upon its being followed. The *zakāt*, on encountering, native systems of taxation, could no longer be described as a voluntary offering. Family law has generally speaking been remodelled in keeping with the demands of the *shari'a*. Funerals also are performed with Muḥammadan rites. Institutions imported with Islām, like the *wakf*, retain their legal character. For the rest the pre-Islāmic has only rarely been completely driven out in the spheres governed by the *shari'a*.

In the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, the East India Company, which then administered the Archipelago, several times began the codification of adat law, although without this name. Their object was to settle what were the usages of the native population of a particular district and to recognise them as laws binding upon them. These collections, which were not always quite accurate, had only local validity.

The question of codification retained its importance at a later date because the principle was maintained that the natives were to be left in enjoyment of their own customary law. But as the liquid character of adat law is incompatible with codification and as its difficulty of adaptation to local conditions and changing times formed an impediment, the idea of codification has been abandoned. Recently the Colonial government has made the attempt to ascertain some of the principles of adat law in force in one juridical division (for the administration of justice the Dutch East Indies are divided into 20 divisions); this is intended to serve as a guide for the judges and substitution can easily be made as required in close contact with the living law.

*Bibliography:* C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, 2 vols., Batavia 1893—1894; English transl. by O'Sullivan, Batavia—Leyden 1906; C. van Vollenhoven, *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3 vols., Leyden 1918—1933 (with full indications of the sources; do., *De ontdekking van het adatrecht*, Leyden 1928; *Adatrechtbundel*, i.—xxxv., Hague 1910—1933 (being continued; vol. xvi. containing contributions to the Adatrecht of the Philippines); *Pandecten van het adatrecht*, vol. i.—ix., Amsterdam 1914—1931; in the *Pandecten* the information is collected under the various sections of Adat law: rights to landed property, water etc.; *Literatuurlijst voor het adatrecht van Indonesië*<sup>2</sup>, Hague 1927 (supplements appear regularly). — A dictionary of Adat (*Dictionnaire du droit coutumier de*

*l'Indonésie*) has been sent to press under the auspices of the Union académique internationale.

(R. A. KERN)

\***'ADĪ B. MUSĀFIR**, the saint of the Yazīdis [q.v.], born in Bait Fār near Ba'albek in Syria, died at the age of 90 in 555 or 557 (1160 or 1162) in Lālesh, where also is buried his nephew and successor **Shaiḫ Sakh̄r b. Sakh̄r b. Musāfir**, was the author of numerous works on the Muslim religion, which aroused no sort of objections on the part of orthodoxy, and was the founder of a Ṣūfī order, 'Adawiya (or Ṣoḥbetiye), which in course of time, as the mountain Kurds joined it, degenerated and is said to have become Yazidism.

As many abuses had developed among the successors of 'Adī (the Yazīdī pronunciation is usually *Hādī*), such as the abolition of prayer, the Kurds instigated by some fanatics, according to Maḳrīzī's account of the year 817 (1414) (*al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*), slew a number of followers of 'Adī, destroyed the tomb of **Shaiḫ 'Adī** in the village of **Shērāfīk** (Lālesh) and burned his bones. According to a statement taken by Ḥusnī from a manuscript of the Taimūr library, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' had already in 652 (1254) burned **Shaiḫ 'Adī**'s bones in 'Ain Sifnī, after capturing **Shams al-Dīn**, a descendant of **Shaiḫ 'Adī**, in 644 (1246) and executing him in Mōṣul.

An attempt was made, by assuming the existence of another 'Adī, to remove the difficulties created, especially for Muslim theologians, by this 'Adī being claimed for the Yazīdis. Nūrī suggested a Nestorian monk Adī, Edī-Thaddæus of the monastery of Alqōsh, who was said to have adopted Islām and to have appeared in the monastery in Lālesh as the founder of a new mixed sect. Barhebraeus in his story of the two sons of **Shaiḫ 'Adī**, who was regarded by the Kurds as a prophet, is obviously confusing two people.

It has also been suggested that **Shaiḫ 'Adī** is identical with Adde or Ade, a pupil of Manī, and he has been also associated with **Adhar**, the spirit of fire.

The Syriac record of a Nestorian monk Rāmīshō<sup>c</sup> of the year 1452 describes the life and work of a Kurd named 'Adī, whom he calls the founder of the sect but who seems only to have incidental connections with the Yazīdis. This was the son of the shepherd of the monastery of Alqōsh ('Ain Sifnī) of the Kurdish tribe of Tairahiti, who took advantage of the absence of the abbot on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to dispose of the monks and seize the monastery. The usurper was, it is true, executed in A.D. 1223 by the Mongols, who were then in **Khurāsān** under Tuman, the nephew of Činghiz Khān, on a complaint being laid by the abbot on his return, but his son again took possession of the monastery and continued the movement begun by his father. A contemporary of Rāmīshō's, the Archimandrite of Arbēla, **Īshō'yāb bar Mqad-dam**, also mentions the monastery being seized by a Muslim named 'Adī, a pupil of the abbot.

Ḥusnī's statement that the original name of the tribe and religion of the Yazīdis was Tarhāya and Tairāhiya respectively, connects them with Tairahiti; he makes them migrate from Persia to Ḥulwān in the 'Irāk until under **Shaiḫ 'Adī** and his successors their Zoroastrian doctrine found its way into the Muslim Yazīdiya order and assumed this remarkable form.

It would be premature to give a final verdict



yet. In any case, we must agree with the author of the *Wān Ta’rikhi* that the historical value of the religious views which have left their traces in the personality of Shaiḥ ‘Adī is to be given no less consideration than recorded traditions.

*Bibliography:* See the article YAZĪDĪ.  
(TH. MENZEL)

\*‘ADL. [See AL-MU‘TAZILA.]

AHL AL-‘ADL. [See AL-MU‘TAZILA.]

AHL AL-TAWHĪD. [See AL-MU‘TAZILA.]

\*AHL-I ḤAḤḤ, “men of God”, a secret religion found especially in Western Persia. If one wished to choose a name for the sect, Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ would seem to lack precision for it was in use, for example, among the Ḥurūfīs (cf. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hurūfī*, in *G.M.S.*, 1909, p. 40), and it resembles Ṣūfī terms like *Ahl-i Ḥaḥīqat* (this is also used by the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ). In the narrow sense however, Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ is the name actually given themselves by the followers of the religion described in the present article. The name ‘Alī-Ilāhī [q. v.] given them by their neighbours is not appropriate, for ‘Alī is not the central figure of the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ, and moreover the term ‘Alī-Ilāhī is also used in speaking of sects whose relationship with the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ is not yet proved; cf. the ‘Alī-Ilāhiya mentioned in the *Dabistān* of Shaiḥ Fānī (end of the xviii century), probably belonging to the country round the sources of the Indus; cf. Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 67 (54).

History of our knowledge of the sect. The earliest mentions of the true Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ are to be found in the European travellers of the beginning of the xixth century: Macdonald Kinnear, *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, p. 141; G. Keppel, *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England*, 1817, ii. 61 etc. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ) was the first to publish some reliable notes relative to the sect, *Notes on a March from Zohab*, in *J. R. G. S.*, ix., 1839, p. 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. Baron de Bode visited the sanctuary of Bābā-Yādegār, *Bibliotheka d’A İteniya*, St. Petersburg 1854, vol. 123, p. 45; cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, i. 371—378; ii. 180. The first general sketch of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ was given in his *Trois Ans en Asie* (Paris 1859, p. 338—370) by Comte de Gobineau, who was in direct touch with members of the sect in Teheran, cf. Schemann, in *Gobineau, une biographie*, Strassburg, i. 1913, p. 506 sq. and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse*, in *Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1, 1923, p. 116—127. A very interesting anonymous article (signed Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ of Tabriz appeared in the newspaper *Kavkaz*, Tiflis 1876, N<sup>o</sup>. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ (a *kalām* of 34 verses, the “Creed”) was published with important observations by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, ii., 1887, p. 1—25. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 the present writer had the good fortune to acquire in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ manuscript, dated 1259 (1843) containing a religious history of the sect (*Kitāb-i Sarandjām* “Book of Conclusion, or Accomplishment”) in Persian, as well as a number of *kalāms* in Turkish (transl. and ed. in Russian in 1911, cf. the *Bibl.*). The results of personal investigations

among the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ (Teheran, Tabriz, Mākū, Kurdistān) and of visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā Yādegār, Perdivar) have been given in the *Notes* published in French in 1920—1921. In the same work will also be found the translation of the Bāhā’ī polemical treatise directed against the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ which the late Dr. O. Mann made accessible to the writer (now in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, acc. MSS. 1904, N<sup>o</sup>. 30). Among unpublished materials collected since 1902 are many *kalāms* (in Gūrānī and Turkish) and the important exposition of the dogmas, *Firḡān al-akḥbār* (cf. below).

The only safe method is to describe the sect from genuine documents, using only as illustrations the statements contained in the records of travellers. The difficulty of this task lies on the one hand in the limited number of texts available (often in dialect and full of abstruse terms) and on the other in the fact of the existence of numerous sub-sects. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ has no canonical unity as a church and represents rather a confederation of affiliated movements; cf. the provisional list of these divisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 46 (33). In theory there are twelve *khānadān* or *silsila* (cf. below) but there are divisions outside of this list, like the Saiyid Djalālī: Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 48 (35), and the Tūmārī (a group which has diverged considerably!): Minorsky, *Études*, i. Gobineau’s sketch and the *Firḡān* reflect a more philosophic religious system than the simple stories of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātashbegī version). Gobineau, not without reason, found the beliefs of the Ātashbegī “assez terre-à-terre”. As however we are for the moment best acquainted with this division, the following exposition will be based mainly on Ātashbegī documents and will be afterwards supplemented by statements from the *Firḡān*, the author of which was a *Khāmūshī* (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: “to become incarnate” means “to come (to dwell) in a garment” (*libās, djāma, dūn* < Turk. \**don*).

Each time the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i ėār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the *Sarandjām* is given on the following page.

In pre-eternity (*azāl*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of *Khāwandagār*, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of ‘Alī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge which in the first epoch was the *sharī’a*, in the second the *ṭarīqa*, in the third the *ma’rifā*, and in the fourth the *ḥaḥīqa* “Real Truth”. The religion culminates in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk who is recognised by all the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ as the founder of their religion (cf. the article SULṬĀN IṢḤĀḤ; in a dervish word-list written in the xvth century, the word *صهاك* is given as the equivalent of *ṣūfī*; cf. Ivanow, *J. A. S. B.*, 1922, p. 375—383). On the other hand, several differences of opinion



regarding the successors of Sulṭān Ṣohāk are recorded. In the *Ātash-begī* list (cf. above) the last avatar is *Khān Ātash* (= *Ātash-Beg*).

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven "garments", the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable and *Salmān* is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk or *Benyāmīn* in the epoch of *Khāwandagār*. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by *Khāwandagār* from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjām*). According to another version, *Benyāmīn* was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; *Dāwūd* — from the breath (anger); *Mūsī* — from the moustache (pity); *Razbār* — from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: *Benyāmīn* is the deputy (*wakil*) and the *pir*; *Dāwūd* is the overseer (*nāzir*) and judge (?); *Pir Mūsī* is the *waṣīr* who records good and evil; *Muṣṭafā Dowdān* (= *Nuṣair*) is the Angel of Death.

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [251]). According to the *Firḡān* (i. 32, 35, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*zardagil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāh-khāk*), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases", while the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the *Ahl-i HaḤḤ* eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (*ihāṭa*) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *kalāms* which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment (*sān* "review") will be the plain of *Shahrizūr* [q. v.] or that of *Sulṭāniya* [q. v.] where the "sulṭāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firḡān*, i. 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation)

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. <i>Khāwandagār</i>	<i>Djibrā'il</i>	<i>Mikā'il</i>	<i>Isrāfil</i>	' <i>Azrā'il</i>	?
2. <i>Murtaḏā 'Alī</i>	<i>Salmān</i>	<i>Ḳanbar</i>	<i>Haḏrat-i</i> <i>Muḥammad</i>	<i>Nuṣair</i>	<i>Fāṭima</i>
3. <i>Shāh Khoshīn</i>	<i>Bābā Buzurg</i>	<i>Kākā Redā</i> ( <i>Riḏā</i> )	<i>Kore-Faḳī</i>	<i>Bābā Ṭāhir</i>	<i>Māmā Djalāla</i>
4. <i>Sulṭān Ṣohāk</i>	<i>Benyāmīn</i>	<i>Dāwūd</i>	<i>Pīr-i Mūsī</i>	<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>Dowdān</i>	<i>Khātūn Dāyira</i>
5. <i>Ḳirmīzī</i> ( <i>Shāh</i> <i>Wais Ḳulī</i> )	<i>Kāmaridjān</i>	<i>Yāridjān</i>	<i>Yārālī</i>	<i>Shāh Sawār</i> <i>Agha</i>	<i>Razbār</i>
6. <i>Mamad-beg</i>	<i>Djamshīd-beg</i>	<i>Almās-beg</i>	<i>Abdāl-beg</i>	?	<i>Parī-khān-i</i> <i>Shart</i>
7. <i>Khān Ātash</i>	<i>Khān Djamshīd</i>	<i>Khān Almās</i>	<i>Khān Abdāl</i>	?	<i>Dūstī Khānum</i>

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is *Razbār*, *Razbār* or *Ramzbār* ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in *Razbār* is not emphasised. One of the informants even alleges that *Razbār* is a hermaphrodite (*khunthā*). *Razbār* is the mystical name of *Khātūn Dāyira*, mother of *Sulṭān Ṣohāk* and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

On the other groups of hypostases cf. below, according to the *Firḡān*. The group of the *Čil-tan* is not typically *Ahl-i HaḤḤ* and a *kalām* asserts that these "Forty Persons" were created in the epoch of 'Alī. The legend of their meeting with the prophet *Muḥammad* collected from a high *Ahl-i HaḤḤ* authority (*Notes*, p. 27 [14]) corresponds exactly to that which M. Hartmann found among the Muslims of Chinese Turkestan (*M. S. O. S. As.*, 1905, p. 25—38).

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*ma'dūm*).

Rites. The *Ahl-i HaḤḤ* have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the *Ahl-i HaḤḤ* attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam* < *djamī*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalāms* are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhiḳr* [q. v.] are held. Specially qualified dervishes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadhṛ wa-niyās* (raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *khair wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firḡān*, i. 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*kurbānī-yi khūndār wa bi-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae

(*khutba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan*, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate", is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ has to be commended to a *pir*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar-sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*djawn-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *hawiza* bearing the *Shi'a* form of the profession of faith (*hawiza* from the *Shi'a* town of Hawiza in *Khūzistān*; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Mahār des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, iv., 1931, p. 48—93). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *Shaiḥ* to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the *pir*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*shart-i ikrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *ākḥ wa-ukht al-ākḥira* among the Yazidis [q. v.].

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazidis [q. v.]. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the *Ātash-begī* do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see my *Notes*. The rites are usually based on the precedents established in the epoch of *Khāwandagār* and especially in that of *Sultān Ṣohāk*. Thus the "commendation of the head" is inspired by the episode mentioned in the article *SULTĀN IṢHĀḤ*. The fast is intended to commemorate the death in the storm of the men called *ḡabaltāsān* who were endeavouring to join the King of the World (cf. *Notes*, p. 219 [91]). The sacrifice of the cock was instituted in commemoration of the death of the young Saiyid Iskandar who died of his own free will to expiate the sin of *Muṣṭafā* (*Notes*, p. 211 [91]). The fraternal unions seem to be based on the relations which had existed between *Razbār* and *Muṣṭafā Dowdān* (these two individuals are sometimes regarded as one).

*Firḡān al-Aḥḥbār*. The author of this treatise was *Ḥādjdjī Ni'mat-Allāh of Djaīhūn-abād* near *Dinawar* (1871—1920) who belonged to the *Khāmūshī* division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*Ḥaḡḡikat*). His son *Nūr 'Alī Shāh* (b. 1313 = 1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḡān* under the title of *Kashf al-Ḥaḡḡ'ik*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḡān* represents a tradition different from that of the *Ātash-begī* in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for *Khāwandagār* and *Sultān Ṣohāk* while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (*Bābā Nā'ūth*, etc.).

The *Firḡān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *Ḥaḡḡikat* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who

in the stage of "*Yā-yi Ḥaibāt*" became externalised in the garment of *Khāwandagār*. The law remained concealed till the coming of *Sultān Iṣhāk*. Then the *daftardārs* recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ community has no [single?] sacred book and its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ required a *Ḥutb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324 (1906) *Ni'mat Allāh*, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of *Pir Benyāmīn* (explained as *bin + yā + amīn* "faithful son of Yā"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardāsh-i dūn bi-dūn* = "going from one garment to another").

The figure "seven" always plays an important part in the *Firḡān*. Thus the "Four Angels" are usually presented as members of the Heptad or *Haft-tan* which is composed as follows: 1. *Benyāmīn* "the *pir* of the two worlds"; 2. *Dāwūd Kabūd-sawār*, explained as "horseman of the wind", who is the guide (*dalāl*) of all the faithful who have to pay him a contribution of 4 *shāhi* a head; 3. *Pir Mūsī*, the secretary and wazīr of *Sultān Ṣohāk*; 4. *Pir Raḡbār*, angel (*firīšta*) and mystery (*ramz*) of the Truth; 5. *Muṣṭafā Dāwūdān* (sic!), executioner, sipāhsālār and Angel of Death; 6. *Shāh Ibrāhīm Būza-sawār* ("horseman of the ice"), heir and lieutenant of *Sultān Ṣohāk*; he is also called *mālik-i ḡaiyār* "lord of the birds" and *shahbāz* "royal falcon"; 7. *Bābā Yādegār*, "memory of the Ḥaḥḥ"; his original name was *Eywat*; he is the intercessor on the day of the resurrection. The *Haft-tan* "belong to the other world". After the departure (*riḡla*) of *Sultān Ṣohāk* and the angels (*Benyāmīn*, *Dāwūd*, *Mūsī*, *Raḡbār* and *Muṣṭafā*), *Shāh Ibrāhīm* sat on the throne of sultānate and another Heptad, the *Haftwāna* (فتوانه), "who were the shirt of

the body of the *Haft-tan* near the court, succeeded (*djānishin*) to *Pir Benyāmīn*". Their names are: 1. Saiyid *Muḥammad*; 2. Saiyid *Abu 'l-Wafā*; 3. *Ḥādjdjī Bābā Ḥusain*; 4. *Mir*; 5. Saiyid *Muṣṭafā*; 6. *Shaiḥ Shihāb al-Dīn*; 7. *Shaiḥ Ḥabīb-Shāh*, "who is the avatar of *Khātūna Bashīra* and the mystery of the *Haftwāna*" although he is a man. On the other hand, the *Haftwāna* are the Seven Sleepers [cf. the article *AṢḤĀB AL-KAḤF*] whose dog has its avatar among the "10,000 *ghulāms*". The *Haftwāna* are the lords of this world "and the atoms of all the People of Light are these *Haftwāna*". When the world shall disappear (*fanā*), the existence of the *Haftwāna* shall also cease (*fanā*) and they shall unite in the *Haft-tan* "for at first they were one".

*Ni'mat Allāh* enumerates the eleven *khānadān* (families) according to which the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ are grouped. Five of them have as eponyms the members of the Heptad called *Haftwāna*: Saiyid *Muḥammad* (whose son was *Shāh Ibrāhīm*), Saiyid *Abu 'l-Wafā* (whose grandson was Saiyid *Khāmūsh*), Saiyid *Bābā Ḥusain*, *Ḥaḡrat-i Mīr*, Saiyid *Muṣṭafā*. The first two *khānadān* form a *dūda* (household) within which marriages are prohibited but its members may inter-marry with the members of the second *dūda* which consists of the three other *khānadān*. The other six *khānadān* are called after the *Shāh-mihmān* (persons in whom the Divinity took up his abode for a time): *Bābā Yādegār*, 'Alī *Kalāndar*, *Dhu 'l-Nūr* *Ḥalāndar*,



Shāh Wais-Kuli (= Kīrmīzī) whose successor became Ātash-beg, Bābā Haider and Shāh Hayās Thānī. The twelfth khānadān is that of the Lord of the Hour (*ṣāhib-zamān*) of whom it is not known "in which nation and in what religion he will arise".

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*sardā-gil* or *khāk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective sardārs are Benyāmīn and Saiyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective sardārs are Iblīs and Khannās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Mu'āwiyā, 'A'ishā, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

Finally a "system of weights" is expounded. God alone is the equivalent of a *man* (من) (which may be read *mann* [cf. the article BATMAN] and *man* in Persian "I"). The measure of the Haft-wānā + 72 pīrs = 80 mithkāl (of which 72 mithkāl are accounted for by the 72 pīrs and 8 by the 7 Haft-wānā + *dhāt-i Haḥḥ*) etc.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilkīs, the queen of Sabā, Mary, etc.; those of Saiyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad etc. Next we are given the history of Sultān Ishāk (Ṣohāk) and of his successors. A distinction is made between the complete incarnation (*bi-dhāt-i kūr*) which has already taken place in the persons of Khāwandagār (luminous advent) and of Sultān Ishāk (crystalline advent) and that which will take place at the end of the world (pearl advent, *gawharī*), and the other provisional manifestations, the transitory ones (*dhāt-i mihmān*). Lastly we have the detailed lists of the minor theophanies: the 7 sardārs, the 7 *qawālās*; the heptads of celebrants at the assemblies: *yasawul*, *khādīm*, water-carriers, *farrāsh*, musicians, etc.; the 40 *iltan* and the 72 *pīr*. There are further mentioned the group of 66 *ghulām*, the 99 *pīr-i Shāhū*, the 1,001 *ghulām-i khwādja-sifat*, the group of 10,000 *ghulām*, the 12 *khātūn*. The total number in this divine category is 11,355.

The third part relates to the personal experiences of Nī'mat Allāh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*safar-i uḡbā*), notably his mission to unite the *khānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az khiyānat pāk namūdan*) and to intercede (*shifā'at*) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*amr wa-nahy*), with the *Gūrānī* text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Haḥḥ are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kurdistan (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kirind) and in Ādharbāidjān (Tabriz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia). Little colonies of Ahl-i Haḥḥ are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamadḥān, Teherān, at Māzandarān, Fārs and even in Khorāsān, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of Khān

Ātash had gone). In the Irāk there are Ahl-i Haḥḥ among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaimāniya and probably at Mōshul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Haḥḥ and the sects popularly known under the name of 'Alī-Ilāhī or by contemptuous terms like *īrāgh-söndürān* ("extinguishers of lights"), *khurūs-kushān* ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. [cf. the articles BEK-TASH, DĀ'UD, KIZIL-BASH, SARLI, SHABBAK]. In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Haḥḥ preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the 'Alawī (Kizil-bash) of 'Aintāb; cf. Trowbridge, *The Alevis, in Harvard Theological Review*, 1909, ii. 340—355, reprinted in *M. W.*, July 1921, p. 253—266.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Haḥḥ possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarandjām*. [The author of the *Firkān*, i. 4, laments the discrepancies that have crept into the records (*daftar*) and the laws of Truth]. The epoch of Khāwandagār is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of 'Alī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme Shī'a. The epoch of Khoshīn is placed in a typically Lur [q. v.] environment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristān. One of the angels of Khoshīn is Bābā Tāhir [q. v.] whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Gūrān close to the river Sirwān. The sayings attributed to Sultān Ṣohāk are in Gūrānī which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Haḥḥ (cf. the *Firkān*, i. 3). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bābā-Yādegār and Perdiwer, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Ādharbāidjān and the *kalāms* relating to these epochs are in "Āzari Turkish". From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristān — land of the Gūrān — Ādharbāidjān.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. Khān-Ātash, born at Adjari (north of Marāgha) and buried in the village of Ātash-beg in the district of Haṣṭa-rūd, north-east of Mount Sahand, is said to have lived at the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century (*Notes*, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants of whom the seventh was called Saiyid 'Abd al-'Azīm Mirzā (Aghā-bakhsh) and lived at Garra-bān (also called: Dorū) in the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisūtūn [q. v.], where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ḥasan Mirzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī is significant [cf. the article KHATĀT]; the *kalām* known as *Kuṭb-nāma*, calls Shāh Ismā'īl the "pīr of Turkistān" (= Ādharbāidjān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Haḥḥ doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Kara-Ḳoyunlu [q. v.] rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū [q. v.] are Ahl-i Haḥḥ. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Kara-Ḳoyunlu in the region of Gandja live in the close neighbourhood of the G'ōran (< Gū-



rān!). It should be noted that *Djahānshāh* (1437-1467), who is a terrible heretic in Sunnī eyes, is known among his adherents as *sulṭān al-ʿarīfīn* "king of the gnostics". *Shāh Ibrāhīm*, whom many of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ regard as the successor of *Sulṭān Ṣohāk*, and who lived in Baghdād and whose acolyte angel was *Kuṣṭī-oghli* (author of the Turkish *kalāms*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i HaḲḲ teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before *Shāh Ibrāhīm* the famous *Sulṭān Ṣohāk* who (outwardly) was the son of *Shaiḵh ʿIsi* and *Khātūn Dāyira*, daughter of *Hasan Beg Djald*, chief of the tribe of *Djāf-i Murād*. His real name is said to have been *Saiyid ʿAbd al-Saiyid*. *Barzindja*, north of *Sulaimāniya* [q.v.], is said to have been his birthplace. The *Kākāʾī* chiefs of *Taʿūk* claim to be his direct descendants. *Shaiḵh Maḥmūd*, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistan" [cf. the article *KURDS*], claimed to be descended from the brother of *Sulṭān Ṣohāk* in the twelfth generation. His genealogical table which is known does not allow us to put *Sulṭān Ṣohāk* further back than the xvth century (personal information from C. J. Edmonds).

The only definite indication of *Bābā Khoshīn*'s date would be his association with the poet *Bābā Ṭāhir* (xith century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find *Shīʿa* extremism. It should be noted that the Ahl-i HaḲḲ always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with *Ismāʿilism*. According to the *Firḡān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the two *djuz*' which were suppressed in the received text of the *Qurʾān* but in fact the Ahl-i HaḲḲ deviate from the orthodox *Shīʿa* to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ has in common with those of the *Druzes* and the *Nūsairis* the worship of 'Alī but 'Alī is completely overshadowed by *Sulṭān Ṣohāk*.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ is the rites of the *Ṣūfī* dervishes: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *dhiḵer* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, dervishes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the *sulṭāns*" will be punished (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i HaḲḲ. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea, like the belief in the purification of the "Luminous" in the course of their transmigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in *Ismāʿilism*. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of

the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (*Dāwūd*, *Mūsā*) may have come through the intermediary of the *Qurʾān*. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i HaḲḲ in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the *Qurʾān*, the Ahl-i HaḲḲ regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known dervish practices (e.g. the *Bektashī*). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. V. Ivanow has called attention to the name of *Malak Ṭāʿūs* [cf. *YAZIDĪS*] in a fragment containing traditions, found at *Shirāz*.

*Bibliography*: See the beginning of the article. V. Minorsky, *Materialʹ dl'a izučeniya persidskoy sektʹi "L'udi Istini" ili "Ali Ilahi"* (in Russian with a French résumé), Moscow 1911, publ. as fasc. xxxiii. of the *Trudʹi po vostokovedeniyu izdavyemye Lazarevskim Institutom*; do., *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Haqq*, in *R.M.M.*, vol. xl, 1920, p. 20-97 [p. 61-84: detailed bibliography of 54 items], and vol. xlv., 1921, p. 205-302 (also separately published with some additions), review by F. Cumont, in *Syria*, 1922, iii. 262; V. Minorsky, *Un traité de polémique Béhai-Ahl-i-Haqq*, in *J. A.*, 1921, p. 165-167; do., *Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, I. "Toumarī" = *Ahl-i Haqq*, in *R.H.R.*, xcvi., 1928, p. 90-105; Dr. Saeed Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, in *M.W.*, xvii., 1927, p. 31-42; Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *Izv. Obščestva izučeniya Azerbaydžana*, Bakou 1927, 33 pages; Adjarian, *Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia*, in English in the Bulletin of the University of Erivan, French transl. by F. Macler, *Une religion nouvelle. Les Toumaris*, in *R.H.R.*, 1926, p. 294-307; F. M. Stead, *The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia*, in *M.W.*, 1932, p. 184-189. (V. MINORSKY)

**AHLI-WARIS**, in general use among the Muḥammadan peoples of Indonesia with the meaning of Arabic *wārith*. The word is taken from the Persian usage and has reached the East Indian archipelago via India.

*Bibliography*: Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Over de herkomst van enkele Arabische bastaardwoorden in het Maleisch*, in *T.B.G.*, xlvii. 189 sqq.

(R. A. KERN)

**AḤMAD B. KHIḌR**. [See *QARAKHĀNIDS*.]

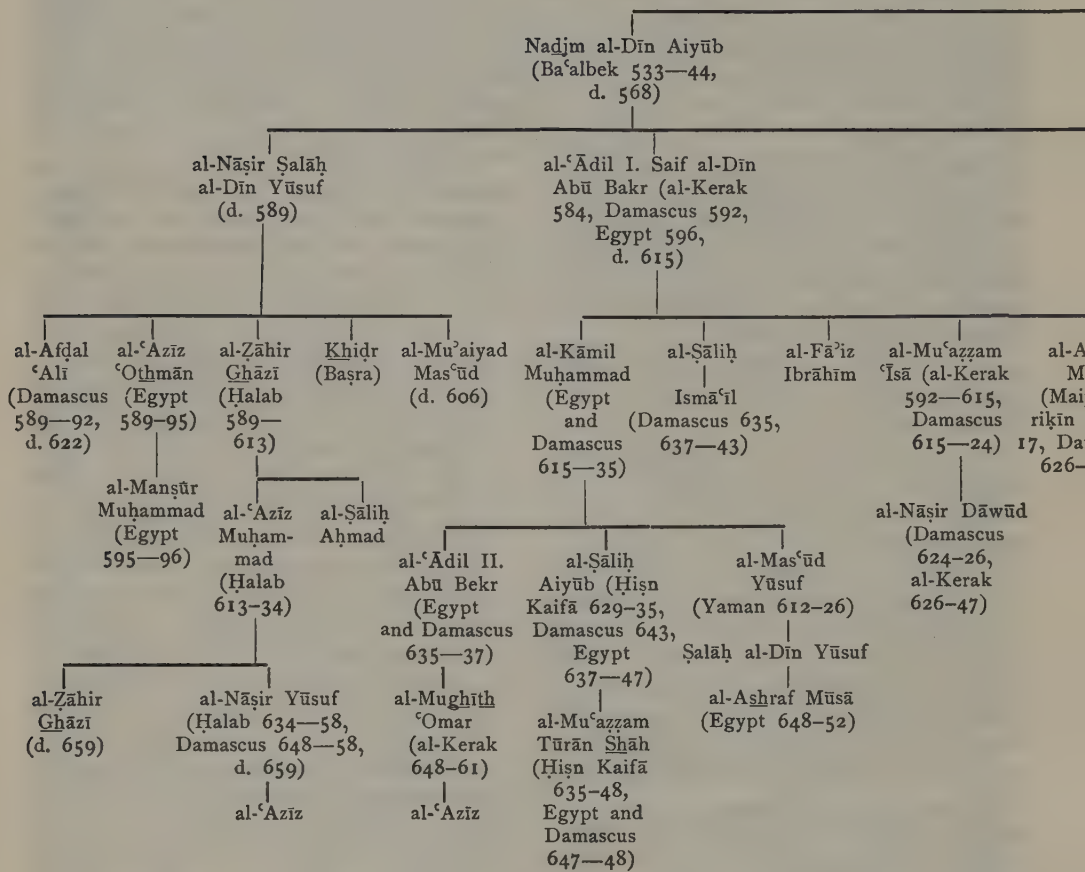
**AḤMADĪL**. [See *MARĀĠHA*, iii. 263a.]

\***AIDHĀB**. The ruins of 'Aidhāb have now been discovered and investigated by G. W. Murray. They lie on a flat and waterless mound on the coast, at 22° 20' N., 36° 29' E., twelve miles to the north of Halayb. The town was destroyed in 1422.

*Bibliography*: *Geographical Journal*, lxviii. 1926<sup>2</sup>, p. 235-240.

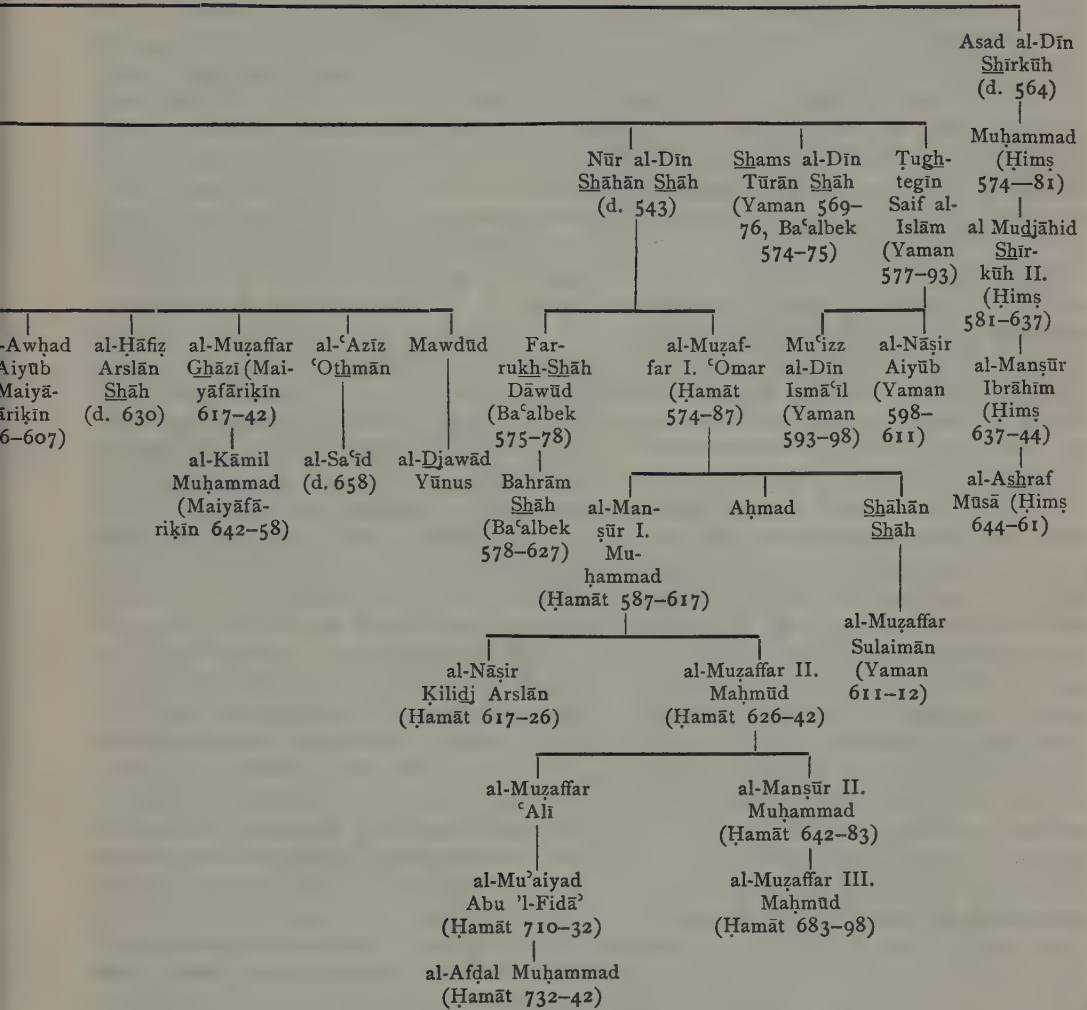
\***'AIN** (A.) and its opposite *ghair* or *ghairiya* are used to designate the Platonic categories of the identical (*ταυτόν*) and the different (*σάτερον*) [cf. *ANNIYA*]. Weakening the conception of identity, one talks with reference to particular things of *ishtirāk* or *ittifāk* (similarity, agreement) as well as of *iftirāk* (difference). On the Aristotelian conception of these "categories" in Book v. of the *Metaphysics* cf. S. van den Bergh,

## GENEALOGICAL



*Bibliography:* Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*; Khalil Edhem, *Düvel-i islâmîye*; cf. also Süsseim, dans *O. L. Z.*, 1928, p. 388 sqq. and 1930, p. 252 sqq.

## ān





*Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leyden 1914, p. 18 sqq., 168 sq. (ταυρά, έρεπα etc.).

The "Theology of Aristotle" (ed. Dieterici, p. 108 sqq.) speaks of the *huwāya* of the *ʿaql*, which in spite of the motion of its thinking remains unalterably identical with itself (*huwa huwa bi-ʿainihi*). *ʿAin* can be used absolutely in place of *shaiʿ* *bi-ʿainihi* (syn. *bi-dhātihī*, *bi-naṣīhi*). This explains why to designate the identical *al-ʿain* is sometimes used and sometimes *al-huwa huwa*.

God alone is *ʿain* in the absolute sense (*Rasāʿil* of the *Iḥkwan al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay, iii. 544 sq. and the mystic, see Nicholson, *Studies*, index). But in all beings and things there is something of *ʿain*. Hence the different signification of *ʿain* (plur. *ʿayān*). According to Platonic and neo-Platonic linguistic usage, by things themselves (*ʿayān*) ideas are meant, as they exist permanently by multiplication in the divine being and emanate upon the *ʿaql*.

They possess intellectual actuality, i. e. reality (*ṣūra* and *maʿnā* are also used in this sense); thus for example Ghazālī in his *Ilāḍām al-ʿAwāmm ʿan ʿIlm al-Kalām*, p. 32 sqq. where he explains that everything has a fourfold being (*wudjūd*): 1. *fi ʿl-ʿayān*, 2. *fi ʿl-adhḥān*, 3. *fi ʿl-lisān* 4. *fi ʿl-bayāq al-makṭūb*. The *Qurʾān* is thus in intellectual reality the eternal word of God, but has an existence different from this in our conception (2), in reading (3) and in writing (4) (cf. the beginning of the *Hermeneutics* ascribed to Aristotle).

As to the material world *ʿain* is referred first of all to the species (*ḍjins*) or kind (*naʿw*), not to the individual (*shakhs*, *fard* etc.). This *ism ʿain* [cf. the article *ISM*] means man in general, not a particular individual. By *fard ʿain* (*ʿala ʿl-ʿain*, *ʿala ʿl-ʿayān*) is meant primarily the general obligation of all Muslims. What holds for the generality naturally holds for the individuals (*ʿayān*).

*ʿAin* has now the meaning of the true nature of a thing. In the oldest Arabic version of the works of Porphyry and Aristotle on logic (Introduction, categories, Hermeneutics, in part Analytics), Aristotle's chief category (*οὐσία* = true nature of a thing) is translated by *ʿain*. Later translations and the philosophers in the narrower sense used for this the Persian word *ḍjawhar*. But with some sects, theologians and mystics *ʿain* is still found as a synonym for *ḍjawhar*. (The oldest translation or version was till recently ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḥaffaʿ; even in the *Mafāṭih al-ʿUlūm* [ed. v. Vloten, p. 143] it was noted that he used *ʿain* instead of *ḍjawhar*. According to a quite recent article by P. Kraus [Zu Ibn al-Muḥaffaʿ, in *R.S.O.*, xiv., 1933, p. 1—20], it was not ʿAbd Allāh but his son Muḥammad who prepared this version in the time of al-Maʿmūn).

*Ain* has another opposite besides *ghair*, namely *dhīhn* (plur. *adhḥān*). Under the influence of the Stoics, according to whom things have no proper reality, many *mutakallimūn* have very strongly emphasised the difference between things in reality (*fi ʿl-ʿayān*) and in thought (*fi ʿl-adhḥān*). Thoughts, especially with reference to the relations of things, are said to be merely subjective. Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut* (cf. Bouyges, index) emphasises this nominalism when he uses the expressions *fi ʿl-adhḥān* for that which has no being and is only a philosophical conception. Ibn Rushd (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, index) replies to him

by exchanging the roles; in the *adhḥān* the reality of the universal being is actual, in the *ʿayān*, i. e. in the individual things, it is only potential.

*Bibliography*: Cf. S. Horovitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalām*, Breslau 1909; cf. also the articles ALLĀH, KALĀM and MANTĪQ.

(TJ. DE BOER)

ʿĀISHA AL-MANNŪBĪYA. [See AL-MANNŪBĪYA.]

\*AIYŪBIDS. [Table see p. 14—15.]

AKĀ RIDĀ. [See RIDĀ.]

AKĀ RIZĀʾI. [See RIZĀʾI.]

\*ĀLAM (A., pl. *ʿālamūn*, *ʿarwālim*), world; the word is found as early as the *Qurʾān*, where in borrowed formulae we have references to the *rabb al-ʿālamīn* and the seven *samawāt*.

Allāh is its lord and creator who has created it for man as a sign of his omnipotence. This transitory world (*dunyā*) is of little value — "not worth the wing of a midge" is the traditional expression — in comparison with the next (*ākḥira*). We are told very little about the structure of the world [cf. the article *KHĀLK*]; the subjects of interest, in the *Qurʾān* as well as in Tradition, are God, the spirit world and man.

This became altered as Islām took over the inheritance of Hellenistic eclecticism and especially through the translation of Indian and Greek works on science and philosophy. The huge figures with which the Hindus operated were, it is true, ridiculed, nor were the fables of the ancient Greeks about an endless plurality of worlds beside or in succession to one another, believed nor, from the theological point of view at least, was the belief in the eternity of the world accepted; on the whole however, the picture of the world as given by Greek science was accepted. The teaching of Plato and Aristotle that there is only one universe was naturally easy to reconcile with the monotheism of Islām; cf. *Sūra* xxi. 22: "If there were in these two worlds gods in addition to Allāh, both (heaven and earth) would perish".

On the scientific development of the cosmogonic teaching of Aristotle and Ptolemy in Islām, see the articles *ASTROLOGY* and *ASTRONOMY* and the article *SUN, MOON AND STARS* in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics* (all three by C. A. Nallino). Here we must confine ourselves to the speculations of the theologians and philosophers regarding the origin and nature of the world in relation to the existence of God and man. They are mainly based on Plato's *Timaios* or Aristotle's *Περὶ οὐρανοῦ* and Book A of his *Metaphysics* and also on the commentaries of Simplicius and Johannes Philoponos. Of the greatest importance for the Islāmic elaboration of the Greek philosophy we have the neo-Platonic "Theology of Aristotle" and to some extent the tradition of Christian dogmatics. In reference to Aristotle's work *Περὶ οὐρανοῦ* ("On the Universe"), it should be noted that according to Hellenistic tradition the title of the Arabic tradition is *fi ʿl-Samāʾ wa ʿl-Ālam* ("On Heaven and the World"). August Müller (*Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873, p. 51) therefore suggested that the Arab translators of the Aristotelian work had added to it the *Περὶ κόσμου* which is three hundred years later and influenced by the Stoics. But so far no translation of this work ascribed to Aristotle has been found.

All Muslim thinkers asserted that God is the author of the world although they used different expressions for the coming into existence of the world in distinction to the existence of God: creation out of nothing, emanation (*faiḍ*) or manifestation (*taḍjallī*). The image most used, whether emanation or manifestation was talked of, was that of light (*nūr*) which disseminates itself timelessly.

In general the theologian who adhered to tradition said that the reason for the world was the all-powerful will of God. Muṭʿazilī thinkers laid more emphasis on the benevolent wisdom of the Creator, who orders everything well for the good of his servants. Mystics talked a great deal about the overflow of divine love; finally the philosophers in the narrower sense, as well as a few speculative theologians, regarded the world as the product of pure thought, in itself accidental, but necessary on God's part.

The world forms a whole, a unity in plurality. Even the atomist theologians, who denied any interconnection in nature, were of the opinion that no part of the world but only the whole could be destroyed at once by an act or an omission of God.

The world is a plurality. The traditional distinctions between heaven and earth or between this world and the next continued. But Hellenistic mediatorial theories complicated this originally simple universe. From Plato came the distinction between the visible world of beings (*κόσμος ὁρατός*) and the spiritual intelligible world (*κόσμος νοητός*). Aristotle rather emphasised the distinction between our earthly world of origin and decline (*ʿālam al-kawm wa-l-fasād*) and the world of the heavenly spheres. The world of heaven controlled by exalted spirits or souls, consisting of one element entirely, the ether, and provided from eternity with the most beautiful motion revolving in a circle, is far more perfect than the earthly world with its four elementary circles and motions of various kinds. Then came the Stoics who brought God and the world together and worked out a theodicy. Finally came the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, who took over a great deal from Aristotle and the Stoics, but with Plato, and much more decidedly than he, transferred the central point into the world of God and of pure spirit existence.

This is the starting point of the cosmological speculations of the Muslim thinkers just as it was for the Gnosis and the doctrine of the Eastern Christian church. Since God is the highest being and everything in the most exalted sense, so also is He the first world. The mystics in Islām (cf. Djili, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, ch. I sqq. and Horten, *Das philosophische System von Schirāzī*, Strassburg 1913, p. 36, 276 sq.) in so far as they were influenced by Christian dogmatics, ultimately talked of five worlds: 1. the world of the divine being; 2. of His names; 3. of His qualities; 4. of His actions; 5. of His works. Others established mediation between God and the world by triads and tetrads. Emphasis on three qualities of God was very common: power, knowledge, and life (in speculation these were no doubt interpreted as the power of the Creator, the knowledge of the *ʿaql* and the life of the soul). God's spheres of activity in the world were determined according to his qualities. When for example al-Ghazālī speaks of three worlds (*ʿālam al-mulk, al-malakūt,*

*al-djabarūt*), this looks like a triad for the spheres of the Creator's power (for Ghazālī's immediate sources see Wensinck [bibl.]).

To distinguish three or four worlds the philosophers as a rule used the neo-Platonic terminology from the "Theology of Aristotle": the world of the mind (*ʿaql*), of the soul (*nafs*) and of nature (*ṭabīʿa*). The soul of man is there the centre of interest which, although associated with a mortal body, remains, in so far as it is intelligent, always associated with the highest world, its origin and the goal of its longing, through the mediation of the world soul and the world intelligence. From the point of view of this soul, only two worlds are as a rule mentioned: the physical and the spiritual, the lower and the upper world. If it is desired to define more closely the sphere ruled by the soul it is called the world of the heavenly spheres and its site (*uṣṭ*) is transferred to the sphere of the fixed stars. The world of pure intellectual being has a superheavenly site (*al-uṣṭ al-aʿlā*) and nature has its special sphere of operation in the sub-lunary world.

It is not possible here to go into the modifications of this cosmogony in the different philosophers. The main object in all cases is to indicate the different stages of being and parallel with them the stages of cognition. The world is a man on a large scale and man a little world. Now man is made up of a natural body, a conceiving soul and a pure intelligence. The sub-lunary world is therefore also called the world of sensual perception (*shahāda, ḥiss*); the world of the heavenly spheres that of allegorical conception (*wahm, takhayyul*), if we assume, e.g. with Ibn Sina that the souls of the spheres possess a power of imagining (Ibn Ruṣṣd denies this); and the super-heavenly world that of pure thought or of intellectual observation (*ʿaql, naẓar* etc.).

Of the great deal that could still be said let us only emphasise one thing in conclusion, that is the optimism of the philosophers, who with the Stoics regard this beautiful world as the best possible and with Plato and Aristotle they make it last for ever. Fārābī, for example ("Model-State", Arab. text ed. Dieterici, p. 17), sees in the general order of the universe God's goodness and justice. According to the general philosophical view, evil and wickedness are only imperfections without real existence. Even the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* although they call the physical world a hell for fools and a purgatory for the wise, are quite aware of the amenities of this world and appreciate the splendid life of its kings. The mystics also can be optimistic: everything comes from God and returns to Him. All thus endeavour to regard the relatively better as allied to the absolutely good.

*Bibliography*: in the text, cf. also: D. B. Macdonald, *The Life of al-Ghazālī*, in *J.A.O. S.*, xx., 1899, esp. p. 116 sqq.; Tj. de Boer, *The Moslem Doctrines of Creation*, in *Proceed. of the 6th Internat. Congr. of Philosophy*, New York 1927, p. 597 sqq.; *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, ed. S. v. d. Bergh, Leyden 1924, chap. iv. — Cf. now A. J. Wensinck, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism* (in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, vol. lxxv., ser. A, N<sup>o</sup>. 6, 1933) and also the articles *ḌĀBARŪT*, *GHĀIB*.

(Tj. DE BOER)

\***ALF LAILA WA-LAILA**, or, more exactly, "The Book of a thousand nights and a night" appeared first in Europe in the French translation



by Antoine Galland (1646—1715), *Les Mille et Une Nuits* (12 vols., Paris 1704—1717). By 1706 seven vols. had appeared; vol. viii. in 1709; vols. ix. and x. in 1712; vols. xi. and xii. in 1717, two years after Galland's death. This slowness in appearance of the later vols. is significant for Galland's difficulties as to material and also for his indifference as to this side of his work as a scholar. He was a born story-teller; he had a flair for a good story and a knack to re-tell it well. Hence the success of his "Nights". But he was also fortunate in the material which fell into his hands. He began by translating Sindbad the Sailor from an unidentified MS.; then learned that this was part of a great collection of stories called "The Thousand and One Nights"; then had the almost incredible luck that there were sent to him from Syria four vols. of a MS. of that work which is still the oldest known and contains the best surviving text. The first three of these are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the fourth is lost. In the first seven vols. of his translation he exhausted his three vols. of Arabic text which we still have and added Sindbad and Camaralzaman from unidentified MSS. Then, for lack of material, he stopped for three years until his publisher forced his hand by issuing, without authority, vol. viii. containing Ganem, translated by Galland from an unidentified MS., and two stories, Zeyn Alasnam and Codadad, translated by Pétis de la Croix and intended for his *Mille et un jour*. Again Galland was completely out of material and stopped; he was also tired and disgusted with the whole matter. But in 1709 he met a certain Maronite from Aleppo, Hanna, brought to Paris by the traveller Paul Lucas, and at once recognized that he had got an oral source of the best story material. Hanna told him stories in Arabic and Galland inserted in his *Journal* abstracts of some of these. But Hanna also gave him transcripts of some. In this way Galland's last four vols. were filled out; his *Journal* gives full details. Hanna's transcripts have vanished, but two Arabic MSS. of Aladdin have since come to light and one of Ali Baba. This, then, is the origin of the book which made the Nights known to Europe and which in the French text and in very many translations from the French is still the Arabian Nights for the great multitude of readers. For details see Hermann Zotenberg, *Histoire d'Alâ al-Din ou La Lampe Merveilleuse*, Paris 1888 = *N. E.*, Paris 1887, xxviii., i., p. 167—320. This contains also a fundamental study of certain MSS. of the Nights and of the entries in Galland's *Journal*. See, also, Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie arabe*, part iv., Liège 1900, and D. B. Macdonald, *A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe*, in *The Library Quarterly*, vol. ii., No. 4, Oct. 1932, p. 387—420.

For more than a century Galland's French version meant the Nights for Europe and it was exceedingly fortunate that both his sources, MS. and oral, were of such excellent quality. But meanwhile other MSS., more or less connected with the Nights, were being brought to light and, from these, various supplements to Galland were translated and published. Just as the MSS. of the Nights themselves varied enormously as to the stories which they contained so those translators were prepared to attach to the Nights any story that existed in Arabic. The whole subject, for lack of

a definite basis and a Vulgate text, was involved in uncertainty and semi-fraud. The following supplements, partly separate and partly attached to editions of Galland, are of importance in themselves and as signs of the interests of their times. For further details on all of them Chauvin should be consulted, part iv., p. 82—120.

In 1788 there appeared as a supplement to the *Cabinet des Fées*, vols. 38—41, a series of tales translated from the Arabic, with the assistance for French style of Cazotte, by Denis Chavis, a Syrian priest brought from Rome to Paris by Baron de Breteuil on behalf of the French government. To this Chavis we owe also one of the two MSS. of the Story of Aladdin. It is significant for the interest at the time in the whole subject of the Nights that there appeared, 1792—1794, three separate English translations of this supplement by Chavis and Cazotte. In 1795 William Beloe published in the third vol. of his *Miscellanies* some Arabic stories which had been translated for him orally by Patrick Russell, the author of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794). In 1800 Jonathan Scott translated in his *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters* certain stories from the MS. of the Nights brought from India by James Anderson. In 1797—1798 in the *Oriental Collections* of William Ouseley he had already given considerable quotations from this MS., and in 1811 to his edition of an English version of Galland he added a sixth vol. of new stories from the Wortley Montague MS. But in 1806 Caussin de Perceval had already added two vols. of supplement (vols. 8 and 9) to his edition of Galland. In them he gave a more exact translation from the MS. of Chavis of the tales that Cazotte had embellished. But Edouard Gauttier in his professed edition of Galland (1822—1823) went much further. Besides vols. vi. and vii. of new tales drawn from all manner of sources he freely inserted others in the course of Galland's Nights. Von Hammer in his supplement had a much firmer foundation and used a real recension of the Nights. He had acquired in Egypt a MS. of the recension now known as Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension [hereafter ZER], which through numerous editions has become the Vulgate text of the Nights. From it he translated into French a number of stories not in Galland. But his French version is lost and we have, descended from it, a German version by Zinserling (3 vols. 1823), an English from Zinserling by Lamb (3 vols., 1826) and a French also from Zinserling by Trébutien (3 vols., 1828). In 1825 Habicht published at Breslau 15 volumes professing to be a new translation but consisting really of Galland with various supplements from Caussin, Gauttier and Scott and an ending from a so-called Tunisian MS. In the same year Habicht began to publish his Arabic text of which more below. This text gave Weil a basis from which to begin his new translation from the Arabic (4 vols., 1837—1841). But the slowness with which Habicht's text appeared and difficulties with his publisher compelled Weil to fill out from Galland; he used also materials in Gotha MSS. Only with his third edition (1866—1867) based on Habicht and the Bülak printed text was he finally satisfied.

Meantime there had been much and sometimes acrimonious discussion of the origin and literary history of the Nights. A. W. Von Schlegel, as a Sanscritist, maintained an Indian origin. That issue



is now dead, for it has been recognized that the stories in the Nights, apart from world-wide folklore motifs, are of Arabic and Persian origin. Only the Frame-work story has been definitely traced back to the storiology of Farther India by Em. Cosquin (*Revue Biblique*, Jan.-April 1909) and by J. Przyluski (*J. A.*, 1924, p. 101—137). It passed into Persian national legend, affected the Book of Esther and became the Frame-work story of a Persian Nights. Another independent form of the same story passed through North Africa and became the Frame of an Arabic collection called *The Hundred and One Nights* (Gaufrey-Demombynes, *Les Cent et Une Nuits*, Paris, no date; with a valuable storiological introduction). For further details on the above see the present writer's *Earlier History of the Arabian Nights*, in *J. R. A. S.*, for July, 1924, p. 355 sqq. But the principal parts in those early discussions were taken by De Sacy and Von Hammer. De Sacy was not fortunate in his positions. He was so deeply impressed by the stamp of mediæval Egypt in the MSS. which had come under his notice that his mind was not open to the long antecedent history of the Nights, reaching back into Persia. He thus practically contributed nothing. Von Hammer, on the other hand, brought to light the two most important passages bearing on that earlier history, by Mas'ûdi in his *Murûdj al-Dhahab* (Paris ed., iv. 59 sq.) and in the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. 304 sqq.). For bibliographical details on these earlier controversies see Chauvin, part iv., p. 1 sqq.

Publication of the Arabic text had also begun both in Europe and in the East. William Jones, then at Oxford, had procured from a learned friend at Aleppo an incomplete MS., now lost but evidently closely akin to that of Galland, and portions from it were printed by John Richardson in his *Arabic Grammar* (1776); a complete edition was projected by Joseph White and a specimen printed (Schnurrer, *Bibl. Arabica*, p. 487, No. 420). Another MS. in two vols., incomplete but also of the Galland recension and of about the same extent, was brought by Patrick Russell from Aleppo; the first vol. of this is now in the John Rylands Library. He had described the status of the Nights in Aleppo in his *Natural History of Aleppo*, 1794, and he contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 1799 a long letter describing his MS. For two years before there had been correspondence in that magazine on the general subject.

Mention of the Patrick Russell MS. leads naturally to the first attempt at an edition of the Nights in Arabic. For there can be no question that what is called "The First Calcutta Edition" or "The Calcutta Edition of the first 200 Nights" (Calcutta, 2 vols., 1814, 1818; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., lithographed, Calcutta 1829) is derived, if indirectly and with much editing, from this MS.; on the exceedingly complicated problem of its origin see the present writer's *Classification of some MSS. of the Arabian Nights* in the E. G. Browne Volume, p. 307 and 313 sq. In part this edition is derived from L. Langles, *Les Voyages des Sind-Badh le Marin et la Ruse des Femmes*, printed by him as an appendix to Savary's *Grammaire de la Langue arabe* (Paris 1813) and separately in 1814. This 1<sup>st</sup> Calcutta edition was translated into Danish by J. L. Rasmussen (4 vols., Copenhagen 1824). The next attempt at an Arabic Nights was made by Maximilian Habicht in his Breslau edition (8 vols., 1825—

1838; continued by Fleischer, 4 vols., 1842—1843). Of this edition it is difficult to speak with patience, for Habicht wilfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights. On his titlepage he put: "Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis" and he had no Tunisian MS.; nor is there any evidence that a Tunisian recension of the Nights ever existed. Out of many stories in Arabic which had come to him from many sources he constructed a new recension of the Nights much in the same way that he had constructed his translation described above. The best that can be said for him is that he gave his MSS. verbatim without any attempt at correction. His texts are therefore vulgar in the exact sense. Almost all other texts have been grammatically and lexicographically "improved" by learned *shaiḥs*. The best texts in his recension are derived, but indirectly, from the Galland MS. For details see the present writer's article on Habicht's Recension in *J. R. A. S.*, for July 1909, p. 685—704, and *Classification*, cited above, p. 314—317.

All other Arabic texts of the Nights belong to the quite modern Egyptian recension which it is the great merit of Zotenberg to have identified in its MS. form. Zotenberg reached his conclusion through an examination of the extant and accessible MSS. But there is also external evidence for this modern Egyptian recension. In July 1807, Seetzen, then in Cairo, recorded in his diary (*Reisen*, iii. 188) that Asselin had discovered that the MSS. of the Nights current in Egypt were a compilation by a certain *shaiḥ* who died about 26 years before and for whose name Seetzen unfortunately left only a blank in his diary; that the original collection as it reached this *shaiḥ* consisted of about 200 Nights and that he combined the rest out of separate, already known, stories; that Asselin proposed to write a "Dissertation" on this recension. Zotenberg makes no reference to this entry by Seetzen and Asselin apparently did not write his article, but we have here a brilliant confirmation of Zotenberg's hypothesis. And this is exactly what, on the evidence of the MSS., has happened again and again. On this see further below. Z(otenberg's) E(gyptian) R(ecension) may therefore be taken as assured. For the method of this unknown *shaiḥ* in dealing with the number and length of the Nights see the present writer's *Classification*, p. 320 sq.

The first of the editions of ZER is commonly called "The First Būlāk edition" and appeared 1251 (1835). The Second Būlāk edition appeared in 1279. These have had a multitude of Oriental descendants and have fixed the Vulgate text of the Nights. The Jesuit Press at Bairūt has produced an independent but expurgated edition from another MS. of the same recension (5 vols., 1888—1890). A MS. of ZER was carried to India and edited there by W. H. Macnaghten (4 vols., Calcutta 1839—1842). This is commonly called "The 2<sup>nd</sup> Calcutta" or "The complete Calcutta edition". The text in the first vol. has been expanded from the Breslau and from the 1<sup>st</sup> Calcutta edition. There is a lithographed reprint, Bombay, 4 vols., 1297.

From ZER have been made all the more modern western translations. The partial translation by Von Hammer into French, described above, was made from a MS. of this recension bought in Egypt. This was at the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Von Hammer gives details on

the discovery of his and other MSS. in his *Vorbericht* to Zinslerling's German translation (Stuttgart and Tübingen 1823). It is plain that quite a number of practically identical copies of ZER were on the market in Egypt at this time. A very different translation into English from the Macnaghten edition was begun by Henry Torrens. The one volume which appeared (Calcutta and London 1838; preface dated "Simla, in the Himalayas, July 31, 1838") of the first 50 Nights only, is the first attempt since Galland to render the Nights as literature. The announcement of Lane's translation prevented Torrens going further with his; but John Payne has written that he would not have attempted his own if that of Torrens had been completed. Lane's translation, incomplete but with a very valuable and full commentary, began to appear in parts in 1839 and was finished in 1841. It was made from the first Būlāk edition of 1835 with some reference to the Breslau edition. Payne's translation from the Macnaghten edition, complete and privately printed, appeared in 9 vols. 1882—1884. Three additional vols. contained tales in the Breslau and 1<sup>st</sup> Calcutta editions (1884) and a 13<sup>th</sup> vol. (1889) contains Aladdin and Zain al-Asnam. Since Payne's death in 1916 there have been a number of complete reprints. The translation by Sir Richard Burton, also from the Macnaghten edition, is very largely dependent upon that of Payne and often reproduces Payne verbatim (10 vols., 1885; 6 supplemental vols., 1886—1888). Besides the Smithers edition (12 vols., 1894) and Lady Burton's edition (6 vols., 1886—1888) it has been completely reprinted several times. On the strange relation between the versions of Payne and of Burton see Thomas Wright, *Life of Sir Richard Burton* (2 vols., London 1906) and *Life of John Payne* (London 1919) and for some attempt at a comparative estimate of the above English translations see the present writer's *On translating the Arabian Nights*, in *The Nation*, New York, Aug. 30 and Sept. 6, 1900. Between 1895 and 1897 there appeared in Reclam's *Universal Bibliothek* in 24 little vols. a German translation by Max Henning from the Būlāk edition. This is a thoroughly creditable performance but is somewhat expurgated and gives only half the verse. The first 17 vols. give the Nights and vols. 18—24 various supplements, largely translated from Burton. In 1899 Dr. J. C. Mardrus began a French translation of the Nights professedly from the Būlāk edition of 1835. His production ultimately reached 16 vols. by the incorporation of tales from all manner of other collections than the Nights. His rendering is free in every sense of the word. Yet there is a Spanish translation of it by Vicente Blasco Ibañez, an English translation by E. Powys Mathers and an incomplete Polish translation. An absolute contrast is the scholarly German translation by Enno Littmann (Leipzig, 6 vols., 1921—1928). This is complete and made directly from the Macnaghten edition with the aid of a Cairo edition and that of Breslau. There are interwoven supplements also of the additional stories in Galland from their best Oriental forms. This is a version of at least equal value with those of Lane and Payne.

It has been already shown that the first great step in clearing up the history of the Nights was taken by Zotenberg when he recognized the modern Egyptian Recension and separated out its MSS.

This was following the critical imperative to go back to the MSS. themselves. When that is done it becomes plain that besides the so-called "complete" MSS. of that late Egyptian Vulgate there is a multitude of incomplete MSS. which represent various attempts, mostly unsuccessful, to achieve complete recensions. It is evident that many individuals to whom a fragment had come, mostly of a few Nights at the beginning, put together independent stories and attached them to the initial fragment, dividing them into Nights. Examples of this are the Wortley Montague MS. in the Bodleian and the Reinhardt MS. in the Strassburg University Library. The Wortley Montague MS. is the same in contents as the Galland MS. to the end of the Porter Cycle of tales and thereafter is quite different. Yet it is a quite modern MS. and shows that in the middle of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century there was no generally accepted recension. Practically the same is the situation in the Reinhardt MS. What is needed, therefore, at present, is careful description and study of the oldest among these, such as the Galland and Vatican MSS., the old MS. in the Rylands Library, the Tübingen MS. etc. and the bringing of these under a tentative classification. That has been attempted by the present writer in his *Classification* cited above and has been carried further in admirable studies by Rudi Paret in *Der Ritter-Roman von 'Umar an-Nu'mān* (Tübingen 1927) and *Früh-arabische Liebesgeschichten* (Bern 1927). But besides the MSS. professing to be of the Nights there exists a still greater multitude of independent MSS. containing stories which may or may not have been taken over into the Nights. These, to begin with, were independent; and such stories should not be regarded as extracts from the Nights. The reverse, rather, is true. This holds of the still unpublished MS. of stories discovered by H. Ritter in Constantinople. It is of the xiii<sup>th</sup> or xiv<sup>th</sup> century and contains five stories that are in ZER (*Anhang* to Littmann's translation, vol. vi., p. 692, 702 *sqq.*). Of course the cheap little printed editions of separate stories from the Nights of which there are so many, are true extracts. From this method of growth by addition it is plain that stories of apparently Persian or Baghdad origin may be later insertions and need not go back to an earlier Baghdad recension. Another source of much confusion has been the almost subconscious assumption, with many scholars, that ZER is the Nights and that investigation of its history should begin with ZER. De Sacy held that explicitly and it vitiated his whole attitude. It was a great obscuring element in Lane's mind and appears strongly even in De Goeje's article in the *Britannica*, editions 9, 10, 11 (fuller in *De Gids* for Sept. 1886). August Müller appears to have been the pioneer towards a freer attitude in his *Sendschreiben* on the subject to De Goeje (Bessenberger's *Beiträge*, xiii. 222—244) and in a more popular article in *Die deutsche Rundschau*, xiii., July 10, 1887, p. 77—96. These preceded even Zotenberg's *Notice*.

There is a great gap between the folk-lore sources of the Frame-work Story in Farther India and ZER. But it can be bridged by three definitely historical references and by a still extant MS. Mas'ūdī in his *Murūdī al-Dhahab* (finished A. D. 947 and re-edited 957) tells (Paris ed., iv. 89 *sq.*) about an Arabic book of stories called "The Thousand Nights and a Night" which is a



translation of a Persian story-book called "The Book of a thousand tales" (Persian: *afsāna*; Arabic: *khurāfa*). The Frame-work story which he describes is practically that of our Nights. That means that the Arabic Nights of Mas'ūdi's time was an accepted translation of a Persian book of stories; but we have no clue as to what those stories were. The same information but with many more details is given by the author of the *Fihrist*, a *catalogue raisonné* of Arabic literature compiled about 987 A.D. with later additions. The author (ed. Flügel, i. 304 sqq.) gives an account of the origin of story-literature, its connection with the telling of tales at night and its different classes. So he gives the story of the origin of the Persian "Thousand Tales", which was really less than two hundred tales told in a thousand nights; how it was translated into Arabic and similar collections were made. But still we do not know what the stories were; only that the Frame-work was roughly that of our Nights. Further there is evidence that our present Nights, from the Galland MS. to ZER, is of specifically Arabic and not Persian origin. The first Cycle of stories, that of the Merchant and the Djinnī, where the merchant's life is saved by the stories told by three chance met travellers, is already to be found narrated by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (fl. 250 = 865) in his *Fakhr*, a book of proverbs (ed. Storey, p. 137—140). It is all of pronounced desert and Arabic type and contrasts strongly with the immediately preceding and plainly Persian Frame-work Story. An Arabic tale had taken the place of a Persian. The third definite mention of a Nights puts the book in Egypt in the time of the Fātimid Khalīfas. This is told by a certain al-Kurṭī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 698 sq.) who wrote a history of Egypt in the time of the last Fātimid al-ʿAdil (555—567 = 1160—1171). But again we do not know what were the stories in this Fātimid Nights, only that it was called *Alf Laila wa-Laila* and was very popular. For details on all the above see the present writer's *Earlier History*, p. 362 sqq. and Littmann's *Anhang* to his translation, p. 692 sqq.

The MS. is that which Galland used and of which a collateral was the ancestor of ZER. But the stories in the Galland MS. could not possibly have stood in the Fātimid Nights; for they are full of later historical references. Thus in the Cycle of the Porter and the three Ladies a book is cited whose author died 590 (1193). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī and Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan there are references which compel William Popper (*J.R.A. S.*, Jan. 1926, p. 1—14) to the conclusion that the story cannot be earlier than the reign of Baibars (650—676 = 1260—1277) and he is inclined to a date later than 706 A.H. The Hunchback Cycle is clearly after the capture of Baghdād by Hülāgū in 656 (1258). Topographical references in Cairo require a date at least 745 (1344) and Professor Popper considers that the reference to the Naḥīb Barakūt puts the story after 819 (1416). In addition to all this, time must be allowed for these stories to have become so popular that they were taken into a recension of the Nights. The Galland MS., therefore, is not a MS. of the Fātimid Nights.

Broadly, then, we have evidence for the following forms of the Nights, meaning by that any collection of stories fitted into the frame-work which we know: I. The original Persian *Ḥazār Afsāna*,

"Thousand Stories". II. An Arabic version of the *Ḥazār Afsāna*. III. The frame-work story of the *Ḥazār Afsāna*, followed by stories of specifically Arabic origin. IV. The Nights of the late Fātimid period to the popularity of which al-Kurṭī testifies. V. The recension of the Galland MS. From notes in it that MS. was at the Syrian Tripoli in 943 (1536) and at Aleppo in 1001 (1592); it may, of course, be older. But it was written in Egypt. There remains the at present still unsolved problem of the relations between it and the other old and independent MSS. to which reference has been made above. There are at least six such MSS. which must be considered.

The contents of the Nights (that is of ZER) have been described and considered by Nöldeke in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii. 68, and again and again through his long life; by Oestrup in his *Studier* (Kopenhagen 1891); there is a German translation of this with a supplement and further references by O. Rescher (Stuttgart 1925), a Russian by Krymski with a long introduction (Moscow 1904) and a French résumé with notes by Emile Galtier (Cairo 1912); by Rescher in his *Studien* (*Isl.*, ix. 1—94); by Horowitz, in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, Jan. 1927) and in many separate articles; by Littmann in the *Anhang* to his translation and in *Tausendundeine Nacht in der Arabischen Literatur* (Tübingen 1923). Into all this it is impossible here to enter. But it may be worth while to emphasize certain general considerations. (i.) The occurrence of common folklore motifs should not be regarded as a sign of origin in any particular country or people. This might lead to the positing of a Chinese recension of the Nights or of a Hottentot; the *Open Sesame* motive occurs in South Africa. (ii.) When a story occurs in ZER and also independently, almost certainly the independent form is original. Thus a Persian or Baghdād story in ZER does not mean a Persian or Baghdād recension of the Nights; it means that ZER added the story. (iii.) Stories showing individual literary power deserve more attention on that side than they have received. Who, for example, was the Egyptian artist or artists, who produced Ma'rūf, Dūdār, Abū Kīr? Who invented the Hunchback Cycle and created the Barber? Under what circumstances and how was the Porter of Baghdād invented and his Cycle of stories? Who created the Arabic Aladdin? About all these productions there is a straight-forward reality and humanity which contrast strongly for western readers with the unreality of Persian and Indian fiction. They are in the same class with stories in the Hebrew Old Testament. Under what circumstances, then, did these men live and write, for they are unique in Oriental literature? This is a problem in pure literature and as an approach to it the present writer ventures to refer to his article *ḤIKĀYA*, above. The many references to story-literature in the *Fihrist* should be considered and it is most desirable that the old MS. of stories discovered by H. Ritter in Constantinople should be printed in full. It is not a MS. of the Nights but it goes back into the work-shop from which the materials of the Nights came.

*Bibliography*: Has been given in the course of the article.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

\**ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN*. See also Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, Paris, i. 59; v. 2, 163 sq., 172 sq., 368; vi. 30, 165; viii. 30; Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*



and Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *J.A.*, ser. x., ix. 391.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

‘ALĪ ABU ‘L-ḤASAN B. MA‘MŪN. [See MA‘MŪNĪS.]

\*ALIGARH. The Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental college suffered badly from the non-cooperation movement in 1920 when the National University was founded in the town. This was active for a year or two but soon succumbed in all but name. The Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental college was given its charter as a university in 1920 and adopted the scheme advocated by the Calcutta commission on education, so the institution contained a school, an intermediate college, and the university. The result was that a student, who took the pass degree of bachelor of arts, spent two years only in the university. Altogether there are nearly 2,000 students, about 18% being Hindus. Policy has been changed and the intermediate college has been abolished. European teachers were never more than five and now there is a desire to dispense with their services altogether. Aligarh is a great Muslim charity; praiseworthy as its work in this sphere is, it is to be feared that it sometimes interferes with its efficiency as a university.

(A. S. TRITTON)

\*‘AMAL (A.), performance, action, is usually discussed by the speculative theologians and philosophers only in connection with belief [see ‘ILM, ĪMĀN] or with ‘ilm and naḡar. From Hellenistic tradition was known the definition of philosophy as the “knowledge of the nature of things and the doing of good” (cf. *Mafātīḥ*, ed. v. Vloten, p. 131 sq.). Many Muslim thinkers have emphasised the necessity or at least the desirability of this combination (cf. Goldziher, *Kitāb Ma‘ānī al-Nafs*, p. 54\*—60\*). But it is the intellectualism of the Greek philosophy, in ethics also, that explains how nine tenths of the philosophers and mystics influenced by it represented action if not of less importance than at least as dependent on knowledge. Plato placed wisdom (σοφία) as first of his cardinal virtues, the Stoics and Neo-Platonists followed him. Aristotle also esteemed theoretical (dianoetic) virtue higher than ethical. This is the doctrine of the so-called “Theology of Aristotle”, that the soul of man is elevated, not through actions but by cognition, to perceive and enjoy the intellectual world.

Different opinions on the relation between knowledge and action are given by Tawḥīdī in his *Mukābasāt* (Cairo 1929), p. 262 sqq. We shall here confine ourselves to the predominantly intellectual conception and take as an example the philosopher Fārābī. In his *Fuṣūṣ* (*Philosophische Abhandlungen*, [Arabic] ed. Dieterici, p. 72 sqq.) we find the psychological and metaphysical basis of his teaching. There he distinguishes three practical faculties of the soul, which are only briefly mentioned and two theoretical, which are discussed more fully. The activity of the vegetable and animal soul is practical as is that of the soul of man, i. e. the reasoning soul, in so far as the latter chooses not only the useful but also the beautiful and prepares itself for the goals placed before it in this life. The theoretical faculties are of a higher rank. Beginning with sensual perception (animal soul) theoretical reason advances beyond the material world and rises to the intellectual sphere. Practical reason is only servile, theoretical however is in-

dependent (cf. Fārābī's *Musterstaat*, [Arabic] ed. Dieterici, p. 47).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the philosophers following Aristotle divided sciences into theoretical (*naẓariya*) and practical (*‘amaliya*). The latter are ethics, economics and politics.

*Bibliography*: A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, s. index, s.v. *Works*; and my art. *Ethics and Morality (Muslim)*, in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*.

(TJ. DE BOER)

‘AMAL is used in the languages of the Muḥammadan peoples of Indonesia (pronounced *amal*) as an adjective with the meaning “good, pious, gratuitous”, not *sunna* but yet “in keeping with the ethical demands of the faith” — The word is also a verb “to act (in this way)”.

(R. A. KERN)

\*AL-AMĪN. Further *Bibliography*: Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, vi. 317, 320 sqq.; ix. 45, 51; do., *al-Tanbīh wa ‘l-Ishrāf*, p. 346—349; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 146, 168, 185, 297, 311; Ibn al-Ṭīkṭāka, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 291—297; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amin in at-Ṭabarī*, in *R.R.A.L.*, ser. vi., vol. iii., p. 191—220; do., *La successione di Ḥārūn ar-Rašīd e la guerra fra al-Amin e al-Ma'mūn*, in *R. S. O.*, xi. 341—397.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*AMR B. SA‘ĪD AL-ASHDAK. See also Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, v. 198 sq., 206, 233 sqq.; vi. 217 sqq.; ix. 58; Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 108, 118; Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft im Jahre 684*, in *J. A.*, xxvii. 50—64.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ANKARA (T.), Greek Ἀγκυρα (“*Angypa*”), Hittite Ankuwa, modern Turkish orthography (intended to be used internationally): Ankara, the name of the capital of the Turkish republic, the town known in the west as Angora [q. v.]. The older Turkish name of Engürü, Engürü or Engürüye (cf. the Armenian *Angürya*) has only survived in modern times for the river Engürü su(yu) or locally Engürü özü, a right bank tributary of the Sakarya (the dialect form öz “watercourse” is to be connected with the ögüz and not the öküz of Kāshghar). The form Engürüye still survives on the coins of Murād II (1421—1451); on the later coins we find Ankara which must however be older than the form Engürüye. Just as old popular etymologies (Texier, *Asie Min.*, p. 479) connect the name of Ἀγκυρα with the Greek homonym meaning “anchor”, so the name Engürü seems to owe its origin to other popular etymologies like the Persian *engur* or *enguri* “grape” and the Greek *āghuridha* “green grape”, *anguri*, *angurya* “cucumber”. The ethnic from Ankara is *Ankaralı*?; the arabicised literary form now obsolete was *Ankarewi* or *Enkarewi* for *Ankarawī*.

Already recommended, for strategic reasons, by von der Goltz Pasha (chief of the German military mission, d. Baghdād, April 19, 1916), the idea of transferring the Turkish capital to Asia must always have formed part of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha's programme. He was engaged in founding an entirely new state, screened from the difficulties of the old capital, certainly a splendid city but one which octopus-like drained the provinces (*taşra*: *tashra*, literally “outside”) and had become too eccentric in position after the almost complete loss of the

European shores of the Aegean. What-ever may be the real topographical importance of Ankara, the old capital of Galatia and, if it is worth mention, of the short lived "republic" of the Turkish or Turkoman *Akhi* (in the reign of Murād I), it was for sentimental reasons that Muṣṭafā Kemāl's choice fell upon this town in preference to Konya, a town with reactionary tendencies, but which could claim to have been the old capital of the Saldjūk Turks. The Ghāzī did not wish to abandon the cradle of the first nationalist government. Ankara had nothing very attractive in its position unless it was the picturesque panorama of its citadel perched on the rocks. Travellers have differed in their estimates of this town: Poujoulat (1840) thought it the poorest town and Georges Perrot (1867) the finest they had "ever seen". In any case it is certain that when Muṣṭafā Kemāl settled on the neighbouring height in the farm of Çankaya, Ankara was a town of 40,000 inhabitants, backward, wretched in appearance and devoid of the most elementary amenities.

It was on Dec. 27, 1919 that Muṣṭafā Kemāl definitely installed himself in Ankara. Since leaving Constantinople for Samsūn (May 16, 1919) he had twice changed his headquarters (Havza and Amasya). His new and definite residence had the advantage of being connected by rail with the Bosphorus which facilitated the surveillance he wished to exercise over the election of the last Chamber of Deputies. When the latter voted for its own dissolution on the motion of Dr. Rizā Nūr (March 18, 1920), Muṣṭafā Kemāl, who had previously attempted to bring the Chamber in question to Ankara, hastened to carry through in Anatolia the election of a "Grand National Assembly of Turkey" (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*) which met in Ankara on April 23 and on May 5, 1920, the town became the seat of government of this assembly. A large number of officials and deputies, many of whom had fled from Constantinople came and settled where they could in the nationalist city. After a press campaign which was no doubt intended to prepare the people and which was intensified in March 1923 and the following months, Muṣṭafā Kemāl had a law passed by the Grand National Assembly, declaring Ankara the administrative capital (*maḥarr-i idāre*) (Oct. 13, 1923, two months before the proclamation of the republic). The position of "capital" passed from Constantinople to Ankara but in the text of the law Muṣṭafā Kemāl deliberately avoided the term *payitaht* "capital" on account of its etymological sense "foot of the throne". To-day one says *dewlet merkezi* "centre (chief town) of the state".

In imitation of Istanbul, Ankara was given a prefect of the town (*shehremini* for *shehir emini*) appointed alongside of the wali or governor of the wilāyet of Ankara. In June 1924, 'Alī Haidar Bey left the prefecture of Istanbul for that of Ankara. Henceforth great activity was displayed in enlarging and embellishing the new capital. This work met with great difficulties and obstacles of all sorts. A thankless soil full of salt in which trees would not grow and where the rain brought the salt to the surface in the places where it had been improved; the necessity of draining the marshes which caused malaria; the isolation of the town in a practically desert region; the struggle with dust which it seemed impossible to over-

come; a lack of coordination and of a definite plan which sometimes made it necessary for work to be done over again. Untiring energy was to overcome all these obstacles.

Broad avenues were opened up on the lines of existing streets or were newly created, and bordered by buildings often imposing and trees which finally decided to grow. Gardens were laid out, notably that of the Grand National Assembly. The marshes which separated the railway station from the town were drained and the town was freed from the fevers of the past. The site of the marsh will shortly be converted into a racecourse, gardens and working-class quarters. Clean and comfortable hotels have been built. The town has been provided with electricity and gas and the lights on the slopes which run for 4 miles from Ankara up to Çankaya produce a fairy-like effect at night.

The question of the water-supply has made great progress. The town which the Romans had provided with conduits now in ruins has had since 1890 stone channels which brought water from Elmadagh (*Elma Dağı*, the ancient Adoreus): the springs of Kehlizpınar, Tellikuyu and Hanfımpınar. The new municipality, soon replaced in these public works by the government Drinking-water Commission (*İçme suyu komisyonu*), built a system of collecting cisterns at Kosonlar. A pump has been erected at Hanfımpınar and at Şahne-pınar and pipes laid. The supply at Elmadagh will not be exhausted for ten or fifteen years. By this time the damming of the Çubuk (a tributary of the Engürü su) 6 miles from Ankara will be finished. At the present time Elmadagh supplies 72.5 litres per second. At present the aim is to get 105 litres per second in order to satisfy an ideal demand of 150 litres a head per day. At present 60,000 inhabitants or  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the population use the water from the town supply (*Hakimiyeti Milliye* of Oct. 29, 1933, N<sup>o</sup>. 4411, special number published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the republic, p. 90).

The following, extracted from the same paper, is a chronological survey of the building of the new Ankara:

In the spring of 1925, the Prefecture of the town, from plans drawn up by a specialist, laid the foundations of the "new town" Yenışehir between the old town (to the south of it) and Çankaya. 198 houses were built there at a cost of LT. 2,086,000. At the same time the marshes were drained (cf. above). In the same year the Red Crescent (Hilālī Ahmer) and the School of Law (Hukuk Mektebi) inaugurated on Nov. 5 were established.

In 1926 the works begun in the previous year were finished like the enlargement of the Karaoghlan Çarşısı which became the Anafartalar Yolu (in honour of the victories won by Muṣṭafā Kemāl in the Dardanelles) and the making of the Avenues Cümhuriyet (of the Republic) and Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Caddesi, not to speak of other widenings. The building of the Grand National Assembly, of the Ministry of Finance (*mālīye vekāleti*) and of the offices (*maḥalle*) of the Ewḳāf was completed. 240 houses were built (14 in Yenışehir, 202 in the old town and 24 at Cebeci). In 1927, 367 houses were erected.

In 1928 the need of a new and more rational plan began to be felt. A competition was held in which the German architect Jansen's scheme was accepted in preference to that of his French riva-



Josselin, which was thought more aesthetic, but less practicable. 246 houses were built.

In 1929, only 87 houses were built; but in 1930: 203; in 1931: 275; in 1932: 151. On Dec. 29, 1932 the Grand National Assembly passed a law setting forth a scheme of town-planning. A grandiose "government quarter" (*Dewlet mahallesî*) is to arise to the south of Yenîshehir, dominated by a new building for the Grand National Assembly (the third to have been built).

In 1933 up till October only 87 houses had been built (the 1929 figure) the *Emlâk ve-Eytâm* bank having reduced its advances.

In all some 2,000 houses have been built according to the scheme. In addition, on the heights around the north of the town and behind the Bentderesi, workmen and artisans have built without authority and where they pleased some 500 houses (the 'Âtîf Bey, Altındagh and Yenidoghan quarters). — These usually wretched buildings which spoil the general effect, particularly as they are on hills, will disappear when the working class quarter above mentioned has been built.

The town which has now also a wireless station and a modern cemetery (1927—1928) and other improvements has seen the erection of over 40 government and public buildings some of which are very attractive.

Almost all the ministries now occupy their permanent quarters. Model hospitals and fine schools have been built, of which the girls' school which bears the name of 'İsmet Paşa is the finest, great military buildings (Ministry of National Defence or *Millî Müdâfâ'a Wekâleti*, the offices of the General Staff or *Büyük Erkân-ı Harbiye R'isligi*, the Military School or *Harbiye Mektebi* which is now leaving its old home at Pankaldi in Istanbul) and banks (Business Bank or *İsh Bankası*, the *Emlâk ve-Eytâm Bankası* founded on May 22, 1926, the Agricultural Bank or *Zirâ'at Bankası*, the Central Bank of the Republic or *Dişmihuriyet Merkez Bankası* which is just finished and in more modest quarters, the Bank of Industrial Credit or *Sümer Bankası* "Sumerian Bank").

A very fine "People's House" or *Halkewi* originally built for the Turkish Hearth (*Türk Odaghi*), an institution which was suppressed in 1932.

Alongside of these is an Ethnographical Museum, which besides interesting collections relating to Turkish ethnography contains a very curious room devoted to the recently suppressed religious brotherhoods (especially the Bektashi) and rooms devoted to Hittite archaeology: excavations at Boghazköy, Alishar, Hashüyük, Ankara (Ankuwa of the Hittites).

The government newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* "National Sovereignty" (editor Fâlih Rifkî) has a fine modern printing-press. (It was founded on Jan. 10, 1920, i.e. just a fortnight after Muştafa Kemâl's arrival in Ankara).

Two equestrian statues of the Ghâzî by the Italian sculptor Canonica were put up in 1927, one in front of the Museum (on Nov. 4) and the other which forms part of a great monument of Victory (*Zafer abidesi*), at the beginning of Anafartalar street (Nov. 24). A third statue representing him unmounted is at Yenîshehir. (The first statue of the Ghâzî was erected in Stambul on the Seraglio Point on Oct. 3, 1926).

Ankara has thus become a fine town of 85,000 inhabitants, the population having more than

doubled in 10 years (the figure is approximate, the last official census of Oct. 28, 1927 showing 74,553 inhabitants). It seems destined to assume vast proportions when it will have swallowed up the old villages around it which are rapidly changing and becoming distant suburbs. Such are Keçiören and Kalaba in addition to Yenîshehir and Cebeci.

It is nevertheless at present still mainly a city of officials. Many of its inhabitants retain a pied à terre in Istanbul where they spend the summer. The Ghâzî himself in the hot weather goes either to the Dolmabahçe palace in Istanbul (first visit: July 1, 1927) or to the watering-place revived by him, Yalova. The ambassadors of the foreign powers have also settled in Ankara on pieces of ground allotted to them along the slopes up to Çankaya but more often they move to and fro between the two towns. There has been founded an association of Friends of Ankara which encourages living in the town, even in summer.

We have mentioned that Ankara was already connected by rail with Haidarpasha (the Asiatic station of Istanbul). The government of the republic has built a line from Ankara to Kayseri (Caesarea), which is connected with Siwâs (Amasia, Samsun) on the one hand and with Ulukışla on the other (on the old Taurus line). The Taurus express which now runs via Konya will shortly be diverted and go via Ankara-Kayseri. A branch line is also being built, starting from Irmak on the Ankara-Kayseri line, to Çankırı and Filyos on the Black Sea coast (east of Zonguldak).

*Bibliography:* A bibliography of Ankara and of the Turkish republic in general (by Georges Vajda) will be found in Jean Deny and René Marchand, *Petit manuel de la Turquie Nouvelle*, preface by M. Albert Sarraut, Paris n. d. (1934) (*Collection Monisie*), p. 295—314. — For information on the antiquities of Ankara, see G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne, monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans*, Bâirût 1928, p. 144—293 (*M. F. O. B.*), with a volume of plates. (J. DENY)

**ANNİYA** (A., also *ann*; adj. *anni*), being or existence. Bardenhewer in his edition of the Arabic *Liber de Causis* (cf. his edition of Hermes Trismegistos *De Castigatione Animae*, p. 141—142) reads *inniya*. A mystical etymology of the word is given in Djili, *al-Insân al-kâmil*, ch. 27, where it is derived from *ana* = I. Muḥammad Iḳbal (*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 153 sqq.) therefore translates it "I-ness"; he is followed by Nicholson [see *AL-INSÂN AL-KÂMIL*].

The formation of the word *anniya*, to take the usual reading, may be best explained from a combination of the Platonic mode of thought with Aristotelian linguistic usage. It means the Platonic being or existence (*ὄντᾱ, ὄν*) as the highest category, but takes its name from the Aristotelian *ἄν[η]* (*an[η]*) = thatness, existence as distinguished from the whattness (*māhiya*) qualitatively defined. This use of the word spread from the Arabic "Theology of Aristotle" and the *Liber de Causis*.

In the "Theology" (p. 108 of the Arabic text, ed. Dieterici) 6 world principles (*awā'il*) are detailed: 1. *ʾaql*, 2. *anniya*, 3. *ghairiya*, 4. *huwiya*, 5. *ḥaraka*, 6. *sukūn*. The *ʾaql* is of course the first of God's creations but the five principles following can only be understood if they are compared with the five upper categories of Plato



in his *Sophistes*: 1. *ὄν*, 2. *ἀτέρον*, 3. *ταυτόν*, 4. *κίνησις*, 5. *στάσις* (the order of 2—5 is without significance here). S. Horowitz (*Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie* etc., p. 47 sqq., 70 sqq., where however this passage from the "Theology" is not quoted) rightly calls attention to the importance of the Platonic "categories" for the development of the *Kalām*.

The *anniya* is esteemed in the *Liber de Causis* even more highly than in the *Theologia*. According to §§ 1—14, God is the prime cause, the pure, absolute *anniya*, which is perfectly one with Being. From him emanates the *anniya* as the first caused being, which is less perfect than the prime cause itself. As second caused being comes the *ʾaql*, and so on, the usual series of emanations. But in § 22 the *ʾaql* is called the "first creature". Also in § 15 sqq. there is reference to the *hurwiya*, without it being clearly distinguished from the *anniya*. In Fārābī (*Fuṣūṣ*, N<sup>o</sup>. 1 sq.) *hurwiya* appears = *anniya*.

*Anniya* therefore means with reference to creatures existence as distinguished from being. All beings and things are called *anniyāt*, because they have a certain individual existence (τό δε τι) according to their ranks in the intellectual or material. The intellectual *anniyāt* are permanently unchanging, but the material are transitory.

Since Fārābī the words *wudjūd* and *mawdjud*, already known long before him, have been commonly used in philosophical language to denote being and existing.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(TJ. DE BOER)

ANTĀLIYA. [See KAIKHUSRAW I.]

\*ARABIA.

#### C. ARABIA UNDER ISLĀM.

Both internal and external causes have since the last date (1876) worked changes in the peninsula, the geography of which has been markedly advanced by a number of intrepid explorers, especially St. John Philby, R. E. Cheeseman, Bertram Thomas, D. Van der Meulen and H. Von Wissmann. The regions traversed by the last three of these, the "Empty Quarter" and the independent sultānates of Ḥadramawt, have indeed been little affected; though even in the latter the motor-car is showing a tendency to displace the camel, and the aeroplane is not unknown. The arduous journeys in different directions successfully undertaken by Bertram Thomas and Philby through the "Empty Quarter" have on the whole justified that appellation, though the contributions made by these explorers to the physical sciences have been considerable.

Before the Great War, as has been seen, the peninsula was claimed by the Ottoman Empire, but its effective control scarcely went further than the Sacred Cities and their approaches. In 1872 after much fighting Ṣanʿāʾ was taken by the Turks and Yemen occupied by them; and in 1902—1905 the limits of this *wilāyet* were fixed by an Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission, whereby the Aden Protectorate extended from Shaikh Saʿūd on the West to Kataba on the North, and Lower Aulaki on the East. Discontent with Turkish rule produced a series of revolts, wherein Ṣanʿāʾ was repeatedly captured by rebels and retaken. The former had a leader in the Zaidī Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn, who

established himself at Khamir in central Yemen; on Sept. 22, 1913 by a *firman* he was recognized as Imām, the condition which he had exacted being that the religious code *sharʿa* [q. v.] should replace the Ottoman *kanūn* [q. v.]. In the war between Turkey and Italy which broke out at the end of the same month the Imām sided with Turkey, whereas the Italians were supported by the Idrisī Shaikh, who endeavoured to establish an independent sovereignty in ʿAsir [q. v.].

In other parts of the peninsula two powers came into prominence. The process whereby the Wahhābī empire was restored under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd has been sketched in the article WAHHĀBIYA. In West Central Arabia the construction of the Ḥijāz Railway, the completion of which would have done much to secure Turkish rule in the peninsula, caused discontent, because it interfered with the exploitation of the pilgrims by the tribes. In 1908 the Ottoman Government appointed as Sharif of Mecca Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, who proceeded with much energy to establish order in the province, and gave material assistance to the Turks in suppressing the revolt in ʿAsir. In 1912 with the approval of the Ottoman Government he turned his arms against the Wahhābīs, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining their acknowledgment of Ottoman suzerainty; and his fortunate capture of a brother of Ibn Saʿūd enabled him to effect this for the province Qasim. In spite of this agreement he is said to have continued raiding Wahhābī territory at the instigation of the Turks, on whom Ibn Saʿūd retaliated by driving them out of Ḥasā, thereby coming in contact with the British.

The interests of this last power in the Persian Gulf had led to a series of agreements securing British influence on the Arabian side of that inlet. In 1891 the Sultān of Maṣṣaṭ bound himself, his heirs, and successors, never to cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation, save to the British Government, the dominions of Maṣṣaṭ and ʿOmān or any of their dependencies; in 1892 similar terms were obtained from the shaikh of Bahrain; and in 1899 from the shaikh of Kuwait.

When in 1914 the Great War broke out and Turkey joined the Central Powers, it had on its side, besides the Sharif of Mecca and the Imām of Ṣanʿāʾ, Ibn Saʿūd's rival, Ibn Rashīd; the hostility of the Sharif, aided by Ibn Rashīd, caused Ibn Saʿūd to attack Ibn Rashīd in support of the British in January 1915; the victory in this encounter was Ibn Rashīd's, but at the end of this year Ibn Saʿūd concluded a treaty with Great Britain whereby he undertook to let that power conduct such diplomatic intercourse with other powers as might become necessary on his behalf: a provision which soon became ineffective, and was finally abrogated by the Treaty of Djidda in 1927.

Negotiations were started in the same year by Great Britain with the Sharif Ḥusain, to whom the defeat of the Turks offered the prospect of independent sovereignty, whilst the policy of Turcification pursued by the Turkish constitutional government had given great offence to the Arabic-speaking populations of the empire. There was lengthy bargaining about the terms, but by the beginning of 1916 agreement was reached and on June 9 the "Revolt in the Desert" commenced. The Turks were gradually driven out of the Ḥijāz,

though Medina held out to the end of the war. The Sharif of Mecca took the title "king of the Ḥijāz".

The issue of the war led to the expulsion of the Turks from other parts of Arabia, and though the Imām of Ṣanʿā had sided with them, he profited by their defeat, in as much he now became independent ruler of Yemen. In 1915 a treaty had been concluded between Great Britain and Muḥammad al-Idrisi of ʿAsir; the port Ḥudaida was assigned him as a reward for his services, but in 1921 he was driven out by the Imām. Some difficulties arose between the latter and Great Britain owing to his having occupied places within the British protectorate which had been seized by the Turks during the war.

The two allies of Great Britain, Ibn Saʿūd and the king of the Ḥijāz, were disposed to be hostile to each other, and breaches of the peace between them occurred. Difficulties arose from the fact that the terms of the treaty between Great Britain and the king of the Ḥijāz were interpreted differently by the two powers, the latter hoping to be sovereign of a vast Arab state. In virtue of the rights which he believed himself to have acquired, three days after the abolition of the Caliphate by the government of Angora king Ḥusain had himself proclaimed Caliph at ʿAmmān (March 6, 1924); this act led to the mobilization of Ibn Saʿūd's forces, which defeated those of the king, who was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAlī, who maintained himself in D̲jidda till Dec. 19, 1925, Medina having surrendered a few days before (Dec. 5). Mecca had been evacuated in October of the previous year.

On Jan. 14, 1926 Ibn Saʿūd took the title "king of the Ḥijāz" in addition to "sultān of Naḍjd and its dependencies" (*malik al-Ḥijāz wa-sultān Naḍjd wa-mulḥaḳātihā*). He summoned a congress of the Muslim world to Mecca, to discuss the future of the Ḥijāz, though avoiding questions of international politics; this lasted from June 17 to July 5, 1926, and its conclusions dealt mainly with securing the safety and comfort of the pilgrims (the proceedings are summarized in *R. M. M.*, vol. lxiv., 1926). On Aug. 31 of the same year Ibn Saʿūd gave his approval to "the Fundamental Law of the Ḥijāz" (translated in *O. M.*, vi., 1926, p. 531—533). On Sept. 18, 1932 the title "King of the Arab Saʿūdian kingdom" (*malik al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiya al-saʿūdīya*) was substituted for that given above.

Since the expulsion of the Sharifian family two powers of importance have been dominant in the peninsula, the king of Saʿūdiyya and the Imām of Yemen. Hostilities between these two have been at times feared over the question of ʿAsir, where the Idrisi applied to Ibn Saʿūd for protection as early as 1920, and by a treaty of Oct. 31, 1926 acknowledged the latter's sovereignty. Disputes which have arisen have however been settled by friendly arrangement, as that of the possession of D̲jabal al-ʿArw, ceded to Yemen Nov. 6, 1931. A treaty of friendship between the two states was concluded at Abū ʿArish in ʿAsir on Dec. 15 of that year.

*Bibliography:* H. St. John Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930; Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1928; H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London 1923; Richard Coke, *The Arab's Place in the Sun*, London 1929; Bertram Thomas,

*Alarms and Excursions in Arabia*, London 1931, and do., *Arabia Felix*, London 1932; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Empty Quarter*, London 1933; D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut*, Leyden 1932. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

#### MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE.

##### I. General Survey. Factors in Development. Periods.

##### II. Individual Branches:

- A. Poetry.
- B. Novel and short Story.
- C. Drama.
- D. Other forms of Literature.

I. General Survey. Factors in Development. Periods. It would perhaps not be difficult to find some traces of the literary renaissance earlier than the beginning of the xix<sup>th</sup> century but as a rule they are isolated phenomena which aim at a revival of the old philologies rather than at a renaissance of literature. In Syria, among the Christian minorities, which were in close relations with Rome and Constantinople, we find a separate literary school, which grouped itself around the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo D̲jarmānūs Farḥāt (1670—1732). After the French expedition however (1798—1801), the Arabs became much more susceptible to European influence. What aspects particularly appealed to them may be easily seen from the account of the first printing-press in al-D̲jabartī [q. v.] (1756—1825) or the first European reading-room in the house of Hasan al-ʿAṭṭār [q. v.] (1766—1834) afterwards Rector of al-Azhar. These examples already reveal several factors which were effective in the creation of modern Arabic literature. New schools sprang up: founded in Egypt by Muḥammad ʿAlī, mainly for the study of medicine and technical subjects but also intended to encourage translation, founded in Syria by many European and American missionaries or instituted on the lines followed by them like the first "national" school of Buṭrus al-Bustānī [q. v.] (1819—1883). These schools underwent many transformations in the course of the xix<sup>th</sup> century; the Arabic speaking countries now possess an imposing series of colleges, which have exerted directly or indirectly a very great influence on the development of modern literature, like the American University and the Université St. Joseph in Bairūt, and the Egyptian University in Cairo. The work of these has been supplemented by educational journeys and missions to Europe. Of the first mission of this kind, which was sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī, we possess a very interesting description from the pen of one of its members, Rifāʿa al-Taḥṭāwī (1800—1873), afterwards an industrious translator and one of the most important representatives of the new tendencies. At the beginning of the xx<sup>th</sup> century these journeys for educational purposes assumed a systematic character; their importance for Arabic culture in general can be readily judged from the dissertations of young Arab scholars (mainly in French universities) which appear almost every year. In addition to the printing-press, which had been known in Syria from the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, but exerted very little influence, the French expedition introduced into Egypt a hitherto unknown element: the periodical press. Not revived until 1828 by



Muḥammad 'Alī, it has exerted an extraordinarily strong influence on the whole development of modern literature: some forms of literature have been transformed by the press, others previously non-existent called into being. Closely connected with the printing-press is the vigorous activity in translation, at first devoted mainly to scientific works (especially in Egypt), later also to works of pure literature. It might be said that just as the works of an Ibn al-Muḥaffa' or an al-Djāḥiẓ would have been impossible without the translators of the 'Abbāsīd period, so without the translators of the xix<sup>th</sup> century modern Arabic literature could never have been called into existence. The old literature was also for the first time made accessible on a large scale through printing to all who were able to read. Serious study of the old literature based on modern methods is specially characteristic of the last few decades; it has shown that not all that is old is useless for the organic structure of modern Arabic literature; on the contrary, much of it needs only to be revised. Libraries, which were founded on European lines, facilitated these systematic studies and the publication of old works. Like the periodical press, learned political and literary societies and institutions which had been gradually springing up in all countries since the beginning of last century, were of considerable significance for literature; in them rhetorical prose was especially cultivated.

The influence of the theatre was not so great. Begun as a result of amateur efforts in the fifties of last century, it was not till the xx<sup>th</sup> century that the theatre became a no longer negligible feature and discovered serious dramatists and critics. The many vicissitudes of the Arabs in the xix<sup>th</sup> and xx<sup>th</sup> century, all kinds of political and economic causes caused Arab emigration to attain an extraordinary importance. Emigration has accompanied modern Arabic literature from its beginnings to the present day. Very soon after the French expedition, several Arab families had to leave Egypt and go to France; among these were Mikḥā'il Šabbāgh [q. v.] (1784—1816) and Ilyās Boḳṭor [q. v.] (1784—1821). Many of these emigrés became teachers of Arabic in European universities, like al-Shaiḫ al-Taṭṭāwī [q. v.] (1810—1861) at a later date. As modern Arabic literature was then still in its infancy and aroused no interest among European Arabists, their activity was mainly confined to the older literature. But when after the 70's the tide of emigration began to flow much more strongly (especially from Syria) not only into Europe but into North and South America also, this movement became of fundamental importance for modern Arabic literature; a new generation of writers appeared, whose part is not yet played out.

In consequence of these many and varied factors, the whole history of modern Arabic literature must be considered as the history of European influence; it follows at the same time two main tendencies, the struggle between old and new ideals and problems of modern literary technique. This struggle in the literary field has many stages and aspects, and ebbs and flows in the various periods. Three main tendencies may be very clearly distinguished: 1. a protest against everything new and an endeavour to adhere to the classical scheme and to re-animate the old; 2. a superficial imitation of European models and ideas with a contempt for

all the Arab past; 3. attempts at the organic transformation of the healthy embryos of Arabic literature by drawing upon European methods and intellectual culture generally. All three tendencies still exist alongside of one other but the last is attracting more and more adherents. The political vicissitudes of the Arabs in the xix<sup>th</sup> and xx<sup>th</sup> centuries naturally exercised a great influence on the literature. The history of this period is the history of the gradual emancipation from Turkey (in political as well as intellectual matters) and of the rise of Arab nationalism, which has reached different stages in different countries. In recent years we can even see a further development of this nationalism into a certain particularism in some fields: in literature this tendency has so far been deliberately cultivated only in Egypt (in the so-called *Tamṣīr al-Luḡha*).

It is difficult to divide the Arabic literature of the xix<sup>th</sup> century into hard and fast periods. The literary output down to the 80's is in itself rather unimportant and the names of the authors are often forgotten even among the Arabs [run on].

Their works are valuable only for their period, as they reflect the ideas and problems of their time and are now only of historical interest. It was mainly a period of enlightenment and experiment rather than one of literary creation. This period we might extend down to the 80's and 90's when the first generation of "enlighteners" and "westernisers" left the stage. Syria and Egypt were then working without any closer contact; in the scientific field Egypt had done more, and in linguistics and literature Syria led. In both countries we find figures of distinction, like Buṭrus al-Bustānī in Syria; Rifā'a al-Taḥṭāwī, 'Alī Mubārak [q. v.] (1824—1893) and 'Abd Allāh Fikrī [q. v.] (1834—1890) in Egypt. In non-Arab lands men like Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāk [q. v.] (1804—1887) were significant of this period. The periodical press was also created and the newspaper style gradually developed at this time. The 60's brought about tremendous changes in two centres of modern Arabic literature. Events in Damascus in 1860 and the autonomy of the Lebanon highlands on the one hand, the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and later the rebellion of 'Arābī [q. v.] (1882) with the resultant occupation of Egypt on the other also altered the tendencies of literature. Syrian emigration to Egypt assumed greater proportions and in the 90's almost the whole of the progressive and influential press of Egypt was in the hands of Syrians. This period lasted down to the beginning of the xx<sup>th</sup> century. Its characteristic representatives are Muḥammad 'Abduḥ [q. v.] (1849—1905) and Djirdjī Zaidān [q. v.] (1861—1914). Although the former made no direct contribution to *belles-lettres*, he played a very important part: with him the Muḥammadans definitely took the path of modernism and the literary movement began to exert a much stronger influence on wide popular circles. Several literary genres (the historical novel) now became completely differentiated, more consideration was paid to questions of literary style and finally al-Manfalūṭī (1876—1924) came near the solution of these problems. By the first decade of the xx<sup>th</sup> century the Syro-American school appeared, perhaps the most original of the Arab moderns. Of its two most eminent leaders, Amīn al-Raiḥānī (born 1877) and Djabrān Djabrān (1883—1931),



it concentrated particularly round the latter in New York where he was president of the literary society *al-Rabīṭa al-kalāmiya*. Its organ was the journal *al-Sā'ih* edited by 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād. Its special characteristic is the bold breach with all old-fashioned literature and the usual style, a very marked preference for the elaborate forms of prose essay and not infrequently an extravagant cultivation of poems in prose. Many of its representatives have attained influence and honour in Arab lands (even in such as Tunisia and the Ḥidjāz), for example (in addition to the above-named) the poet, critic and dramatist Mikhā'il Nu'aima, b. 1889, the poet Rashīd Aiyub, b. 1862, Ilyās Abū Maḍī, b. 1889, Nasīb 'Arida, and many others. The Syro-American school in Brazil occupies an isolated position, where it has rather local importance without obvious influence on other Arabic lands; it has a great fondness for poetry (Ilyās Farḥāt, b. 1891, Rashīd Salim Khūrī, b. 1887, Fawzī al-Ma'lūf, 1899—1930 and others). The interesting attempt by Shukrī al-Khūrī (b. 1871) to use the Arabic dialect of Syria for literary purposes has had no serious imitators. Since the War the Syro-American school has lost its leading position; most of its representatives are more and more losing touch with present day life in Arab lands; only a few have rightly appreciated the tremendous changes and given them literary expression, mostly as a result of returning to their native land (like e.g. al-Raiḥānī or Nu'aima). The hegemony is once more passing to Egypt and becoming concentrated in the school of the so-called Egyptian modernists. We can pursue the first traces of that school back to 1907, with the foundation of the people's party *Ḥizb al-Umma* and the newspaper *al-Djārīda* under the leadership of Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Saiyid, who later translated Aristotle's *Ethics* and became Rector of the re-organised Egyptian university. In 1922 a new organ of this group, the newspaper *al-Siyāsa*, appeared under the editorship of Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal (b. 1888), one of the most popular of modern journalists. The chief characteristics of these literary modernists are a deepening of the conception of literature and serious demands on its representatives. In contrast to the Syro-American school they are much interested in classical Arabic literature and pursue the study of literary criticism and history with particular zeal. In their writings we find emphasised for the first time the idea of specifically Egyptian patriotism in place of Arab nationalism. In *belles-lettres* special cultivation of the "Egyptian story" is characteristic of them. As a result of the large circulation of the press and not a few talented representatives, this literary school has met with wide approbation and found ardent followers as well as imitators in other Arab lands. For a second time in the history of modern Arabic literature, Egypt is at the head of the literary movement and much more firmly established in this position than at the end of the last century.

## II. Various branches of Literature

A. Poetry. As in the old Arabic literature, poetry is the most widespread and most conservative branch of modern Arabic literature. In all Arab lands we find countless poets, but the history of poetry in the xix<sup>th</sup>—xx<sup>th</sup> centuries is really only the history of the revival of the old poetry under altered conditions. The earlier imitation of the

poetry of the period of decline has now been replaced by imitations of al-Mutanabbī and of 'Abbāsīd and even pre-Islāmic poets. For Syria the standard was set by the activities of Nāṣif al-Yazīdī [q. v.] (1800—1871), very conservative but with a sovereign command of language. In other circles European influence is clearly felt; for example in the Aleppine Frānsis Marrāsh (1836—1873) who endeavoured to give expression to philosophical and sociological ideas in his pessimistic poetry. In Egypt the period of revival of the old poetry came somewhat later, with Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839—1904) and Ismā'il Ṣabī (1854—1923); their poems are quite in the style of the 'Abbāsīd or ancient poetry; frequently they say what originals they have worked over. The works of the most famous Egyptian poets of the present day Aḥmad Shawḥī (1868—1932) and of Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871—1932) are a little more vigorous. The former was before the War a typical court poet (*shā'ir al-amir*), a master of language but rigidly confined to old forms; after the War his popularity as "prince of poets" (*amir al-sha'arā*) still further increased in all Arab lands. In his last years he tried to create the Arabic tragedy. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, a son of the people, had a greater fondness for political and sociological subjects; in form he also follows the old models. The third most celebrated poet of Egypt Khālil Muṭrān (b. c. 1871 in Ba'albek, Syria) is also very talented, particularly in his lyrical and narrative pieces, the form of which (especially in rhyme and metre) is very free and varied. Several writers of the younger generation have printed *Diwāns*, interesting in many ways ('A. M. al-'Akkād, b. 1889; I. 'A. al-Māzini, b. 1890; A. Miḥram, b. 1877; A. Rāmī, b. 1892; M. Ṣ. al-Rāfi'ī, b. 1880; A. Nasīm, b. 1878 and others). More recently Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī has enjoyed particular popularity. It is difficult to say to whom the laureateship of Egypt now belongs after Shawḥī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. — A very original picture is presented by poetry in the 'Irāk of the xix<sup>th</sup>—xx<sup>th</sup> century. The old tradition flourished here in towns like Baghdād and Mōṣul and had always its representatives such as 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Akhras [q. v.] (1805—1873) or 'Abd al-Bākī al-'Umari al-Fartūkī [q. v.] (1789—1861). The al-Alusi family [q. v.] also played their part. In Shī'ite circles, moreover, in the "holy cities" of al-Nadjaḥ and Karbalā' 'Abbāsīd and even the true Beduin poetry continued to be cultivated; this school has only become known through the editions of Aḥmad 'Arif al-Zain, the highly esteemed leader of the Shī'a community in Ṣaidā (Syria). The most important representative of this school was Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabāṭabā'i (1832—1901). In the 'Irāk also modern Arabic poetry has begun to feel the classical revival, especially in the poems of 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāzimi (b. 1865) who has lived in Egypt since the end of last century and has devoted his *Mu'allakāt* to events in Egypt. As poets of the new school two may be specially mentioned: Djamīl Sidkī al-Zahāwī (b. 1869) and Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfi [q. v.] (b. 1875). The former, saturated in philosophical tendencies, is quite unconventional as regards form. He is not afraid of new series of rhymes and metres, even writing poems in metre but without rhyme (*shī'r mursal*). The second, adhering to the old form, has the gifts of a true poet and in his lyrical pieces, descriptions and

sociological pieces, attains a high degree of perfection. Both are moreover unusually well-known outside the bounds of their native land. Poetry is on the whole only of local importance in other lands, although the output is very large. Of the poets of Syria, the aged Salim 'Anḥūrī [q. v.] (b. 1855) has some links with Egypt and is penetrated by new ideas. 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf (b. 1869) is a typical poet and man of learning. Many of the younger generation are already known in literary circles (Shafīq Djabrī, b. 1895; Khalil Murdam, b. 1895; Ḥalīm Dammūs, b. 1888; Aḥmad 'Ubaid, Muḥammad al-Bizm, b. 1887; Muḥammad al-Shuraykī, b. 1896; Muḥammad Sulaimān al-Aḥmad = Badawī al-Djabal, and many others). Not a few poets of America are much printed and read in other lands. Poets from other Arabic regions are as a rule honoured only in their own country (e.g. in Tunisia Muḥammad al-Shādhilī Khaznahdār). It is not to be denied that the lyric poetry of more recent years very often shows great diversity, ripe skill and a choiceness in technique, but greater variety of form is still to be attained. The masterly translation of the *Iliad* by Sulaimān al-Bustānī (1904) has only produced a few feeble attempts to imitate it. Poetry deliberately written in dialect instead of in the literary language is as before used only for humorous and satirical purposes (As'ad Rustum in America) and is frequently political in tendency ('Umar al-Ze'enni in Syria).

**B. Novel and Story.** These two genres have not sprung from Arabic roots (such as the *Maḥāma* or the romance of chivalry) but arose under the direct influence of European literature. The first to make its appearance was the historical novel, not always perfect from the literary point of view. Originating in Syria in the circle of al-Bustānī, it was particularly cultivated by his son Salim (1848—1884) with a definitely didactic object. The Chronicle of the reign of Ḥārūn al-Raṣīd which appeared in 1888 from the pen of Djamīl al-Mudawwar (1862—1907) is on a higher level, although it is more antiquarian than literary in character. The historical novel reached its zenith in the widely read works of Djirdī Zaidān. From 1891 until his death the Arabic reading public was given by him almost every year a new novel of the great historical series. A born historian, his main object in these novels was to popularise history and provide intelligible and pleasant reading. He was purely interested in spreading knowledge and was little concerned with specifically literary problems. His works were most successful and opened a new epoch in modern Arabic literature. The isolated efforts at the novel of manners (by Sa'īd al-Bustānī, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf) or psychological novel (Faraḥ Anṭūn, 1874—1922 and others) at the turn of the century could not rival his success; many writers are under his direct influence and are simply more or less successful imitations of him. That all the possibilities of development of the historical novel among the Arabs are not already exhausted is evident from the Egyptian Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd's "Daughter of the Mamlūk" (1926); it represents a different type from Zaidān's novels and is in some ways on a higher level.

In contrast to the historical novel, the shorter story of manners is native to Egypt. In Syria we can of course trace a few attempts at it, but such works as al-Djabrān's youthful writings are only

trial efforts and he never returned to these genres. In Egypt also the short story made its way slowly. In the earlier generation we meet with efforts to use the old *maḥāma* form for social criticism. An interesting work of this kind is *Ḥadīth 'Isā b. Hishām* of Muḥammad al-Muwailīḥī (d. 1930), the son of the celebrated publicist who later emigrated, Ibrāhīm al-Muwailīḥī (1846—1906); others (by 'Ā'isha Taimūr, M. Ḥafīz Ibrāhīm) were less successful. The celebrated al-Manfalūtī also made experiments in the short story, partly original, partly borrowed, but their interest lies rather in their beautiful language and fluent style than in their matter and extreme romantic tendency. We may regard Muḥammad Taimūr (1891—1921), who died very young, as the founder of the Egyptian short story and creator of the realistic pictures of modern social life. Endowed with real literary talent, having a good knowledge of European literatures, and being an unusually acute observer, he wrote stories of modern Egyptian life in the style of Maupassant or Tchekov under the instructive title of "What the Eyes See". The stories of his brother Maḥmūd Taimūr (b. 1894) go a stage further and are now collected in six volumes. Written in the same realistic manner as Muḥammad Taimūr's, they show greater variety, a deeper skill in psychological analysis and an even purer and simpler language. The stories of the two Taimūrs have had a very great influence on the modern generation of writers; the short story has become fashionable in modern literature. Of their contemporaries we may mention the brothers 'Ubaid, the late 'Isā with his two collections *Iḥsān Ḥānīm* and *Thurayyā*, Shihāta with his *Dars mu'lim*, Ṭāhir Lāshīn whose collection *Suḥrīyat al-Nāy* and especially his *Yuhkka annah* reveals a sense of humour, and a number of others. It is very significant that in other Arab lands this branch of fiction has found eager followers, frequently under Egyptian influence. In the 'Irāq at least two authors have attained fame outside their native land: Maḥmūd Aḥmad (b. 1901), author of the long story *Khālīd* and the collection entitled *al-Ṭalā'if*, and Anwar Shā'ul with the collection *al-Ḥaṣūd al-awwal*. The short story began to be written in America about the same time as in Egypt or a little earlier; 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād may be specially mentioned here with his short stories of Arab life in America, often almost photographic in character but humorous, entitled *Ḥikāyāt al-Mahdjar* which were written under the influence of Djabrān; Mikḥālī Nu'aīma gives in his psychological stories considerable place to deep analysis and is not uninfluenced by Russian literature of the xix<sup>th</sup> century.

If we may now say that the short story has found its true lines of development in modern Arabic literature and has attained a certain degree of success, the longer form of the novel has made no progress and at present only isolated efforts can be recorded. An excellent beginning was made with the long story *Zainab* (1914) by M. Ḥ. Haikal, afterwards a celebrated journalist. Its subject was taken from Egyptian village life; in language, style and general treatment it represented something quite new and free from all artificiality but it remained almost unnoticed. The novel "The Days" (1927) by the well-known scholar Ṭāhā Ḥusain (b. 1889) is written in the form of a family chronicle; it presents the child-



hood of a blind Egyptian boy in a little town on the banks of the Nile and deserves the highest recognition, not only as a vivid picture of real life but also as a literary masterpiece in language, style and presentation. A work planned on a large scale is the trilogy by Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm "All in One"; so far only the middle part has appeared in two volumes: "Return of the Spirit" (1933, written in 1927); it deals with events in Egypt in the 20's and impresses one favourably with its skill in narration, clear composition and simple language. These few examples enable us to cherish the hope that the novel also will soon receive the attention it merits in modern Arabic literature.

C. Drama. Like the novel, the drama in modern Arabic literature did not originate in native soil (e.g. *maḥāma*, shadow-theatre, religious mysteries of the Shi'is). The annual exhibitions in the European schools made theatrical productions by the pupils fashionable; the plays were specially written by the teachers, their subjects taken from the Bible or classical antiquity and later from Arab history. Not only Christians but also Muslims became fond of trying their skill in this branch of literature, for example in Syria, Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab (1826—1891) with "Alexander of Macedon" and "Ibn Zaidūn of Andalusia". The comedy of manners also made an excellent start comparatively early under European influence. The Syrian Mārūn Naḳkāsh (1817—1855), as a result of his travels in Italy, became well acquainted with the works of Molière and the more recent Italian theatre. Returning home he tried his hand at writing three comedies in the style of Molière and had them produced by amateurs; two of these deal with contemporary life in Syria and the subject of the third was taken from the *Arabian Nights*. They had a certain amount of success but his premature death left him without a successor, if we except a few comedies which had little success from the pen of Ṭannūs al-Ḥurr (about 1860). About twenty years later (c. 1875) an Arabic company had already been organised in Alexandria by the Syrian Adib Ishāq (1856—1885) and the brother of the deceased, Salīm Naḳkāsh, who died in 1884. At this period their repertory was more and more devoted to pseudo-classical tragedy. The chief representatives of this school were members of the already mentioned circle of Yāzīdjī-Bustānī. One of the first tragedies was *al-Murūwat wa 'l-Wafā'* by Khalīl al-Yāzīdjī [q. v.] (1856—1889), the subject of which is taken from the well-known episode in a pre-Islāmic legend. A nephew of the elder al-Yāzīdjī, Naḍīb al-Haddād (1867—1899), was particularly prolific and left sixteen dramatic works. These are mainly versions of the works of Corneille, Victor Hugo, A. Dumas and Shakespeare in which it is often not easy to recognise the original. He also wrote several original tragedies of the same kind (*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, *Thārāt al-'Arab*). Down to the War, his plays were the most popular on the Arab stage, although they are often very primitive to European taste and lacking in dramatic effect. The Egyptian writer Muḥammad 'Oḥmān Djalāl [q. v.] (1829—1898) again tried to revive the comedy of manners. Besides translating the tragedies of Corneille and Racine into the literary language, he conceived the bold plan of using the Egyptian dialect and Egyptian manners for a version of Molière. It is not to be denied that he carried through his plan with a certain amount of talent

and very skilfully, but the popular dialect was something so unprecedented on the stage that his works could not be produced till 1912. In view of this state of affairs, the Arabic theatre down to the 20's chiefly produced pseudo-classical works, translated or original, in the style of Naḍīb al-Haddād, who had a number of undistinguished imitators. A new period began as a result of the efforts of the already mentioned Muḥammad Taimūr in the 20's. Studying the theatre with a special preference, he wrote a great deal on problems of the theory and history of the dramatic art as well as several monologues for the stage. He left four dramatic works: two comedies, a drama and an operetta. Except the last, the subject of which is taken from ancient Egypt, the scene of all the others is laid in modern Egypt. The use of the ordinary dialect of the people and an indisputably good understanding of theatrical technique make them particularly lively. They are really the first dramatic comedies of modern life and had a great success. Independently of this, Miḳhā'il Nu'aima in America made a successful attempt at the comedy of manners with interesting psychological and sociological analysis. This is a drama entitled "Father and Son" (1917) the subject of which is taken from modern life in Syria. The preface shows how seriously the author deals with questions of dramatic creation. From such endeavours we may expect the best from the Arabic drama. The "Egyptian dramas" of Anṭūn Yazbak (especially *al-Dhabā'ih*, 1925), also in the dialect of the people, reveal a further advance. Towards the end of the 20's the celebrated poet Aḥmad Shawkī endeavoured to revive once more the pseudo-classical tragedy. Many pieces were written in verse by him, with subjects taken from Egyptian and Arab antiquity (Cleopatra, Cambyzes, Maḍjūn, Princess of Andalusia etc.). Thanks to his melodious verse in true classical Arabic and the now prevailing taste, they have had a great success with the Arabic speaking public, but they hardly represent an advance in the history of the Arabic drama.

The question of the language of the dialogue is of special significance for the drama even more than for the novel. The prevailing tendency shows that the literary language is still adhering firmly to its rules but there are also by no means negligible attempts in other directions like those of Djalāl or Taimūr, nor is there any lack of theoretical champions of the necessity of the literary language. A vigorous polemic broke out around the activity of Mārūn Ḡhuṣn (b. 1881) in Syria; we see that the question is very much alive but its settlement is still remote. It is significant that the novelist Maḥmūd Taimūr who was inclined to use the vernacular in the earlier editions of his works has gone recently more over to the literary language, although he himself in theory champions the possibility of an "Egyptian Arabic" language for the future. In the novelist Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm we also find every skilful combination of the vernacular for dialogue with the literary language for the author's observations and descriptions. Experience shows that for the moment this compromise perhaps represents the best solution of the problem.

D. Other genres. The particular conditions of the history of the evolution of modern Arabic literature make it necessary also to discuss such forms of literature as are usually omitted in considering what are known as *belles-lettres*. The

press has been of outstanding importance in this respect; it became an important school not only for the reader but also for the writer. The newspaper articles which gradually evolved their own previously quite unknown publicist style also set the standard for other forms of literature. Oratorical prose (political and other) was influenced by them; critical essays and studies in literary history had their origin in them as had the very popular essays of different kinds, which often approach the prose poem. The evolution of this publicist style took place rather rapidly. If the first half of the nineteenth century had not yet produced anything remarkable, al-Bustānī's activity with his many periodical publications very soon exercised a very great influence. This school produced journalists so different as the fiery orator Adib Iṣḥāk and the more "academically" minded Naḍīb al-Haddād. Migration to Europe also had its effect and produced many original figures such as al-Shidyāq or his opponent Riḥ Allāh Ḥassūn (d. c. 1880) and Rushaid al-Dahdāh, who deserves well for his editions of old works (1813—1889). For Egypt the 80's mark a turning-point. The rebellion of 'Arabi Pasha brought to the front 'Abd Allāh Nadīm (1844—1896) who often used the vernacular in his numerous social and political newspapers, frequently tinged with satire, as well as Ya'qūb Ṣannū' (1839—1912) who went to France, celebrated under the name al-Shaikh Abū Naḍḍāra. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849—1903) occupies a position almost of his own, as revolutionary, traveller and romantic pan-Islāmist, who in his *Umm al-Kurā* created a clever *Utopia* about the pan-Islāmic congress in Mecca. In the same period the school of Muḥammad 'Abduh grew in influence. It produced Sa'd Zaghlūl (1859—1927), the most celebrated political speaker in modern Egypt, with whom in the beginning of the twentieth century only the founder of the National Party, Muṣṭafā Kāmil [q. v.] (1874—1908), can be compared. The direct successors of Muḥammad 'Abduh have dealt almost exclusively with specifically Islāmic subjects like exegesis and apologetics and have had no direct influence on the literary movement; this is true even of the best known of them, the conservative Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā and Muḥammad Farīd Wajīdī (b. 1875) who is tinged with modernism. The editor of *al-Mu'ayyad*, 'Alī Yūsuf (1863—1913), obtained more recognition as a publicist; the Druse emir Shakīb Arslān, who has now been living for a long time in Europe, also occupies a leading position. The tradition of the old Syrian school in journalism was continued in Egypt by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf (1852—1927), long editor of *al-Muḥtaṣaf*, and the much-travelled Sulaimān al-Bustānī (1856—1925), famous as the translator of the *Iliad*, whose book on Turkey is the best account of social conditions among the Arabs before the War. In direct contrast to his "academic" style are articles, essays and poems by Walī al-Dīn Yakun (1873—1921), an ardent advocate of the Turko-Arab rapprochement who depicted in fiery language and vivid pictures his banishment in Turkey in the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamid and all the social conflicts in the Muslim world. One of the youngest pupils of Muḥammad 'Abduh, Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī, has distinguished himself by his effort to create the new style. His success was great and deserved; to what extent his numerous versions of European

works serve to convey a correct understanding of the originals is another question.

The Syro-American school showed a special fondness for essays and prose-poems. Amin al-Raiḥānī, known and esteemed everywhere, may be described as the founder of both forms. He was the first to bring them to a high pitch and give them wide popularity; he still cherishes a special preference for these forms and we frequently find traces of this in his later books. Djabrān devoted himself almost exclusively to them; his works are simply collections of such poems in prose or essays grouped round a particular theme or idea. In the later Syro-American school we find rather more variety (especially in M. Nu'aima) but essays and poems in prose remain very popular forms. These essays, of course with different subjects, are the main feature of the school of Egyptian modernists. They show a special interest in questions of literary history, or in philosophical and social problems, but it is remarkable that almost all the books of the best known representatives of this school (as, for example, Maṣṣūr Fahmī, b. 1886, al-'Aḳḳād, Haikal, al-Māzinī, Salāma Mūsā, b. 1888 and others) have arisen out of articles in newspapers and periodicals. This indicates the particular viability of this form and is very important in the history of literature as a new proof of the influence of the periodical press.

In view of the special conditions of Arab life it is quite intelligible that literature by women deserves special attention. Authoresses appeared later on the literary stage (especially among Muḥammadans), have always been in a minority and have often taken a special sphere for their literary activity. Very often also we find authors who strongly support the women's movement and interest themselves in the problems connected with it. It was in Syria again that the first women writers appeared, in coteries already mentioned; these were Warda al-Yazīdī [q. v.] (1838—1924) celebrated as a poetess in Egypt and Syria and Maryānā Marrāsh (1848—1922), the first woman to have the courage to publish in the magazines. In Muḥammadan circles 'Ā'isha Taimūr (1840—1902) had the same significance as these two among the Christians; she wrote not only poems but also stories in the *maḳāma* style and many articles on feminist and sociological questions. The succeeding generation is particularly entitled to the credit of developing a special press for women. The chief representatives of this movement were natives of Syria, such as A. Averino (b. c. 1872), Labiba Ḥāshim (b. 1882) who for a time lectured on education in the Egyptian University, and the journalist and novelist 'Afifa Karam (1883—1924) who worked in New York. The theoretical basis of the women's movement in Muslim lands was formulated by Ḳāsim Amīn (1865—1908), who stirred up a great controversy by two books, "The Liberation of Woman" (1899) and "The New Woman" (1901). His posthumous "Aphorisms" show that the question of the position of women was his life-work. We may name as his successor Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886—1918), one of the most important representatives of feminist literature, daughter of the scholar and poet Muḥammad Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1856—1919) who wrote a great deal on social and educational questions with special reference to the women's movement; her views were rather more conservative than those of Ḳāsim



Amin. Closely associated with her was the best known authoress of the present day writing in Arabic: Maiy (Maryam Ziyāda) (b. about 1895). In the 20's she showed a particular activity, mainly in essays and prose-poems. Her subjects are very varied, although not treated too deeply. She displays much interest in questions of literary history and she has written some admirable characterisation of her predecessors. Syria shows how far the women's movement is spreading, when a few years ago Naẓīra Zain al-Dīn, a Druse by birth, created a sensation with her two books (1928, 1929) dealing with the same subjects as those of Kāsim Amin. Nor has there been any lack of writers in Syria who have given their services to the cause of feminist literature; e. g. Dīrdīrī Nīkūlā Bāz (b. 1882), for some time editor of the *al-Ḥasnā* magazine. Of other authoresses of note in Syria of the present day we may mention Salma Ṣā'igh (b. 1889) who is not only celebrated for her educational activity but also for her essays and stories, Nadīlā Abi 'l-Lama', the founder of the *al-Faḍīr* magazine (1920—1924), who now lives in Canada, and others.

In conclusion we must mention the fact that in recent decades special attention has been devoted to the history of literature among the Arabs. Even earlier, many of the older generation had become known through editions of classical works and studies devoted to them, like Aḥmad Taimūr (1871—1930) or Aḥmad Zakī (d. 1934) but now almost all the Egyptian modernists are trying their skill at literary criticism. The leader in this earnest work is undisputedly Ṭahā Ḥusain; along with him may be mentioned several professors of the Egyptian University, like Aḥmad Amin, Aḥmad Daif or other young scholars: Zakī Mubārak, Kāmil Kilānī, and others. A number of important bibliographical works have appeared from the pen of Ilyān Sarkīs (d. 1932), Khair al-Dīn Zurukī, etc. In Syria these studies have always been particularly cultivated (cf. Iskandar Abkārīyūs [q. v.], d. 1885). The older generation like A. Ṣāḥānī (b. 1847), L. Shaikhō (1859—1928), Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (b. 1876), F. Tarrāzī (b. 1865), Kuṣṭākī al-Ḥimṣī (b. 1858) and others have been succeeded by the younger, like Shafīq Djabrī, Fu'ād al-Bustānī, with his very interesting series, excellently carried out, of handbooks of literary history. In the Irāk also younger forces are joining the esteemed editor of the *Lughat al-'Arab*, Anastās al-Karmalī (b. 1866): Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Aḥārī, Rafā'il Buṭṭī and others. In Tunisia we have the well-known Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb; in America Filib Ḥitti who came from Syria and others. Many of these works on literary history are on the level of European scholarship. East and West "sind nicht mehr zu trennen". Here also, as in modern Arabic literature in general, we are approaching the time when "Arabic" will no longer be a contrast to "European": all will be merged in a common human culture and literature, the only distinguishing feature of which in the different lands will be the different language.

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745—760; II. *Manfalūfī and the "New Style"*, *op. cit.*, v. (1929), 311—322; III. *Egyptian Modernists*, *op. cit.*, p. 445—466; IV. *The Egyptian Novel*, *op. cit.*, vii. (1933), 1—22 (best general survey); Ign. Kračkovskij, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der neu-arabischen Litteratur*, in *W. I.*, xi. (1928), p. 189—199 (written in 1922); do., *Vorrede zu K. V. Ode-Vasilieva: Proben der neu-arabischen Litteratur (1880—1925)*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxi., part ii., 1928, p. 180—199; do., *Modern Arabic Literature* (in Russian), in *Zapiski*<sup>3</sup>, iii. (1934), article from *E. I.* with two supplements: "The subject Chronological and geographical limits" and "History of the research"; do., *Die arabische Poesie* (Russian), in *Wostok*, iv. (1924), 110—112; A. Schaade, *Moderne Regungen in der irākischen Kuustdichtung der Gegenwart*, in *O. L. Z.* (1926), 865—872; Ign. Kračkovskij, *Arabische Dichter der Gegenwart übersetzt in die Indo-sprache*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxi., part ii., 1928, p. 165—169; do., *Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen Litteratur*, in *W. I.*, xii. (1930), 51—87; C. Prüfer, *Drama (Arabic)*, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. (1911), 876—878; M. Hartmann, *Die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften in arabischer Sprache*, in *Spécimen d'une Encyclopédie Musulmane*, Leyden 1899, p. 11—15; do., art. *ḌARĠA*. I. The Arabic Press, vol. i. 1018—1021; Ign. Kračkovskij, *Die Litteratur der arabischen Emigranten in Amerika*, in *M. O.*, xxi. (1927), 192—213; M. Taimūr, *Die neue Entwicklung der erzählenden Litteratur in der Gegenwart*, in *W. I.*, xiii. (1931), 46—54; T. Khemiri and G. Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature. A Book of reference*. Part i., in *W. I.*, ix. (1930), p. 1—40

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(IGN. KRATSKHOKSKY)

**ARTSRUNI**, THOMA, an Armenian historian, who lived in the second half of the ninth century and beginning of the tenth. He says he was acquainted with the assassin of Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd, who was killed in 851 (p. 105) and the authentic part of his work comes down at least to 906 (p. 210—211) and perhaps even to before 943 (p. 236, 245). Of his private life we know only that he was a monk (*vardapet*) and that he travelled in Transcaucasia (p. 236). By birth he must have been connected with the Artsruni noble family who were feudatories of Waspurakan, i. e. of the lands lying east of Lake Wān as far as the Persian frontier (on the fief of Waspurakan, see Hübschmann, *Die alt-armenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi. [1904], p. 261—263, 339—347). Roughly speaking, Waspurakan cor-

responds to the wilāyet of Wān (before 1914) [q. v.]. Thoma's history is mainly occupied with the Artsruni princes whom he traces back to the sons of king Sennacherib of Assyria. In Brosset's translation (which we quote here and which contains 262 pp.) the ancient period (Assyrian, Arsacid, Sāsānian) occupies 87 pp. (Book i.—ii., § 3). Then follows a brief note on the origins of Islām. Thoma even omits to mention the Artsruni whose resistance to the 'Abbāsids became famous (Marquart, *Südarmerien*, p. 510). The original part begins on p. 95 (Book ii., § 5) with the caliphate of Mutawakkil ("Thokl called Djafr") and the despatch to Armenia in 849 of Abū Sa'īd ("Apu-Seth") Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī, whose son Yūsuf was killed at Mūsh by the highlanders of Khoiyth, in the winter of 851—852, p. 104 (cf. Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, ii. 324; Balādhuri, p. 205).

In Book iii. (p. 107—244) Thoma gives valuable details about Bughā's operations in Armenia (852—855), p. 110—168. After the deportation of the Armenian chiefs to Sāmarrā, Gurgēn, son of Apu-Pelč (< Abū Beldj) of the collateral line of the Artsruni, set himself up in Waspurakan, first in the Little Aṭbag, at Djlmar (Djulamer) and Sring and later in the district of Andzavatsikh (capital: Kangowar) (which Marquart, *Südarmerien*, p. 359 has identified with *al-Zawazān* of the Arab writers), but after 7 years of captivity, princes of the main line returned to Waspurakan, p. 161, 168, and Thoma then takes up the story of the rule of the main line: Grigor Derenik (Ṭabarī, iii., 1894 calls him Abū Aḥmad al-Dairānī, and iii., 1916 less correctly: Ibn Dairānī) killed by the chief of Hēr (Khoi) Abelsors or Abumsar in 887, p. 166—182; Ashot, son of Derenik, died at Nakh-čuwān [q. v.] in 904, p. 182—202; Gagik, son of Derenik, with a panegyric on whom Thoma's history (p. 203—245) ends (according to Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 508, Gagik died c. 943).

Thoma's text is not in a very satisfactory state; at p. 211—218 is an intercalation which deals with the reigns of Derenik and of Ashot in a very different version. At the end (§ 41) a continuator has added information about the sixth successor of Gagik, his grandson Senekherim Yohannes (1003—1026) who in 1021 ceded his kingdom to the Byzantine Emperor Basil. The narrative is continued by the history of the descendants of the collateral line (of Khedenik, related to Senekherim) and especially of Abdelmseh (< 'Abd al-Masīh, d. 1123) and of his son Stephannos Aluz who "having procured Thoma's book had it put into order" (p. 256). Finally the copyist writing in 1303 in the reign of Ghazān-Khān says that the history was "edited" (probably rearranged) at this date by order and at the expense of the Catholicos Ter Zakharia. A later supplement (p. 259—262) deals with the descendants of a granddaughter of Stephannos and comes down to the latter half of the xivth century when we find a niece of the Catholicos Ter Zakharia married to a Muslim.

Thoma's history gives interesting details about the activities of the Sādjids [q. v.], the invasion of Waspurakan by the Dailamis, cf. Ibn Miskawaih, *The Eclipse* etc., p. 401—404 (Lashkarī's expedition) and on the Arab colonies established in Armenia: the Djahhāfids of Arsharunikh (Kaghizmān), cf. Marquart, *Südarmerien*, p. 501—504, the Kaisikh (Ḳais) of Manazkert, *ibid.*, p. 500, 504—508, and



the Othmanikh of Berkri and of the fortress of Amiuk (north of Wān).

Thoma of course gives much information about the relations between the Armenian families although his tendency is to emphasize the part played by the Artsruni and minimise that of the Bagratid kings, Ashot (861–890) and Smbat (890–914).

Thoma's style is occasionally discursive but on the whole he is lucid and exact. Marquart, who has studied him in the light of the Muslim and Byzantine authorities, calls him "excellent" ("trefflich") (*op. cit.*, p. 358). A very useful complement to Thoma's history is the work of his contemporary John the Catholicos (events down to 925) of which he seems to have had personal experience, p. 228 (Arm. text: Jerusalem 1843; French transl. St. Martin 1841 — posthumous and inaccurate).

**Bibliography:** The Armenian text was published for the first time at Constantinople in 1852 and again in 1887 at St. Petersburg by Patkanean. The French transl. was given by Brosset in his *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg, vol. i., 1874. Cf. also Brosset, *Notices sur l'historien arménien Thoma Artsruni*, in *Bulletin Acad. St. Pétersbourg*, vol. v. (1862), p. 538–554, and vol. vi. (1863), p. 69–102 repr. in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iv. (1860–1861), p. 686–701, and 716–763; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 1903, p. 391–465 (*passim*); do., *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, cf. the index and esp. p. 495–516 (detailed genealogies of the princes of the Waspurakan).

(V. MINORSKY)

\*AL-‘ASH‘ARĪ, ABŪ MŪSĀ, p. 481a, l. 63. The traditional statement that the court of arbitration met on Ramaḍān 37 at Dūmat al-Djandal is undoubtedly wrong. According to Ṭabarī, i. 3340<sup>17</sup>, the arbitrators were, it is true, to meet there in Ramaḍān but from the next page l. 11, it is evident that they were empowered, if they did not appear, to meet in Adhrūh in the following year. The court was actually held at the latter place [cf. ADHRUH]; on the other hand, statements vary regarding the month in which this momentous event took place. According to Wākidi in Ṭabarī, i. 3360<sup>5</sup> and 3407<sup>2</sup>, the meeting took place in Sha‘bān 38 (beg. on Jan. 2, 659); according to Ya‘kūbi, ii. 221, l. 16, who puts it at Dūmat al-Djandal, it met earlier in Rabi‘ I (beg. Aug. 7, 658). On this and on the course of the negotiations, see Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 56 sqq. p. 481b, l. 15. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*<sup>3</sup>, p. 189 sqq.; read "new edition by Weir, p. 179 sqq."

To the *Bibliography* add also Maṣ‘ūdī, *Murūdī*, ed. Paris, iv., v., *passim*; and *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

\*AL-‘ASH‘ARĪ ABU ‘L-ḤASAN ‘ALĪ. To the number of his printed works must be added *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter (i., Constantinople 1928; i.—ii., *ibid.* 1929–1930, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, Ia. b.). This work consists of three parts: a. (i. 1–289) a survey of the Muslim sects and dissensions (Shī‘a, Khawārīdī, Murdījī‘a, Mu‘tazila, Mudjassima, Djahmiya, Dirāriya, Nadjdjāriya, Bakriya, Nussāk); b. (ii. 290–300) the creed of the orthodox community (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadiṭh wa-ahl al-sunna*) and the slight deviations of al-Kaṭṭān, Zuhair al-Aṭṭār, Abū Mu‘adh al-Tawmānī; c. (ii. 301–610) a survey of the different opinions

on the details of *kalām*. So the work appears to be composed of the same parts as John of Damascus' *Fons Scientiarum*, where the sequence is the following: a. *Dialectica*, the philosophical basis; b. *De Haeresibus*; c. *De Fide Orthodoxa*.

The *Maḳālāt* is the first work of the kind in Muslim literature. It goes into the details of the views of the sects; the author possesses first-hand data concerning them. It is free from any schematising tendency as well as from any bias. This implies a serious defect of style; it is hardly more than a *catalogue raisonné*, a phenomenon quite unexpected in the passionate author of the *Ibāna*. On this ground it has been conjectured that the *Maḳālāt* was composed by its author at an age, when the conversion and its consequences were no longer recent events. In the preface he declares that what led him to the composition of the book, was the fact that an objective exposition of Muslim haeresiology was lacking. Possibly it was also the desire to be objective that has withheld him from mentioning any of the special dogmatical views which tradition ascribes to him. In this connection the difficulty of making a clear distinction between the man and his school must be remembered. The third part of the book may prove valuable for the history of Muslim scholastics.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-‘ASHSHĀB (A.), the gatherer of herbs, or herbalist, from the Arabic ‘*ushb*, a word which means a fresh, one year old herb, sometimes afterwards dried. In medical literature the word refers particularly to healing plants and al-‘*ashshāb* means a vendor of or authority on medicinal herbs. Thus for example the celebrated physician Ibn al-Suwaydī (d. 1291) in a note preserved in his own hand on the title-page of MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 3711 of the Aya Sofia calls his teacher, the famous pharmacologist Ibn al-Baitār [q. v.], al-‘*ashshāb al-mālākī*, "the herbalist of Malaga". In this connection it should be noted that the word al-*shadjdjār*, which is lacking in most dictionaries, means a herbalist or botanist; it is derived from al-*shadjar*, which is used for tree, bush, shrub or any plant with a strong woody stalk, and also for plants in general.

(M. MEYERHOF)

\*ATHAR (A., pl. *āthār*) is used as a technical term in the theory of causality, although not so common as *fi‘l*, *‘illa* and *sabab* with their derivatives [q. v.]. — From the *mu‘aththir*, i. e. from a higher, active being or thing, God, etc. emanate *ta‘thirāt*, influences, to which correspond under certain conditions *āthār*, impressions in the lower beings or things. In contrast to the higher beings the latter remain passive (or better: receptive). This use of the word is most frequent in astrologers and natural philosophers with reference to the influence of the stars (as higher animated beings) on this earth and on men. The atmospheric phenomena, which are also under the influence of the stars, are also called al-*āthār al-‘ulwīya*. The meteorology of Aristotle was translated into Arabic under the title. *Āthār fi ‘l-nafs* (παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς) is the name given to the emotions and ideas of the sentient soul because it suffers the impressions of things.

(T. DE BOER)

AL-‘ATTĀR (A.), the dealer in perfumes, druggist, from the Arabic ‘*itr*, perfume. In

medical literature the name, like *al-ṣaidalāni*, is used for any kind of vendor of healing drugs. The trade is an exceedingly common one in the east, which explains the frequency of the epithet *al-‘Aṭṭār* of scholars, poets, etc. The ‘aṭṭār has also always been something of a physician and still is throughout the Muslim east, for he both mixes and administers the drugs to the patient. The

transition from perfume-dealer to druggist and physician in the old Arab period is fully described by al-Birūnī [q.v.] in his *Kitāb al-Ṣaidāna* (see Max Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Birūnī*, in *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Medizin*, vol. III/iii, Berlin 1932, p. 29—34). (M. MEYERHOF)

AZAL. [See ABAD.]

## B

**BĀB-I ‘ALĪ**, the Sublime Porte. The Turkish *wasīrs* at one time had their offices in their private houses (*konağ*). Meḥammed II built offices for them in 872 (1467—1468) which were called *Pasha Kapusu* “Gate of the Pasha”, later *Bāb-i Aṣafī* or *Bāb-i ‘Alī* “Sublime Porte”. The Sublime Porte which became from 1654 a government office, was separated only by the street from the old palace of the Sultān (*top kapu serāyi*). After the abolition of the viziers of the dome, the work of the grand vizierate assumed great importance. The grand vizier’s principal assistants were: the deputy (*Kehya Bey*) and the chancellor (*Re’īs ül-Küttāb*) who later became Minister of the Interior (*Dākhliye Nāzir-i*) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (*Khārājīye Nāzir-i*) respectively but always remained in the same building as the grand vizierate. The Sublime Porte thus modernised housed in addition the Council of State (*Shūrā-i Dewlet*, the former *Dīwān-i Aṣafī*), the Committee for the Settlement of Disputes (*Ikhtilāf-i Merdji Endjümeni*), the Commission for the Appointment of Civil Servants (*M’mürin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*) and the Statistical Commission of the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-i ‘Alī İstatistik Endjümeni*). These two last departments disappeared under the régime of the Young Turks.

After 1908 the department of the grand vizierate in the strict sense included: the Office of the Master of Ceremonies (*Teshrifāt-i ‘Umūmiye Dā’iresi*), the Office of the Imperial Referendaries (*‘Amedi-i Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*), the Chancellery (*Dīwān-i Hümāyūn Beylikdjiliyi*), the Office of Mediate Possessions (*Eyālāt-i Mümtāze se Mukhtāre Kālemi*).

The Sublime Porte suffered severely by fire in 1911.

The offices of the Sublime Porte must not be confused with those of the “Imperial Palace” (*Mābeyn*) which sometimes played a very important part (under ‘Abd al-Ḥamid II for example).

(J. DENY)

\***BADAL** (A.), substitute. The terms *abdāl* (pl. of *badal*) and *budālā’* (pl. of *badl*) are connected with a Ṣūfī doctrine, which goes back to the iii<sup>rd</sup> century A. H., that the cosmic order is preserved by a fixed number of saints, so that when a holy man dies his place is immediately filled by a “substitute”. In Persian and Turkish the plural *abdāl* is often used as a singular. Some writers explain *badal* as “one who, when he departs from a place, has the power to leave his ‘double’ (*shakhṣ rūḥānī*) behind him”, or “one who has experienced a spiritual transformation”. There is great discrepancy in the accounts given of the number of *abdāl* and their position in the saintly hierarchy headed by the

*kuṭb* [q.v.]. The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal mentions 40 whom God created in Syria (i. 112) and also states that there are 30 in Muḥammad’s community (v. 322). Al-Makki refers to 300 *abdāl*, comprising *ṣiddīkūn*, *shuhadā’* and *ṣāliḥūn* (*Kut al-Kulūb*, ii. 78; cf. sūra iv. 71). According to Hudjwiri, they are 40 in number and occupy the fourth grade, being subordinate to 7 *abrār*, 4 *awtād*, and 3 *nuḳabā’* (*Kashf al-Maḥdūb*, ed. Schukovski, p. 269; transl. Nicholson, p. 214). Ibn al-‘Arabi (*Futūḥāt*, ii. 9) limits their number to 7, ranks them under the *awtād* (so Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Ta’rīyat al-Kubrā*, v. 501) and above the *nuḳabā’*, associates each of them with a particular prophet (Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Idris, Joseph, Jesus and Adam), and represents each as exercising sway over one of the seven climes into which the world is divided.

*Bibliography*: *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s. v.; M. ‘Alā’ al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, p. 145; E. Blochet, *Études sur l’ésotérisme musulman*, in *J. A.*, xix. (1902), p. 528 sqq. and xx. (1902), p. 49 sqq.; L. Massignon, *Passion*, p. 754, and *Essai sur les origines du lexique de la mystique musulmane*, p. 112 sqq.; D. Haneberg, *Ali Abulhasan Schadheli*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, vii. 21 sqq.; G. Flügel, *Scha’rānī und sein Werk über die muhammedanische Glaubenslehre*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xx. 37 sqq. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

**BADAN**. [See DĪISM.]

**BAHR AL-RŪM**, the Arabic name for the Mediterranean. It took its name from *al-Rūm* (*Bilād al-Rūm*), the Roman, i. e. Byzantine, Empire. Other names were also used, such as *Baḥr al-Maghrib* [q.v.].

The name *Adria*, which originally meant only the Adriatic Sea, became applied in later antiquity to an area which gradually expanded eastwards. For example Jordanes speaks of *Rodus totius Atriae insularum metropolis* and the Tabula Peutingeriana makes the *Adriaticum Pelagus* extend to Crete (Partsch, Pauly-Wissowa’s *Realenzykl.*, i., col. 418; A. Ronconi, *Per l’onomastica antica dei mari*, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, ix., Florence 1932, p. 270—282). In the Byzantine period *Ἀδριακός* became the name of the whole of the Mediterranean (excepting the Black Sea; Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i. 42 is wrong), and this name was taken over by Syriac writers in the form *Adriyōs* (Ya’kōb of Edessa, in *J. A.*, 1888, ii. 426; Nallino in al-Battānī, *Opus astronom.*, i. 171, note 7; *Livre de l’ascension de l’esprit* by Bar-Hebraeus, transl. Nau, p. 119, note 2; Nau, *Le livre des trésors* of Jacques de Bartela, in *J. A.*, 1896, p. 309—312; Mose Bar Kefā, Paris MS. Syr. 319, fol. 83, 89).



*Bibliography:* al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 51 [following Ptolemaios and al-Kindī]; Ibn Khaldūn, in *N. E.*, xix/i., p. 93; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 127; s. also the article BAHR AL-MAGHRIB. (E. HONIGMANN)

**BANDJ**, an arabicised Persian word, originally from the Sanskrit, meaning a narcotic drug, more exactly the henbane (*hyoscyamus*). The meaning of the Sanskrit *bhaṅgā* is really "hemp" (*cannabis sativa* L.), i. e. the variety which grows in southern climes which contains in the tip of its leaves an intoxicating resinous substance (Arabic *hashish*), whence the Zend *banha* "drunkenness". In Persian the loanword *bang* بنگ was applied to the henbane and Hunain b. Ishāk in his Arabic translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscurides (c. 235 = 850) equated it with the Greek *σοῦδαμος*. With this meaning, the word *bandj* is found in the early Persian medical writers who, as a rule, write in Arabic (al-Rāzi, Ibn Sīnā) and in more modern Persian medicine in Abū Maṣūf Muwaffaq b. 'Alī (iv<sup>th</sup> = x<sup>th</sup> century) while it appears to be unknown in the old Arabic poetry as al-Bīrūnī in his pharmacology in the article *Bandj* (MS. in the Brussa library) gives no quotations from the poets, which he would not have omitted to do. The early physicians of western Islām (Ishāk b. 'Imrān, Ishāk b. Sulaimān, Ibn al-Djazzār and others) also identified *bandj* with henbane and called it in Arabic *saikarān*, which however Aḥmad al-Ghāfiqī (a Spanish Moorish physician of the vi<sup>th</sup> = xii<sup>th</sup> century) in his pharmacology considers wrong. *Shakhrōnā* is however the Syriac term for henbane and the Arabic *Saikarān*, *Sikrān*, *Shūkrān* etc. is derived from it; but the later Arab botanists used the name for another henbane (*hyoscyamus muticus*) which drives the taker mad, and also for the hemlock (*cicuta*). In modern times the word *bandj* (in the popular dialect of Egypt *bing*) is used for every kind of narcotic and the verb *bannaḍja*, "to narcotize", infinitive *tabnadj*, "narcosis" etc. derived from it.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Sīdā, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi. 162; *Taḍj al-Arūs*, ii. 10; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Būlāk, i. 273; Ibn al-Baitār, *al-Djāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya*, Būlāk, i. 117; L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beithar*, Paris 1877, i. 271; Lane, *Lexicon*, i. 258; Löw, *Flora der Juden*, iii. 359; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The abridged Version of "the Book of Simple Drugs"* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī, fasc. ii., Cairo 1933, p. 324 sqq.; Renaud and Colin, *Tuhfat al-Aḥbāb*, Paris 1934, p. 35; Dymock, Warden and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica*, London-Bombay-Calcutta 1890-1893, ii. 626 and ii. 318 sqq. (MAX MEYERHOF)

**BANJALUKA** (also written Banja Luka; Turkish باندلوقه [older form] and بنالوقه [later spelling]), a town in Bosnia in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, 500 feet above the sea on both banks of the Vrbas, a tributary of the Save, on the edge of a plain in picturesque mountainous surroundings. According to the new administrative division of Jugoslavia into nine banates in 1929, Banjaluka is the capital of the Vrbas banate, the headquarters of various civil and military authorities and has (1931) 21,177 inhabitants of whom about a third are Muslims (all speaking Serbo-Croatian), who have 27 mosques, a medrese combining three

older ones, a mufti and the office of a *shari'at* judge, a district waḳf council etc. Banjaluka is picturesquely situated and economically important (it has been on the railway since 1876) and as the centre of culture of the district has a theatre, several schools, churches, etc. The town which consists of an upper town ("Gornji Šeher"), predominantly oriental in character, and a lower town ("Donji Šeher"), European in character, has also important antiquities.

Whether there was a Roman settlement on the site of the modern Banjaluka cannot be stated definitely. It used to be thought by some scholars that the *Castra* on the river Urbanus of the Tabula Peutingeriana should be located here. Some however would locate *Ad Ladios* here. There was certainly a place named *Ad Fines* near Banjaluka. In any case there are still the remains of Roman baths in the upper town.

In the time of the kings of Bosnia, Banjaluka was only a small fortress which did not become important until after the Turkish conquest of southern Bosnia (1463), as a part of the banate of Jajce which was then created.

After the fall of Jajce (cf. also Pečewi, *Ta'rikh*, i. 130) the Turks took Banjaluka (1528) and then the development of the town began. If the date, difficult to read with certainty, in Fekete's *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie* ..., p. 18-19, has been rightly read, it was the residence of the Turkish governor of Bosnia as early as 1563. But it is usually assumed that Ferhād Pasha Sokolović, who was appointed sandjakbeg in 1574 and in 1583 beglerbeg of Bosnia, was the first to move the governor's headquarters from Travnik to Banjaluka in 1588 and that they remained there till 1639. This Ferhād Pasha, a cousin of the grand vizier Mehmed Pasha Sokolović [see SOĞOLLİ], did a great deal for the rapid development of Banjaluka: from the ransom paid for the Austrian Count Engelbert Auersperg captured by him in 1575, which according to Pečewi (i. 455) amounted to 30,000 ducats, he built the first mosque ("Ferhadija džamija") in the town and, as Ewliya Čelebi records, he built other public buildings there (a bezistān with 100 shops, a ḥammām, a medrese, a mekteb etc.). Ewliya, as well as Ḥādjdji Khalifa, who describes Banjaluka as a town with two fortresses in the sandjak of Bosnia (c. 1648), attribute to him the building of the new fortress.

In 1661 when Ewliya visited Banjaluka, it was a flourishing town with two fortresses (hence the dual: Banālūkatein), 45 mahallas, 3,700 solidly built houses, 45 mosques, several medreses and public baths, 11 schools for children, 300 shops, 3 wooden bridges, 70 pleasure resorts, etc. The town, the name of which Ewliya rightly derives from the Serbo-Croatian words "Banja" ("bath") and "Luka" ("meadow"), was not then administered by a governor but by a deputy (kā'immaḳām) of the Bosnian vizier.

On Sept. 4, 1688, Banjakula was taken by the Austrians under the Markgraf of Baden for a brief period, besieged by Prince von Hildburghausen in the war of 1737 but relieved by the governor of Bosnia 'Alī Pasha Hećimović by the battle of Aug. 4, 1737 (cf. *Ta'rikh-i Bosna der Zemān-i Ḥekīm-zāde 'Alī Pasha* by 'Omer Efendi of Novi, Constantinople 1293 [1876], p. 21-52; transl. by C. Fraser, p. 21 sqq.). Henceforth Banjaluka developed in

comparative tranquillity and ultimately (since 1851) became one of the six Bosnian sandjaks.

Banjaluka can claim no Turkish author or scholar of great note if we except the famous historian 'Āli, who worked as secretary to Ferhād Pasha (cf. *Menākib-i hünerverān*, Introd., p. 14, infra), and the famous poet Nergisī (Nerkesi), a ḳāḏī here in 1628 (Bašagić, *Bošnjaci* . . ., p. 60).

In the period of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia (1878), Banjaluka surrendered on July 31 without resistance but there was nevertheless fighting there on Aug. 14, 1878 and it was only then that the town was definitely occupied by the Austrians and remained in their administration until 1918 when it fell to Jugoslavia. Banjaluka is now enjoying a new prosperity.

**Bibliography:** (in addition to the references in the art.): Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna* (Hammer), Vienna 1812; St Novaković, *Hadži-Kalfa* etc., Belgrad 1892, col. 82; *Kāmus al-ʿĀlām*, ii. (1889), p. 1357 (antiquated); Ewliyā Celebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, v. (1315), p. 504—508; J. v. Asbóth, *Bosnien und die Herzegowina*, 1888, p. 371—383; H. Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina kreuz und quer* 2, Berlin 1897, p. 485—500 (with 8 pictures); S. Bašagić, *Kratka uputa*, Sarajevo 1900, p. 38—39, 43, 96—97; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (since 1930), i. 405 and 689; V. Čorović, *Istoriya Jugoslavije*, Belgrad 1933, p. 327—328 and 382. — Flügel (ii. 291) suggests that the author of the Vienna MS. of the *Tewārikh-i Banālūka* is identical with 'Omer Efendi of Novi. Brusali Mehmed Tahir ('*Othmānī Mūʿellif*), iii. 180) also mentions the *Banālūka Şahraşī Muḥārebese* of Hersekli Dedepashazade 'Othmān Maẓhar Bey. (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

**AL-BĀṬALYAWŚĪ** ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD AL-ĀḤ B. MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-SĪD, a famous grammarian born in Badajoz [q. v.] (Ar. *Baṭalyaws*), in 444 (1052), died in the middle of Rādjab 521 (1127) at Valencia [q. v.], where he had settled. He is best known for his commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Kūtaiba [cf. ii. 399], which he entitled *al-Iktidāb fī Sharḥ Adab al-Kuttāb* (ed. by 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī, Bairūt 1901). He wrote several other books, including *al-Inṣāf fī l-Tanbīḥ 'ala l-Asāb allatī awḍiabat al-Iktilāf* (Cairo 1319 H.), a commentary on the *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik, a *Fahrās* and a *Kitāb al-Ḥodāʾik*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl, *Şila*, in *B. A. H.*, i., N<sup>o</sup>. 639; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Mul-tamis*, in *B. A. H.*, iii., N<sup>o</sup>. 892; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, i. 332, transl. de Slane, ii. 61; al-Shakundi, *Risāla*, transl. Garcia Gómez, *Elogio del Islam español*, Madrid 1934, p. 54 and note 50; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 122, 427; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles*, Madrid 1898, N<sup>o</sup>. 151, p. 184; Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, Barcelona 1928, p. 118; Sarkis, *Dict. enc. de Bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1928, p. 569—570. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**BĀWARD**, or ABĪWARD [q. v.], a town and district on the northern slopes of the mountains of Khorāsān in an area now belonging to the autonomous Turkoman republic which forms part of the U. S. S. R. The whole oasis region including Nasā [q. v.], Bāward etc. (known by the Turkish name of *Ātāk* "foothills")

played a great part in ancient times as the first line of defence of Khorāsān against the nomads.

In the Arsacid period this region was in the ancestral country of the dynasty. Isidore of Charax, § 13 (at the beginning of the Christian era) mentions between Παρθυνή (with the town of Nasā [q. v.]) and Μαρριανή (= Marw) the district of Ἀπαυαρτικηνή with the town of Ἀπαυαρτική, cf. Pliny, vi. 46: Apaortene, and Justin, xli. 5, a: mons (Zapaortenen) with the inaccessible town of Dara (= Kalāt?) built by Arsak.

Under the Sāsānians the country remained broken up into little principalities. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 39, has preserved the names of the kings: of Sarakhs: Zādōya; of Nasā: Abrūz (?), and of Abiward:

*B.hm.na* (B.hmiya بھمیہ) which is perhaps connected with the name of Mahana, Mayhana (in the district of Khawārān to the east of Abiward).

Under Ma'mūn, 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir built the *rabāʿ* of Kūfan, 6 farsakhs west of Abiward.

Perhaps even before the great migration of the Ghuzz [q. v.] the district had been occupied by the Khaladī Turks; cf. the *Djāhān-numā* of Muḥammad b. Naḍjib Bakrān (written in 1200). Other Turkoman tribes later succeeded the Khaladī.

In the xiith—xvth centuries Aliward passed into the hands of the Djūn Ghurbānī princes, of Mongol origin [cf. the article TŪS]. In the time of 'Abbās I [q. v.] Ātāk was outside the zone of Persian influence. Under Nādir [q. v.], who belonged to this region, Ātāk became the starting point for his remarkable career. At that time the river of Teẓen (the Harī-rūd) was regarded as the eastern boundary of the cultivated lands of Abiward (*muntahā-yi ma'mūra-yi sarḥaddāt-i Abiwardāt*; cf. *Tāriḫ-i Nādiri*, under 1142 A. H. [The same source mentions among the dependencies of Abiward (?): Yangi-kāl'a, Kal'a-yi Baghwādā, Zāgh-čand (?) etc.]). After the disappearance of Nādir from the scene, the semi-independent khāns of Kalāt [q. v.] exercised a certain influence in the district down to 1885, when, after the delimitation of the Russo-Persian frontier, Ātāk with its Turkomans was incorporated in Russian territory. The resulting return of security to northern Khorāsān enabled the Persians to develop agriculture on the upper courses of the rivers running into Ātāk. The irrigation of the latter region has suffered considerably as the result.

**Antiquities.** The ruins of the old town (Kuhna-Abiward) are situated 5¼ miles W. of the station of Kahka (Qahkaha) on the Transcaspian railway and cover an area of 14,000 square yards. The central *tell* is 60 feet high and 700 feet round. About 2 miles N. E. of Kuhna-Abiward is the little hill of Namāzgāh and to the north of it the site of some ancient town surmounted by a *pēsh-tāk* ("gateway") 45 feet high. Another important site is that of Kuhna-Qahkaha, a fortress rebuilt by Timūr in 784 (1382) (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 343). The whole region is very rich in tells (*kurghan*): 14 miles S. of Qahkaha are the ruins of Kḥiwa-ābād which was settled by Nādir with prisoners liberated after the taking of Kḥiwa; 11 miles S. E. of the station of Artīk are the ruins of a town called Čoghondur (after the *mazār* of a holy man which dates from the xiith century). Several of these sites must go back to the Arsacid period (Isidore of Charax mentions for example a town of 'Payāv etc.) and some are even pre-



historic; cf. R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington 1905 (Carnegie Institution, No. 26): excavations at Anau.

*Bibliography*: Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie von Persien*, i., in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. cii.; do., in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 2, s.v. *Apauarklike* and *Dara*; A. W. Komarov, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1889, vii., p. 158—63; Barthold, *Istoriko-geogr. očerik Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 60—2, 70; do., *Turkestan*, in *G. M. S.*, index; do., *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 41—3; [A. A. Semenov and others] *Drevnosti Abiverdskago rayona* ("The Antiquities of the Region of Abiward"), in *Acta Universitatis Asiae Mediae*, ser. ii., Orientalia, fasc. 3, Tashkent 1931 (expedition of 1928). (V. MINORSKY)

\*BĀYĀN. [See KĪYĀS.]

BĀYAZĪD AL-BISTĀMĪ. [See AL-BISTĀMĪ.]

\*BIHZĀD, KAMĀL AL-DĪN, USTĀD, a Persian miniature-painter. The main sources for his life are: 1. *Khwāndamir*, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii. 350 (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, p. 140) and two documents from his *Nāma-i Nāmī* (*Bibl. Nat.*, MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842), a preface to an album of calligraphy and miniatures compiled by Bihzād and the document appointing him head of the royal Kitāb-Khāna (Muhammad Qazwini—L. Bouvat, *Deux documents inédits relatifs à Rehzad*, in *R. M. M.*, xxvii., 1914, p. 146—161); 2. *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London 1921, p. 272, 291, 329; 3. Mirzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, *Ta'rikh-i Rashidī* (T. W. Arnold, in *Bull. School Or. Studies*, London, v., 1930, 672—673); 4. Dūst Muhammad b. Sulaimān of Herāt, *Bericht über ältere und zeitgenössische Maler vom Jahre 951 (1544)* in the Bahrām Mirzā Album, Topkapu Serai Bibl. Istanbul (Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, p. 186); 5. Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rikh-i Alam-ārā-yi Abbāsī* (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 141); 6. Mustafā 'Alī, *Menāzih-i Hünerwerān* (995 = 1587), Istanbul 1926, p. 37, 63—65, 67.

As the earliest miniatures are dated 1479 we must put the year of Bihzād's birth about 1450. Dūst Muhammad and Haidar Mirzā both describe him as a pupil of Amīr Rūh Allāh known as Mirak Naḳkāsh of Herāt, while the Turkish art historian 'Alī says his teacher was Pir Saiyid Ahmad of Tabriz; lastly Djahāngir mentions Khālil Mirzā as an artist whose style Bihzād continued (*Tūsuk-i Djahāngirī*, transl. Roger and Beveridge, ii. 116). He received great artistic opportunities through his first patron Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i and through his friend, the Timūrid Husain Baīkarā, at whose court in Herāt gathered the intellectual élite of the time with Nawā'i, Djāmi and Khwāndamir at their head. Bihzād remained in Herāt after the dynasty was overthrown by Muhammad Khān Shaibānī (1507) — Bābur says that this prince had the presumption to correct Bihzād's miniatures — and only moved to Tabriz, the Ṣafawid capital, with the latter's conqueror, Shāh Ismā'il. The favour which he enjoyed with the latter is evident from the story told by 'Alī of Ismā'il's anxiety about Bihzād during his campaign against Sultān Selīm I. Still more clearly is the distinction in which he was held seen from the fact that on 27<sup>th</sup> Djumādā I 928 (1522) he was appointed head of the royal library and placed

in charge of all the librarians, calligraphers, painters, gilders, marginal draughtsmen, gold mixers and gold-beaters and lapislazuli washers. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Bihzād also received numerous marks of honour and was engaged along with Sultān Muhammad and Akā Mirak in the royal library. In the *Laṭā'if-nāma* of Fakhrī Sultān Muhammad (c. 927 = 1520; Brit. Mus. Add. 7,669, fol. 98) is a story which illustrates the aged Bihzād's manner of working: he took a Turkish assistant Darwīsh Muhammad Naḳkāsh of Khurāsān, a colour-preparer, as his pupil and finally entrusted him with his own works. Other pupils are mentioned by Haidar Mirzā: the portrait painter Kāsim 'Alī, Maḳṣūd and Mullā Yūsuf; by 'Alī: Shāikhzāde of Khurāsān and Akā Mirak; by Iskandar Munshī: Muẓaffar 'Alī. According to a chronogram given by Dūst Muhammad, Bihzād died in 942 (1536—1537) and was buried in Tabriz beside the poet Shāikh Kamāl of Khudjand; according to another tradition, he died earlier, in 1533—1534. In the Yildiz Library in Istanbul is a portrait miniature which shows the aged Bihzād as an unassuming, apparently shy man in Ṣafawid costume (A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Brussels 1929, fig. 130).

The older sources yield little information for our knowledge of Bihzād as an artist, however much they praise him as the greatest of his age. Khwāndamir's extravagant language seems to emphasize his great delicacy and lifelike vigour of representation. Haidar Mirzā compares him with his teacher Mirak, whose art is riper although not finer, also with Shāh Muẓaffar who seems to have been held in almost equal esteem, whom Bihzād surpassed in control of the brush, in drawing and in figure composition, without attaining his delicacy. Bābur praises his art as very delicate, especially emphasises the fact that he drew bearded figures marvellously, while his beardless figures were not so good and adds that he exaggerates the length of the double chin. Bābur's successors on the Mughal throne were also among his admirers and eagerly endeavoured to get his works for their libraries and frequently mention the prices they paid (c. 3—5,000 rupees). Djahāngir is one of the first to mention the tradition, also recorded elsewhere, that Bihzād was specially distinguished for his drawing of battle-scenes. As a result of the general esteem in which he was held Bihzād's name finally became proverbial and according to Khwāndamir he should be put alongside of Māni, the other traditional creator of incomparable masterpieces. 'Alī however hints that Bihzād's success was to some extent due to the influence of his patrons.

Modern research has been mainly concerned with identifying Bihzād's original works. It has been to some extent successful, especially since the London Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at which a large number of pictures ascribed to Bihzād were brought together. It is however not yet possible to isolate him completely from others in his artistic development and characteristic qualities, as a sufficiently large number of works have not yet been definitely attributed to his predecessors and contemporaries. The general impression at present prevailing reveals Bihzād primarily as the perfecter of the Timūrid style, but not as striking out on new lines. Blochet some time ago pointed out that the miniatures in the Niẓāmī, Brit. Mus. Add. 25,900 show a marked dependence in com-

position on the miniatures in the anthology written in 813 (1410), Brit. Mus. Add. 27,261. But if we set aside the composition his work marks a great advance. The miniatures are most skilfully composed — in relation to the text also —, the figures which are not very large are well distributed and their number carefully considered. The scale of colours is rich and includes fine halftones in addition to the very effective local colours, which are put together with an extraordinarily highly developed feeling for possibilities of combination; certain colours, especially fresh blue tones, seem to have been preferred by Bihzād. The miniatures are perfect in execution, the branches of blossoms and the richly decorated patterns on the buildings and carpets are delineated with the greatest delicacy. Bihzād's work includes scenes of a romantic and lyrical nature as well as battle-scenes full of dramatic movement. In details we find a rather unusual realism. Bihzād often attempts to let the happenings be reflected in the faces and gestures of the figures; the movements of animals are observed and decorative patterns, e.g. on carpets enable the original designs to be recognised. Bihzād was one of the first Persian painters to sign their work, although in the smallest letters and in a place difficult to see, or whose name is mentioned in the colophon by the calligrapher. But as a result of his fame his name has for centuries been wrongly added to miniatures for financial profit or to give a collector a page by the celebrated painter, or his works have been copied, signature included.

The following form the group of works which may be ascribed with considerable certainty to Bihzād:

A. 1. Eleven miniatures in a MS. of the *Būstān* written by Mīr Shaiḫ Muḥammad b. Shaiḫ Aḥmad in Shawwāl 883 (1479); in the Chester Beatty collection in London; attribution due to the colophon which mentions Bihzād as the painter (*al-ʿAbd al-muḏḥnib* B.).

2. Miniature in two parts, Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiḳarā and retinue in a garden, c. 1485; Teherān, Gulistān Museum. In the (possibly not authentic) signature the name Bihzād is without qualification. An incomplete version of the left half is preserved in the Philip Hofer collection in New York.

3. Four or five miniatures in a *Būstān* MS. written for Ḥusain Baiḳarā in 893 (1488) by Sulṭān ʿAlī al-Kātib and illuminated by Mārī al-Muḏḥabbib; in Cairo, Bibl. Royale. Four miniatures have a signature (*al-ʿAbd B.*) two the date 893 (or 894) in the smallest hand or as a decorative element in the architecture. The signature on the double page frontispiece is for the most part destroyed so that the attribution is not so certain as in the other miniatures which are most certainly the work of Bihzād.

4. Three miniatures in a MS. of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, written in 846 (1442), but, as the date (Radjab 898) in another miniature (fol. 77b), contemporary with Bihzād shows, illuminated with miniatures in 1493 (Brit. Mus., Add. 25,900, fol. 121b, 161a, 231b). The miniatures are said in the text between the columns of verse to be by Bihzād (*al-ʿAbd B.*) and perhaps other miniatures in this MS. are by him.

5. A panorama showing an old man and a youth in a landscape in an album (dated 930 = 1524) of specimens of the work of famous calligraphers; formerly in the Kevorkian collection in Paris. The

genuineness is guaranteed by a signature (*al-ʿAbd B.*), a reference in the preface and a note by the librarian of the Mughal emperors to whom the album belonged in Akbar's time; date uncertain.

6. A miniature of two camels fighting; with an inscription which describes the picture as the work of the 70 year old Bihzād (*Fakīr-i nāmūrād B.*) c. 1520—1525; Gulistān Museum, Teherān.

Among works ascribed to Bihzād the authenticity of which is not absolutely proved are the following:

B. 1. Portrait sketch of Ḥusain Baiḳarā, unfinished; Paris, L. Cartier collection (according to Martin, Sakisian).

2. Portrait sketch of Ḥusain Baiḳarā on horseback; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (according to Martin, Sakisian).

3. Three drawings of birds to Amīr Shāhī's *Ghasals* (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Pers., 1,955), signed (according to Blochet, Wilkinson).

4. Thirteen miniatures to Amīr Khusrav Dihlavi's *Khamsa*, written in 890 (1485); London, A. Ch. Beatty collection (according to Martin, Schulz).

5. Three miniatures to the *Gulistān*, written in Muḥarram 891 (1486) by ʿAlī al-Kātib; Paris, Maurice de Rothschild collection. One miniature signed (*al-ʿAbd B.*; according to Wiet).

6. Twelve miniatures to Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī's *Zafar-nāma*, written in 872 (1467) by Shīr ʿAlī for Ḥusain Baiḳarā, but probably not painted till later; Baltimore, R. Garret collection. Unsigned but attributed by Djahāngīr (according to Martin, Schulz, Kühnel, Arnold, Gray).

7. Miniature (unfinished) to the *Gulistān*: the poet is driving off the robber's dog; Teherān, Gulistān Museum. Attribution early on account of inscription on it; copied in 1619 by Aḳā Ridā as a work of Bihzād.

8. Portrait miniature of Muḥammad Khān Shaiḫānī; Paris, A. Sakisian collection (according to Sakisian).

9. Miniatures to Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, written in 935 (1529); belonging to the Persian government. According to the colophon, painted by Bihzād but quite different in style from his other works.

10. A drawing of Shāh Tahmāsp on a platform in a tree; Paris, Louvre; signed: *Pir-i Ghulām B.* (according to Sakisian, Wilkinson).

Works mentioned in literature but not now known are: a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī written by Maw-lānā Maḥmūd for Shāh Tahmāsp, a *Timūr-nāma* written by Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashḥadī, and the album of miniatures for which Khwāndamīr wrote the preface.

Bihzād's influence is first seen in his pupils, of whom some, like Kāsim ʿAlī and Aḳā Mirak, almost attained their master's level. The Nizāmī MS. (Brit. Mus. Or. 6,810) of 900 A.H. (1495) was long thought to be Bihzād's work and although most of the miniatures are now ascribed to Kāsim ʿAlī, the style in some of the unsigned ones is so distinctive that they may be regarded as Bihzād's work. In spite of the fact that another change in style took place very soon under the Ṣafawids, there was in the first three decades of the xvth century a transition style which shows many features of Bihzād's work; a characteristic example is an ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī MS. of 1526 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. turc, 316) in which Blochet thinks he can still see some of Bihzād's work. Herāt painters carried Bihzād's style of painting to Bukhārā where it became established at the Shaiḫānīd court. Here the tradition of Bihzād and the Herāt school



survived till beyond the middle of the xvth century. By the migration of artists from centres still under Bihzād's influence, the Herāt style and Bihzādic tradition were brought also to India. The earliest and purest products are two miniatures in the *Djahāngīr Album* (Berlin, Staats-Bibl.) according to Kühnel of the period from 1520 to 1535. Already much modified, but still occasionally quite unmistakable, Bihzād's style survives in several miniatures of the *Ḥamza* romance, which form the beginning of Mughal painting proper.

Independently of the general development of style we find Bihzād's miniatures and motives more or less faithfully copied down to the xvith century. Dārā's meeting with the horseherd in the Cairo *Būstān* is found in a *Būstān* Ms. of 1535 (Paris, Cartier collection) and in another of 1556 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. pers. 1187); the fighting camels recur in many Indian and Persian miniatures, on a Persian carpet with animal designs of the xvith century (Berlin, Schloss-Museum) and on a green glazed faience bottle of about 1600 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), while as late as 1626 we find Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī reproducing a design by Bihzād apparently for a story of Madjūn (Paris, Vignier collection).

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**BILMEDJE** (from the root *bil-* "to know, to advise") is the most usual name for the popular riddle among the Ottoman Turks. Among the Eastern and Northern Turks, names derived from the root *tap-* "to find" are used like *tapmadja*, *taḫḫış*, *taḫḫak*, *tabuḫturmak* etc.

Riddles of popular origin are at once distinguished from those deliberately invented, *luğhas* (arab. *luğhas*) or *mu'ammā* [q. v.], as a rule by their simple form, their ambiguity and their irrationality. This last characteristic consists in the use of traditional names for different things which are only loosely connected with the natural significance and which must be known before their meaning can be understood. The correct solution of a riddle cannot therefore usually be found by logical deduction. One must first become acquainted with the proper style and significance of the individual hieroglyphic phrases in order to find the answers. This is of course by no means peculiar to Turkish riddles. On the contrary, these popular Turkish riddles are only distinguishable from those of other nations by minor features, chiefly of a formal character. Specifically Turkish features are mainly references to Turkish local geography and popular customs. The Muslim tinge is with few exceptions secondary and insignificant.

Bilmedje at the present day are mainly intended for children. There are many indications however that they were once serious and formed an integral part of the people's learning. In narrative literature we find many reference to riddle-duels which were fought in this way in place of actual fighting and in which the consequences to the losers were fatal. There are also cosmological and sexual riddles which could never have been intended for children. With the alteration of their place in society riddles were given new solutions. The solution therefore forms the most unstable and varying element in the popular riddle.

Bilmedje are usually in the form of a short sentence like, for example, the riddle recorded as early as the beginning of the xivth century and still very widely known, the answer to which is "a snake": *yer altında yaghlı kayış* "under the earth (lies) a greasy rope". Riddles in two parts are very common, the two halves of which as a result of their syntactical parallelism show grammatical rhymes or assonance, e. g. *aldım kılışını — aldım yavrusunu*, "I opened the shaggy one — and took out the young" (answer: a "chestnut"). Riddles in two parts are frequently expanded to the regular quatrains so characteristic of Turkish popular poetry. Alliteration and onomatopoeic elements are also very common features of Turkish popular riddles.

A comparative survey reveals in the material so far available groups of related riddles which

are variants of certain prototypes. The riddles are being continually altered either involuntarily through long oral transmission or through deliberate adaptation to new solutions which result in a mass of variants. In spite of this liability to change there are riddles which have retained the same form and answers for centuries.

Riddles are mentioned as early as the *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (xith century) under the name of *Tabuḡhu Nāy*, *Tabuḡhuḡ*, or *Tabuḡh*. The oldest known collection is however that in the Codex Cumanicus, which has produced a considerable literature (G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1880, p. 143—157, 236—238; W. Radloff, *Das türkische Sprachmaterial, des C. C.*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.*, xxxv/6 [1887], p. 2—5; W. Bang, *Über die Rätsel des C. C.*, in *S.B.Pr.Ak.W.* [1912], xxi. 334—353; J. Németh, *Die Rätsel des C. C.*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxvii. [1913], p. 577—608; S. E. Malov, *K istorii i kritike C. C.*, in *Izv. Akad. Nauk S. S. S. R.*, human. sect., 1930, p. 348—375; J. Németh, *Zu den Rätseln des C. C.*, in *K.C.A.*, ii. 366—368).

There are also many collections of riddles by modern students, which do not by any means yet exhaust the wealth of the material among the different Turkish peoples.

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**BİR AL-SAB'**, the Arabic name of Beer-sheba<sup>c</sup> in Southern Palestine. At this place, south of 'Askalān, were the springs which Abraham was said to have dug with his own hands; many legends were current about them. The place has been uninhabited since the xivth century. Numerous Greek inscriptions have been found at the modern Bir es-Seba<sup>c</sup>.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

\***AL-BİRÜNİ.** Al-Khwarizmi is another name sometimes given by Arabic writers to Abu 'l-Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī; indeed Yāḳūt uses the former epithet once only (*Mu'djam*, i. 417). Unfortunately, in

spite of the danger of confusion, the name al-Khwarizmi is also used by modern scholars.

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\*AL-BISTĀMĪ ABŪ YAZĪD (BĀYAZĪD) ṬAIFŪR B. ṬISĀ B. SURŪSHĀN (not to be confused with the homonymous ascetic Abū Yazid Ṭaifūr al-Bistāmī al-Aṣghar), a native of Bistām in the province of Kūmis, was one of the most celebrated Sūfis of the iii<sup>rd</sup> century A. H. His grandfather Surūshān, as the name indicates, was a Zoroastrian convert to Islām. Concerning the life of Bāyazid hardly anything is known: the ancient biographers give few details, while the additional circumstances related by such writers as 'Aṭṭār belong, for the chief part if not entirely, to the domain of legend. Before embracing *taṣawwuf* he studied Ḥanafite law, the elements of which he taught to Abū 'Alī al-Sindī, from whom in turn he received instruction in the highest truths of mysticism (*al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ḥaqā'iq*) and the theory of *fanā'*. Except for short periods, when the hostility of orthodox theologians forced him to go into exile, he passed his life at Bistām as a solitary recluse. Another century elapsed ere his followers, the Ṭaifūris, formed a school, which according to the account given in the *Kashf al-Maḥdġub* of Hudjwiri (ed. Schukovski, p. 228, *penult.* et *sqq.* = transl. Nicholson, p. 184 *sqq.*) was opposed to that of Ḍjunaid in preferring mystical "intoxication" (*sukr*) to mystical "sobriety" (*ṣaḥw*). Bāyazid died in 260 (874). His tomb in the centre of the town attracted many notable visitors, including Hudjwiri, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Yāqūt; in 713 (1313), a cupola was erected over it by order of the Mongol Sulṭān Ūldġaitū Muḥammad Khudābanda, whose spiritual director, Shaikh Sharaf al-Dīn, was, or claimed to be, a descendant of the saint (*Safarnāma*, transl. Schefer, p. 7, note 3).

Bāyazid left no written work, and though fragments from early collections of his *shataḥāt* (ecstatic utterances) have come down to us, the sayings ascribed to him in later compilations lack authenticity. He combined strict asceticism and reverence for the religious law with an extraordinary power of intellectual and imaginative speculation. A monistic tendency, perhaps exaggerated by 'Aṭṭār and other Persian mystics, is apparent even in the oldest sources available (e.g. *Luma'*, p. 380—393), on which Massignon's brilliant analysis of his doctrine is based (*Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, p. 245—256). His attempt to reach absolute unity by a negative process of abstraction (*tadġirid*, *fanā' bi 'l-tawḥīd*) is pursued relentlessly to a point where, having denuded himself of personality, like a snake which casts off its skin, he assumes divine attributes and cries *Subḥānī*, "Glory to Me! How great is My majesty!" etc. The following passages may be quoted in illustration. "If I could say sincerely, 'There is

no god but Allāh', I should not care about anything after that" (*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Leyden MS., ii. 220). "Twelve years I was the smith (*ḥaddād*) of my 'self' (*nafs*), and five years the mirror of my heart (*qalb*). Then, for a year, I considered between my 'self' and my heart; and lo, on my waist I saw an outward girdle (of infidelity). Twelve years I laboured to cut it; then I looked and saw a girdle within me. Five years I laboured, considering how I should cut it; and it was loosed. I looked on God's creatures and perceived them to be dead and pronounced four *takbirs* over them" (Kushairi, *Risāla*, Cairo 1318, p. 57, l. 23 *sqq.*; cf. 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, i. 139, l. 5 *sqq.* and *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 327 *sq.*). "As soon as I attained to oneness (*waḥdāniya*) I became a bird with a body of unity (*aḥadiya*) and wings of everlastingness; and I continued flying in the air of quality (*kaifiya*) for ten years, until I reached an atmosphere a hundred million times as large (as that of quality); and I flew on until I arrived in the field of eternity (*avalīya*), and there I saw the tree of unity". Then, after describing its soil, roots, branches, foliage and fruit, he said, "I looked, and I knew that all this was a cheat" (*Luma'*, p. 384, l. 12 *sqq.*). The last words, I think, are no more than a recognition of the fact that every description of reality is deceptive. The view that they are a confession of failure and disillusionment (Massignon, *Essai*, p. 248) seems to me psychologically improbable; this would surely be a lame and impotent conclusion to the supreme mystical experience, which in Bāyazid's case is depicted as a *mi'rāġi* in imitation of the Prophet (see *Luma'*, p. 382—387; *Islamica*, vol. 2, fasc. 3, p. 402 *sqq.*, a iv<sup>th</sup> century Arabic version ed. and transl. by the present writer; and 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, i. 172—176). On the other hand, it is quite natural that Ḍjunaid, who wrote a commentary on the *shataḥāt*, should have criticised the imperfections of his predecessor (*Luma'*, *loc. cit.*). While 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī of Herāt (d. 481) reckons the *mi'rāġi* as one of the many fictions which have been fathered on him (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 63, l. 1 *sqq.*), in the later Persian Sūfi literature Bāyazid, like Ḥallāġ, typifies the pantheistic enthusiasm so congenial to the race. If we acquit him of conscious pantheism, there are grounds for believing that his countrymen have not altogether mistaken his character or misunderstood the drift of his doctrine.

*Bibliography*: This is given in the article and, fully, by Massignon, *Essai*, p. 243 *sqq.* (R. A. NICHOLSON)

**BŪK**, generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family. Wind instruments played by means of a cup-shaped mouth-piece may be divided into two classes, viz.: 1. the horn or conical tube type; and 2. the trumpet or cylindrical tube type.

1. The horn type. Whether the *ṣūr* and *nāḳūr* mentioned in the *Qur'ān* (vi. 73; lxxiv. 8; lxxviii. 18), were horns, as al-Djawhari (d. ca. 1003) says, the Arabs and Persians of pre-Islamic times knew of a conical tube instrument of the animal horn type. An example may be found in Greek art of the iv<sup>th</sup> century B. C. showing an Asiatic warrior playing such an instrument (Gerhard, *Apulische Vasen*, pl. ii.). The Arabs appear to have known this instrument as the *ḥarm*, cognate words being found in the Assyrian *ḥarmu* and the

Hebrew *keren*. It is still used by *darwīsh* fraternities in the East, the instrument being said, according to Turkish tradition, to have been the invention of the mythical Persian king Minučāhr (Ewliyā' Ćelebi, i/ii. 238). For designs of this instrument see Advielle, p. 9, and Lavignac, p. 3075, by whom it is called the *naḡir*. Actual specimens may be found in museums, e.g. the Crosby Brown Collection, New York, N<sup>o</sup>. 2454. It was made in various sizes, the smallest type corresponding to the European bugle from 25 to 35 cm. in length (Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, pl. 1 and 3). A larger type, approximating to the European oliphant or heerhorn (Buhle, pl. 2), of 50 to 100 cm., would be similar to that mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377) who describes an instrument of the Sūdān made from an elephants' tusk (*Voyages*, iv. 411). Al-Shāḡundī (d. 1231), the Andalusian Arab, speaks (al-Maḡḡarī, *Analectes*, ii. 144) of a monster *ḡarn* or horn known as the *abū ḡurūn* ("father of horns") which would be, perhaps, something like the monster horn (*būḡ al-ḡabīr*), the height of a man, referred to by Muḡammad al-Ṣaḡḡir (*Tadhḡirat al-Nisyan*, p. 45). There is a fine Hispano-Moorish ivory horn of the x<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Room 63, N<sup>o</sup>. 2953—1862).

A horn made of a shell was known to the Arabs of the Peninsula in the viii<sup>th</sup> century. Al-Laith b. al-Muzaḡaffar tells us that it was used by millers and that it was a spiral conch resembling the *minḡāṣ*, similar, apparently, to the *ṣhaḡḡh* of India (Day, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, p. 151). This instrument the Arabs called the *būḡ*. It was not then a warlike instrument as the Arabs did not use horns or trumpets in war at this time (Ibn Ḳhalḡūn, in *N. E.*, xvii. 44). A poet quoted by al-Aṣma'i (d. 828) says that it was used by the Christians (as in al-Farazḡaḡ) and, according to al-Dḡawḡarī, the Arabs borrowed its warlike usage from them. Indeed the word *būḡ* appears to have been derived either from the Greek *βουκων* or the Latin *buccina* (Dozy, *Suppl. dict. arabes*), although in the *Tadhḡ al-'Arūs* the Persian word *būrī* is considered to be the etymological original, an "obviously improbable" derivation (Lane, *Lexicon*). In the x<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the *Iḡḡwān al-Ṣaḡā'* refer to the *būḡ* to illustrate their discussions on acoustics (Bombay ed., i. 89). From this time the *būḡ* began to play an important part in martial and processional music in all Islāmic lands [cf. ṬABL ḲHĀNA]. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (ed. Macnaghten, i. 80; ii. 382, 403) it is in constant use for these purposes, whilst the *naḡir* or trumpet is only mentioned once (ii. 656). The term *būḡ* was used for all instruments of a conical tube whether made of a conch, an animal's horn, or of metal, or whether crooked or straight. The metal horn (Turk. *ḡirindḡ būrū*) is claimed (Ewliyā' Ćelebi, i/ii. 238) to have been introduced by the Saldḡūḡids (xi<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). This gave scope for a more acute curve in the crooked instrument. These horns were probably the *buccins Turcs* and *cors sarrasinois* mentioned by the Crusaders and borrowed by them. For designs of the *būḡ* or conical tube instrument, both straight and crooked, see *The Legacy of Islām*, fig. 91; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii., pl. i.; Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, xxxi., xlv.; Abu 'l-Faḡḡl, *Pin-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann;

Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum*, p. 743. The *būḡ* is mentioned in Persia as early as Firdawsī (d. 1020) and the instrument is still to be found there (Advielle, p. 9; Lavignac, p. 3075). In Georgia it is the *buki*, in the Congo the *embuchi* (= *al-būḡ*), in the Balkans the *buča*. With the Moors of Spain the *būḡ* had a reed inserted in the head instead of a cup mouthpiece and thus became an instrument of the wood-wind family [cf. MIZMĀR]. This was the *albugōn* (= *al-būḡ*) of Juan Ruiz (xiv<sup>th</sup> century). They also know of the *būḡ* as a horn or trumpet (cf. *bawwāḡa* [sic] in Schiaparelli's *Vocabulista in Arabico* and Pedro de Alcalá).

The Persian and Turkish equivalent of the Arabic *būḡ* is the *būrū* or *būrī* (Meninski, s. v. *būḡ*; Ḥāḡḡḡī Ḳhalīfa, i. 400; Toderini, i. 238; Ewliyā' Ćelebi, i/ii. 238). The word is to be found in modern Egyptian and Syrian Arabic (Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, s. v. *bugle*; Ronzevalle, in *M.F.O.B.*, vi. 29). It has become the Balkan *bore* and *boriye*, the Gold Coast *buro*, and the *bḡariyā* of India. *Burḡū* or *būrḡū* is the Ćaḡḡatai word for a huge horn introduced into the Islāmic armies during the Mughal and Tatar régime. Ibn ḡḡaibi (d. 1406; q. v.) says that it was longer than the *naḡir* or trumpet. It appears to survive in the *buruga* of India (Day, p. 153; Lavignac, p. 358) where it is another name for the *karnā*.

Another instrument of the horn or conical tube type mentioned by Arabic authors is the *ṣḡabbūr*. J. Reider's observations on this word (*J. Q. R.*, Jan., 1934), in reference to A. X. Idelsohn's mention of the word (*Jewish Music*, p. 495) as the *ṣḡafur*, must be accepted with reserve. It is introduced by al-Dḡawḡarī who says that it is a non-Arabic word. Seemingly, it was derived from the Hebrew *ṣḡōphar*, as Ibn al-Aḡḡir Maḡḡḡ al-Dīn (d. 1310) has surmised. Firdawsī includes the *ṣḡaḡḡūr* among the martial instruments of ancient Persia. Fétis mentions a modern trumpet of the Arabs under this name (*Hist. gen.*, ii. 157) which is extremely doubtful (see the *Saturday Review*, June 1882, p. 696), whilst the instrument delineated by him is also suspect (cf. Mahillon, i. 182).

2. The trumpet type. The chief instrument of the cylindrical tube class is the *naḡir*, although the name is frequently given to a straight instrument of the horn type (see Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, pl. xxxi.). The name *naḡir* in this connection does not occur until the time of the Saldḡūḡids (xi<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) although the type itself was probably known much earlier. Curt Sachs is wrong in deriving this word from *نفخ* (*Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s. v.). Originally the term *naḡir* meant "a people hastening to war", and so a trumpet used by such was called a *būḡ al-naḡir*, i.e. "a military horn or trumpet". Ibn al-Ṭīḡṭaḡā in the *Faḡḡrī* speaks of a large *būḡ* similar to the *būḡ al-naḡir* (p. 30), from which we may deduce that the ordinary *būḡ* was smaller than the *naḡir*. The bright, incisive tone of the *naḡir*, due to its cylindrical tube, was better for signalling purposes than the hoarse sound of the *būḡ* with its conical bore. The difference between them may be illustrated by the verbs used of the playing of these instruments. We read, for instance, that the *būḡ* player "blew" (*naḡaḡḡa*) his horn, whilst the *naḡir* player "blasted" (lit. "split", *sāḡa*) his trumpet. For the respective numbers of the



*nafir* and *būk* used in military bands see TABL KHĀNA. In the time of Ibn Ghāibī the length of the *nafir* was 168 cm. (= 2 gaz). The *nafir* is shown in numerous examples of Arab, Persian and Turkish art (Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*..., pl. 58; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, No. 68). The *nafir* or *nafirī* of India is still an instrument of a cylindrical tube (Day, p. 153; Lavignac, p. 358) although it takes other forms elsewhere (Kaempfer, p. 743; Advielle, p. 9). It is generally acknowledged (Buhle, p. 28; Schlesinger, xxvii. 326, 353; Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 200) that the straight cylindrical tube instrument of this type was borrowed from the East. It was the *añafil* of Alphonso X (d. 1284), Juan Ruiz (d. ca. 1350) and other writers of Medieval Europe.

The *karnā*, according to Ibn Ghāibī, was a trumpet bent back, often into the shape of an "S". The word was derived, doubtless, from the Semites (Assyr. *ḫarnu*: Arab. *ḫarn*) although Persian lexicographers vocalise the word as *karranāy*, the form given in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Like the *nafir*, it was of enormous length, and even in the xviii century these long trumpets were still the outstanding features of Persian and Indian (Mughal) military music (Chardin, *Voyages du Chev. Chardin en Perse*; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*), although of later years the term *karnā* is given to a straight instrument (Kaempfer, p. 743; Advielle, p. 9; Lavignac, p. 3075). With the Arabs of Spain of the xii century we find that the *ḫarn* equates with the Latin *tuba* and *tuba buccina* (*Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*).

If Europe borrowed the straight cylindrical *nafir* from the Orient the compliment was returned. As early as sultān al-Manṣūr (1567—1602), Morocco had a *ṭrunbaṭa* (= Span. *trumpeta*) which was made of brass and was as long as the *nafir* (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyan*, p. 117: translator writes *negir*). Turkey knew of the European (*firankī*) trumpet as well as the English (*ingiliz*) trumpet which was crooked [like the modern trumpet]

and made of brass (Ewliyā' Čelebī, 1/ii. 238). Persia was also acquainted with it. In the late xviii and early xix centuries, Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*) and Villoteau (*Description de l'Égypte*) give designs and descriptions of this type of trumpet under the names of *surme* (sic) and *nafir* respectively.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

## C

**CERAMICS.** The origins of Muslim ceramics are to be sought not in Arabia but in the tradition of the lands first conquered, in which the sociological and political transformation took place: in Syria and Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran. Parthian ceramic art, which had been partly under the influence of the late classical art and partly under the influence of the ancient east, and especially Sāsānian ceramic art (plate i.) provided the essential stimuli, technical, morphological and iconographical, and provoked the first developments in Mesopotamia and Iran in the period of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. In the centuries following, ceramic art flourished in lands where the Muslim conquest had not encountered great civilizations with similar arts, from Central Asia to North Africa and Spain.

Unglazed pottery (pl. i. 5—8), from prehistoric times the usual ware in all Muslim lands, consisting of large and small jars with ellipsoid or cylindrical bodies and short necks, drum-shaped

pilgrims' bottles, dishes and little oil-lamps, attained its highest perfection in Mesopotamia, especially in the district of Mōṣul under the Saldjūḳ dynasties (xii—xiii centuries A. D.); the methods of decoration are very varied; borders pressed into the moist clay with the thumb, decoration with clay stamps, patterns scratched, for example with a comb, openwork, mouldings in relief with eagles, opposed birds and animals, finally a low relief which is pressed on in hollow moulds or dropped from a pipette (the so-called barbotine work) (pl. i. 5). The delight in artistic creation found particular expression in a kind of strainer (gargoulette) which was fixed below the lip on the side of the jar. Besides the large waterjars, the spouts of wells were also made of baked clay in the shape of animals' heads and in the later middle ages hand grenades were also made of earthenware.

The glazed pottery of the early middle

ages was brought to light by the excavations conducted by F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld at Sāmarrā (on the Tigris above Baghdad), which from 838–883 was the Caliph's residence. The Islāmic material found there is confined to this period and can therefore be dated. Here were found dishes on legs all made in one piece, the decoration of which recalls the work of the silversmith, a resemblance strengthened by the glaze shimmering in gold lustre (pl. i. 9). The standpoint of the Muslim religion forbade the possession of those vessels, vases and dishes of silver, cast and sometimes gilt, of the Sāsānian metal workers' art, then still alive. The explanation of these ceramics is probably that such luxury articles of the Sāsānian silverwork were copied in pottery. This kind of work was soon driven out by a second kind in which the moulded elements, the inheritance of the feeling of the ancient world for beauty of form to which the Muslim attitude was opposed, were replaced by colours which were laid upon the white ground of the lead glaze, in red, yellow, brown and green metallic oxides, known as lustre (pl. i. 12). This style of lustre painting with its metallic sheen, appears, as the fragments from Sāmarrā show, perfected in Mesopotamia in the first centuries of Islām. It is a Muslim invention and probably the most important factories were in Baghdad whence it was exported to Persia (Susa), India (Brahminābād), Egypt (Fustāt), North Africa (Kairawān) and Spain (Madinat al-Zahra), as we know from finds of pottery in these places. Besides this luxury-ware there was a kind of pottery painted with cobalt-blue on cream-white lead glaze, the first kind of fayence painted with blue on a white ground (pl. i. 10).

Another variety of pottery from Sāmarrā shows evidence of the influence of Chinese stoneware of the T'ang period, of which a number of imported specimens were found (Chinese porcelain and celadon ware were also found). In particular the glazed jars, dishes and plates with splashed glaze in various colours, yellow, brown and grey (sometimes with moulded or incised decoration), were imitated by the Muslim potters most skilfully and soon assumed a native character (pl. i. 11).

Persia, which provided architects, painters and sculptors for the work of the first Caliphs, played a considerable part in the development of the Muslim arts (weaving, metalwork) and particularly ceramics (cf. the copper green glazed ware for everyday use already made in the Sāsānian period [pl. i. 4] and pottery from Susa). The oldest Persian pottery, known as Gabri ware, with incised decoration and splashed glaze in various colours (copper-green, cobalt-blue, manganese) bears distinct traces of the influence of Persian ideas. The hunting motif, popular in Sāsānian art, is found e.g. as hunter and dog. We find fabulous animals like winged horses, dragons, lions, griffins (pl. ii. 2) all however very much stylized, which is due to the Muslim attitude and religion which objected to the organic and symbolic and was only reluctantly adopted by the Persians. Thus we find echoes of the religion of Zoroaster, such as fire-altars and cocks (pl. i. 12; ii. 1), who played their part as heralds of dawn. The word Gabri, originally a term for the fire-worshippers [cf. GABER], was probably transferred from these potters, who still adhered to their old faith, to their work.

The finds at Raiy (Rhages) near Teherān have

thrown a great deal of light on the Persian ceramics of the middle ages. The cobalt-blue and turquoise-green dishes, vases, jugs and cups, which in many ways recall metalwork, seem also quite appropriate in ceramics, because the material of the viscid glaze is used with great effect. This variety, typical sculptors' work, is usually decorated in very low relief (pl. ii. 3, 4). Particularly fine work is found in the dishes and cups and cream-white glaze which are in origin imitations of Chinese porcelain. In Raiy lustre work attained its highest perfection, and was sometimes enriched with cobalt-blue glaze (pl. ii. 5, 7). The articles made show great variety in form and decoration; shallow and deep dishes, plates, bowls, cylindrical vases, jugs, little jugs with spouts, bottles with spherical bodies and narrow neck, ewers in the form of animals (pl. ii. 4) occur in many varieties. The arabesque decoration, like the representations of figures from Persian mythology, at this period assumed their classical forms. The Minai pottery which is in no way inferior to the lustre work in wealth of shape and decorative motives (pl. ii. 6), horse-men fighting, throne scenes, legend of Bahrām Gōr etc., is even more a luxury ware and shows connection with the miniature painting of Persia. It is distinguished by figures or designs painted in many colours or gilt with gold leaf (the latter often on a moulded ground) on white, turquoise more rarely cobalt-blue, lead glaze. In addition to Raiy there were in the northeast in Amol and particularly in Samarqand potteries in which a notable ware for household use was made (cf. dishes and jars with decoration in imitation of writing).

Some of the potteries of Central Persia continued in existence after the Mongol conquest, although Raiy itself was destroyed (1227). In this period ceramic painting over glaze largely gave way to painting under the glaze (pl. ii. 8). Instead of thick opaque lead glaze, a coating was put on upon which the decoration was painted and then covered with a coloured or plain transparent lead glaze. Although in this period Chinese animal and plant motives like dragons and fung-hoang, Chinese lotus-flowers and peonies entered the canon of forms, ceramic art still retains its independence in style and technique. The potteries seem to have been in the region of the capital Sultāniya founded by the Mongols. It is called Sultānābād pottery after a more modern town in this region. In the later Mongol period blue painting on a white ground under the lead glaze was practised. Chinese influences here, as in the imitation of celadon stoneware, were often considerable.

In the Šafawid period (1502–1736) lustre painting flourished for the last time (plates, vases and bottles with blue, grey or white glaze; considerable copper sheen in the lustre). There was also white glazed semi-porcelain painted in blue and black which developed under the influence of Chinese porcelain. Eastern Asiatic porcelain was collected at the courts in this period, and special cabinets were made to exhibit it just as in the European baroque palaces. The latest native Persian pottery is the fayence developed at Kūbāča in Daghestān, not without contact with the art of the Turkish potter, with painted figures and flowers in yellow, red and green ochre tints with black outlines.

From the early middle ages Syria had important potteries in Rakka on the Euphrates (kilns and



potsherds have been found) the earliest products of which are oil-lamps, jugs and vases with thick green lead glaze. This pottery received its artistic perfection from painting under the glaze which was developed here earlier than in other Muslim lands (x<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.). Animals and plants were used as decorative elements painted with a broad brush on a white background and covered with a thick lead glaze with runs down in large drops and is colourless, turquoise-green or blue (pl. iii. 4). We also find a fayence painted on white tin glaze (pl. iii. 6) in a style corresponding to the Persian Minai technique. Besides the great variety of dishes and fayence vessels, special mention must be made of the cylindrical vessels known as albarrello, which were also made in Spain in similar shapes and gave Italian majolica works the idea for the druggists' pots (pl. iii. 5).

In Egypt where the imported Sāmarrā ware (potsherds and kilns in Fuṣṭāṭ) had called into existence a native lustre pottery, which flourished particularly in the Fāṭimid period (pl. iii. 8), Syrian potters introduced in the late middle ages painting under glaze. Besides the pottery with splashed glaze (pl. iii. 7) we must also mention its ware with graffiato decoration influenced from Byzantium, which flourished in great variety in the Mamlūk period (coats of arms and badges).

In Spain the native potters developed their art, particularly in Malaga (in the period of the building of the Alhambra in Granada). A lustre dish with the word "Malaga" in Arabic upon it (pl. iii. 7) shows that the so-called Alhambra vases, large ornamental vases with handles (pl. iii. 8) painted with lustre and blue, come from Malaga. The high quality of this lustre pottery is obviously due to the influence of Persian potters who as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes, were to be found in Spain (export to Italy of the so-called bacini, found in the walls and towers of churches in Pisa, S. Piero a Grado and Ravenna etc.) and inspired the local work. In the areas reconquered by the Christians the potter's craft flourished, notably in the region of Valencia (in Manises: lustre pottery, table-ware, vases with large handles with vine-leaves in lustre and blue lustre with copper sheen [pl. iii. 34]. In Paterna pottery painted in copper green and manganese brown, and in the form of animals [pl. iii. 9]).

The potter's craft in Turkey is only known to us from the xv<sup>th</sup> and xvii<sup>th</sup> centuries. A group of dishes and jars is painted in simple blue geometric and spiral ornament. Large dishes and mosque lamps painted in blue or in several shades of blue and green, show how calligraphy, arabesque and Chinese elements become a decorative unity (pl. ii. 8). The pottery of Isnik takes more delight in colour. Several shades of blue and green and the characteristic tomato red with black incised borders on white, blue, green or red ground, sometimes assisted by a slight relief, show the particular Turkish flower motives (tulip, hyacinths, rosebuds) in perfection. In addition to plates, dishes, tureens, and jugs, there is a peculiar form of vessel in the shape of a cylindrical vase made with a handle of which a specimen with a silver lid in Germany (Halle Museum) has an inscription saying it was made in Nicaea. In the xvii<sup>th</sup> and xviii<sup>th</sup> centuries potteries flourished in Kutāhiya in Anatolia, the products of which are influenced by Persian painted fayence and also by European rococo.

Ceramics in architecture. Fayence tiles painted in lustre colours which were used to cover walls have been found in Sāmarrā (pl. iv. 1). In the mosque of Sidī 'Oḡba in Ḳairawān is a mihrāb wall with similar lustre tiles imported from Baghdad. It was again in Persia that the production of ceramic tiles reached its greatest perfection in the form of cross- and star-shaped tiles painted with manganese brown lustre (pl. iv. 3) of which many dated specimens exist, or in the form of rectangular, sometimes other-shaped pieces of some size, painted in cobalt-blue and lustre, for prayer niches among which the most prominent are the mihrāb from the Maidān mosque in Kāshān (1226) (pl. iv. 6) and that from Ḳum (1264) (both in Berlin, Staatl. Museen). The former is of special importance because the chief manufactories of these mihrāb tiles were in Kāshān (*kāshī* = tile in Persian). There were also tiles in different colours or covered with gold leaf on a white, turquoise or blue lead glaze (pl. iv. 2) (Minai work). In the Mongol period we find in addition to the lustre tiles, which were now given a low relief and usually painted in blue in addition to the lustre, tiles in relief glazed in monotone, turquoise-green or cobalt-blue, often with fabulous Chinese animals. In the later middle ages potteries flourished in Samarḳand and Bukhārā in which large pieces were produced in a kind of deeply engraved work with thick turquoise, blue or green splashed glaze for mausoleums, mosques and palaces. One style of tile imitating fayence mosaic especially popular in Turkestan in what is known as "powder-blue" work, in which the paint is ground down and scattered on the surface in the form of dust, is of special interest. In the xv<sup>th</sup> and xvii<sup>th</sup> centuries legendary hunting scenes, court scenes and genre compositions were represented on square or large rectangular bricks in the inner rooms of palaces in varied colours (influence of miniature painting) (pl. iv. 7). The Indian ceramic tiles of the Moghul period are less well known; they were essentially inspired from Persia but had also distinctive features of their own.

In addition to tiles, from the early Saldjūḳ period walls were covered in Persia in mosaic of small, rectangular, unglazed and glazed, ochre yellow, manganese brown and blue pieces on a ground of mortar (cf. the sepulchral towers in Djurdjān, Radkan, Damghan, Raiy and Nakhčewān); in the middle ages this had already produced the most remarkable variety of architectural ceramics: the fayence mosaic (pl. iv. 10, 11). The individual plans of the scheme, usually consisting of a rich composition in the form of a medallion or arabesque resembling carpet work, were cut out of the clay in small pieces dovetailing into one another below and stuck into the mortar of the wall or vaulting. Not only the designs but also the cobalt-blue ground between the yellow, green, brown, black and white designs is inlaid so that the whole wall is covered with fayence. In Persia and Turkestan buildings with fayence mosaic exist only from the late Mongol period (Mashhad: Imām Ridā and Djawharsad, Samarḳand: street of the tombs, Shāh Sindā). On the other hand, Persian potters from Tūs introduced the fayence mosaic of the Sirčeli Mosque into Ḳonya as early as the xiii<sup>th</sup> century. In Persia it attained its greatest perfection in the buildings of Tabriz, Ardabil and Isfahān.

While we find only carved terracottas on buildings in Mesopotamia in the later middle ages, we have from Syria isolated specimens of tiles of a high level (cf. the iridescent tile from a scroll in Naskhī of the time of Nūr al-Dīn with the writing originally white on a dark blue ground [pl. iv. 4] and two square tiles with representations of animals painted in brown lustre: Berlin, Staatl. Museen).

In Egypt we have here and there fayence mosaic inspired from Persia, and a simple native tile alongside of imported Spanish and Turkish tiles.

In Turkish lands architectural ceramics attained its first development in Konya, where under the influence of Persian potters fayence mosaic appears as early as the xiii<sup>th</sup> century (pl. iv. 9). Nevertheless a character of its own is undeniable in the colours and decoration (bright blue, manganese brown or black designs on a ground of red plaster and black and white, manganese brown and cobalt-blue design on bright turquoise-blue ground). The imitations of fayence mosaic are interesting. On large monochrome glazed bricks, the ground was sometimes scratched to hold the decoration or calligraphic scroll in coloured glaze or the polychrome glaze was laid upon the tile, as in Brussa with the help of dead edges (encaustic lines which do not take the glaze). In Konya there was also great variety of tiles. The cobalt-blue on green tiles painted with lustre or leaf-gold reveal, like the star-shaped tiles painted in the Minai style red, blue and green on a white ground but under the glaze, Persian influence but it is the latter that are the predecessors of the rich Ottoman tile work. The latter were square or rectangular tiles in the same range of colours as the vases and jars. The Turkish floral decoration, filling niches and medallions alternately, with patterns which came from the Chinese, is used here as on Turkish brocades (cf. mosques and palaces in Stambul). Of architectural ceramics in Spain apart from the fayence mosaic usually consisting of interwoven geometric patterns, such as we know from the Alhambra in Granada (pl. iv. 5), very little has survived. Some tiles of considerable size with lustre painting show that this technique was also used on buildings. The process of making a scroll or decoration appear on monotone glazed tiles by scratching the glaze on the terracotta ground and the technique of the dead edges (*cuerda secca*) were also used here. The variety of rectangular tiles called Azulejos with Islāmic forms of animals, in intensive colours, which are no longer strictly Moorish work, is evidence of the influences which the potter's craft in the west received from the ceramics of Islām.

There are important collections of Muslim art in Berlin, Staatliche Museen; The Hague, Gemeente Museum; Cairo, Arab Museum; London, British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum; Madrid, Museu Osma; New York, Metropolitan Museum; Palermo, Museum; Paris, Louvre, Musée des Arts décoratifs; Teherān, Gulistān Museum.

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(J. H. SCHMIDT)

**ČISHTĪYA**, Indian Order or Caste of fakīrs, founded according to some by one Abū Ishāk, descended in the ninth generation from 'Alī, who migrating from Asia Minor, settled at Čisht, a village of Khurāsān, or, in another account, settled in Syria and was buried at Acre; according to others by Banda Nawāz, who is buried at Kalbarga; according to others by Khwādīja Aḥmad Abdāl of Čisht (d. 355 = 965—966) brought to India by Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī, a native of Sidjī, who migrated thither in the time of Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sām (589 = 1193) and settled in Ajmeer (Sir D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, 1916, p. 224 gives this person's date as 471 = 1078—1079, and



thinks he may be identical with Banda Nawāz; but the form of the title is too late for this). His *Khalīfa* was Khwādja Kutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633 = 1235—1236), buried near the Kutb Manār in Delhi, and his *Khalīfa* Bābā Farid Shakkargandj (d. 668 = 1268—1269), whose shrine is at Pak Pattan in Montgomery (Pandjab). "The descendants of his relations and children, whether carnal or spiritual, have developed into a caste which is found in the lower Satluj and chiefly in the Montgomery district" (Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*).

Bābā Farid had two disciples, 'Alī Aḥmad Šābir, whose shrine is at Piran Kaliar near Rurki, and whose followers are known as Šābir Āshīti; the other Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (630—725 = 1272—1324), whose followers are called Nizāmī. His tomb at Delhi is described in the Urdu work *Āthār-e-Dehli* (Dehli 1911).

The ancestors of the Montgomery Āshītīs are supposed to have come from Kābul to Lahore in the thirteenth century, and then to have moved to Montgomery; they were till lately nomad and claimed Qurashī origin. They intermarry with Rājput women. Ibbetson quotes a saying (of which he does not know the origin): "you can tell a Āshīti by his squint eye".

Practices of the Order. They lay special stress on the words *illa 'llahu*, use vocal music in their religious services, and wear coloured clothes, dyed with ochre or the bark of the acacia tree. The *murīd* (neophyte) after a prayer of two *raḳ'as* is given certain instructions, e.g. that he should observe the sense of the word *faḳīr*, *fāḳa* (poverty), *ḥanā'a* (content), *yād Allāh* (mention of Allāh), *riyāda* (austerity). Presently some *ism* (divine name) is disclosed to him, and he is told to go to a shrine and there fast forty days, called *zilla kashī*; finally the spiritual pedigree of the order is communicated to him; after this he should see visions.

Drugs such as *bang*, *charas*, tobacco, and liquors are strictly forbidden.

History of the Order. According to Crooke (iv. 302, see below), it produced a personage of importance and fresh founder in the *Shaiḫ* Salīm, by whose intercession a son of the same name was born to the emperor Akbar; but the *Akbar-nāma* (transl. Beveridge, ii. 502), which dilates on this event, does not call this *shaiḫ* Āshīti, nor does its author mention him in his list of Āshīti saints (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, transl. Jarrett, iii. 361). It at one time displayed great vitality in Bahawalpur (N. Rājputana), where a village Āshītiān was founded by descendants of Tādj al-Dīn Āshīti, grandson of Shakkargandj. After the movement had become moribund it was revived by Khwādja Nūr Muḥammad Kibla-i 'Ālam, a Punwar Rājput of the Karral tribe. Five sub-orders are enumerated: Zaidī (named after Khwādja 'Abd al-Aḥad b. Zaid), Iyādi (after Khwādja Fuḍail b. Iyād), Adhamī (after Ibrāhīm b. Adham), Hubairī and Āshīti (simply).

Literature of the Order. They are said to have a number of songs (*ḡāfiya*), which are considered "the food of the soul". Their chief poets are said to be Budha Shāh, Ghulām Shāh and Khwādja Ghulām Farid.

A list of their shrines is given in *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. Frontier Province*, Lahore 1919, i. 530, 531; an important Šābirī shrine is at Thaska Mirandj, in

Karnal district, founded 1131 (1718—1719) by Nawwāb Roḥan al-Dawla, minister of Muḥammad Shāh. A list of their saints is given *ibid.*, i. 531—538. A distribution table of their communities is given by Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, iv. 302. From these works the information given above is mainly derived.

Lists of Āshīti saints are to be found in the works *Siyar al-Awliyā'* by Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmāni, and *Khawānat al-Aṣfiyā'* by Mufti Ghulām Sarwar Lāhori.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

**CONSTANTINUS AFRICANUS**, the earliest translator of Arabic medical works into Latin, born in the beginning of the v<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century, in Tunisia ("Carthago"), died a monk in the famous monastery of Monte Cassino at Capua in South Italy in 1087 A.D. Very little is known of his life and that comes only from the by no means reliable chronicle of Petrus Diaconus (d. after 1140 A.D.). According to this, he must have been a Muslim, as he studied grammar, dialectic, natural science and medicine in Baghdād ("Babylonia"); he travelled in India and Ethiopia(?) and completed his studies in Egypt. After 39 years spent in travelling he returned home, but became suspect on account of his universal knowledge and his life was threatened so that he had to fly to Italy. It is very probable that he went to Sicily first, as one source calls him Constantinus Siculus, and from there he went with the Norman conqueror Duke Robert Guiscard (1077 A.D. or perhaps earlier?) to Salerno (near Naples) where was the earliest medical school in western Europe. There Constantinus perhaps taught and in any case translated a large number of medical works by Greeks and Arabs from Arabic into Latin — very often attributing their composition to himself — and thus gave the first great stimulus to studies in Salerno and Italy generally. The influence of this actually extended to Spain (Toledo) in the x<sup>th</sup> century and created the Arab element in mediaeval science in Christian Europe. When Constantinus became a Christian and when he became a monk we do not know; we only know that he was welcomed with great honour by the abbot of Monte Cassino and continued his work of translation with great vigour there until his death at a great age. Another convert from Islām, Johannes Afflaciū (al-Fāsi?) Saracenus, is named as his pupil and successor in Salerno.

The most important translations by Constantinus Africanus are the following: from the Arabic versions (by Ḥunain b. Ishāq and his pupils) of Greek works: the "Aphorisms", the "Prognostic" and the "Diet in acute illness" of Hippocrates with Galen's commentaries on them; the larger Therapeutics of Galen (*Megatechne*), the smaller Therapeutics of Glaucōn (*Microtechne*) and pseudo-Galenic works; also the introduction to Galen's Therapeutics by Ḥunain b. Ishāq [q.v.] and the commentary on it by 'Alī b. Ridwān (an Egyptian physician of the v<sup>th</sup> = x<sup>th</sup> century).

Constantinus translated the following from the Arabic: The "Ophthalmics" (*al-ashar Maḳālāt fi 'Ain*) of Ḥunain b. Ishāq (*Constantini Liber de oculis*); the writings of Ishāq b. Sulaimān al-Isrā'īlī (c. 286 = 900) on the Elements, the Fevers and Diet; the *Zād al-Musāfir* of Ibn al-Djazzār (iv<sup>th</sup> = x<sup>th</sup> century) under the title *Viaticum*; the medical

encyclopaedia *Kāmil al-Sinā'a al-ṭibbiya* of 'Alī b. al-Abbās al-Maǧǧūsī (Persia, ivth = xth century) under the title of *Pantechne* ascribing all these works to himself; lastly a few shorter works of the physician al-Rāzī and some unknown Arab authors. Generally speaking, he frequently cut down the text or simply omitted the difficult passages; his Latin also is bad and interspersed with Arabic technical expressions transliterated and not translated. Nevertheless Constantinus Africanus is entitled to the credit of having augmented the scanty remains of ancient medical works in mediaeval Europe by making accessible a series of important Greek works preserved in Arabic.

**Bibliography:** The works of Constantinus Africanus were printed in Basle 1536 and 1539 (*Constantini Afr. Opera conquisita* etc.). There are also several separate works in the *Articella* (some incunabula, Venice 1478-1500 and later printed editions) and as appendices to other works: *Albucasis Methodus Medendi* (Basle 1541), *Rhazis Opera parva* (Lyons 1510), *Omnia Opera Ysaac* (Lyons 1515) etc. — M. Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin*, ii., Stuttgart 1911, p. 287 sqq.; F. H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*<sup>4</sup>, Philadelphia 1929; G.

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## D

\*AL-DADJDJĀL or AL-MASĪḤ AL-DADJDJĀL (rarely *al-Kadhdhāb*: Bukhārī, *Fitan*, bāb 26 and *al-Masīḥ al-ḡalāl*: Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 2532), the Muslim Antichrist. The word is not found in the Qur'ān; it is probably an Aramaic loan-word. In Syriac it is found as an epithet of the Antichrist, e.g. in Matthew xxiv. 24 where the Peshitta translates ψευδοχριστον by *meshihē daggālē*. We also find in Syriac *nebyā daggālā* "pseudo-prophet", *shāhedā daggālā* "false witness" etc. On the other hand, the existence in Arabic of the verb *dadjala* with the meaning "to deceive", given in the lexicons without further references, seems to be doubtful: this verb is not found in the Qur'ān nor in Tradition.

As M. Bousset has shown, the figure of the Antichrist in early Christian literature is made up of several elements: the principal — and this also applies to the Muslim conceptions — are the following: *a.* that of Satan as the eschatological enemy of God; *b.* that of the eschatological king who will reunite the peoples against Israel; *c.* that of the antagonist of Christ, the tempter, who is followed mainly by the Jews; *d.* that of the tyrant belonging to the tribe of Dan who will found a kingdom in Jerusalem, where he and his forces will be destroyed by Christ.

These features occur again, often corrupted, in canonical Tradition: *a.* the connection between al-Dadjdjāl and Satan, or rather their identity, is found in a well-known tradition: the Muslim armies about to divide the booty of Constantinople, retire in haste warned by a false alarm raised by Satan suggesting to them that al-Dadjdjāl has attacked their families in their absence. When they reach Syria the "enemy of God" appears, but faced with Christ he disappears like salt in water (Muslim,

*Fitan*, trad. 34; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, trad. 33). — In the second place the connection between the Antichrist and Satan is apparent in the description of al-Dadjdjāl's appearance.

He is reddish (Bukhārī, *Ru'yā*, bāb 33) with frizzy hair (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 68), corpulent (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 33), he has a wide throat (Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 2532), he is one-eyed (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā*, bāb 3; *Ru'yā*, bāb 11). His one eye in his broad forehead (Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 2532) is like a floating grape (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 77). On his forehead is written *kāfir* ("unbeliever"): Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdī*, bāb 30; *Anbiyā*, bāb 8). Or else one of his eyes is as if made of green glass (Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 544), in the other is a hard nail (Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 1106). His relations also are described as monsters (Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 865).

*b.* Al-Dadjdjāl is also an eschatological type appended to the *malāḥim* (Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 35), who, like the eschatological tyrant of the Old Testament, will come from a remote region, not the north, but from some region in the east (Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33), from Khurāsān (Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 4, 7) or Iṣbahān (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 224; vi. 75). — Times of great hardship will precede his appearance (Ibn Ḥanbal, vi. 125, 453 sqq.) which is the subject of detailed descriptions (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 110 which also deal with his connection with Yādūdī and Mādūdī, the eschatological peoples of the north in the Old Testament, trad. 111—117; Abū Dāwūd *Malāḥim*, bāb 14; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, bāb 57—59 etc.).

*c.* He is the great tempter, which is explained by his resemblance to Christ (Antichristos in the sense of counterpart of Christ; cf. the fact that he rides an ass — a Messianic feature [Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 367] and that his eyes sleep but not his heart



— a prophetic feature [Ṭayālīsī, N<sup>o</sup>. 865]). His followers will be unbelievers and *munāfiq* (q. v.; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 238), women (*ibid.*, ii. 67) and Jews (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 124; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 224, 292; vi. 75). Every prophet has warned his community against this tempter (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 17; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, bāb 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 195; ii. 135; iii. 79, 103, 173, etc.). Like the Gospel (Matthew, xxiv. 24; Mark, xiii. 22), Ḥadīth emphasises the large number of pseudo-messiahs (Bukhārī, *Fitan*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 83—85).

d. He will appear bringing supplies of food, water and fire (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 106—108; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, trad. 33 etc.) conquering the earth, except Mecca and Medina, and will perish in Syria and Palestine at the hands of Christ or the Mahdī (q. v.; Muslim, *Ḥadīj*, trad. 486; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 397—398, 407—408 etc.) after having exercised power for 40 days or 40 years (Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, bāb 14; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 166; iv. 181 etc.).

**Bibliography:** The statements in Tradition, especially the story of Tamim al-Dārī regarding al-Dadjdjāl as a demon of the sea, are cited in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. Dadjdjāl. The story of the meeting of Muḥammad with the alleged Dadjdjāl Ibn Ṣāiyād (Ṣā'id), *ibid.*, s. v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

**DALĪL.** [See KIVĀS.]

**AL-DĀRAKUṬNĪ,** ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. 'OMAR B. AḤMAD B. MAHDĪ, a distinguished traditionist, "the commander of the faithful in *ḥadīth*", was born in 305 (917—918) in Dār al-Ḳuṭn, a quarter of Baghdād. As was the custom of the time, he travelled to learn traditions from the most famous traditionists of his time and thus visited Baṣra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Syria and Egypt. He also studied recitation of the Qur'ān with Ibn Muḍjahīd (d. 323 = 935), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nakkaṣh (d. 351 = 962) and others (Ibn Khallikān), and *fiqh* with Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhri (d. 328 = 939—940). He was also a student of belles-lettres and knew for example the whole of the *Diwān* of al-Himyarī by heart and for this was suspected of Shi'ī tendencies. Among his pupils were al-Ḥakīm al-Nisābūrī (d. 405 = 1014—1015), Abū Ḥamid al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 406 = 1015—1016), the ḡaḍī Abū 'L-Taiyib al-Ṭabari (d. 450 = 1058) and Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430 = 1038—1039), the author of the *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*. He died in Baghdād at the age of 80 on Wednesday the 8th *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 385 (Dec. 4, 995) and was buried in the cemetery at Bāb al-Dair near Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and his pupil al-Isfarā'īnī pronounced the funeral oration.

He was one of the men who did a great deal to advance the critical study of Muslim traditions. His works, not all of which have survived, therefore deal primarily with the science of Tradition (*ulūm al-ḥadīth*).

1. *al-Sunan*, Dehli 1310; this gives the traditions, usually according to the different *isnāds* and with variants and, unlike the canonical collections, only contains the sections of importance for *fiqh*; this book, as al-Khaṭīb, p. 35, 3 says, could only have been written by one who was intimately acquainted with the differences of opinion on legal problems. He is also said to have assisted Ibn Ḥinẓaba, the vizier of the Ikshīdids, in the composition of a *Musnad*, for which he was richly rewarded (Ibn

Khallikān; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 408). Al-Yāfi' however doubts this story very much and according to Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 406, 13, this *Musnad* seems to be a work of Dārakuṭnī's, which he compiled for Ibn Ḥinẓaba. 2. *Kitāb 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth*, dictated from memory, edited and disseminated by his pupil al-Birkānī in the form of a *Musnad* (Khaṭīb, p. 37, 14 sqq.). Vols. 2, 3 and 5 have survived: *Catalogue Bankipore*, N<sup>o</sup>. 301—303. Nawawī recommended it for study in his *Taḥrīb* (transl. Marçais, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, xviii. [1901], 94). 3. *Ilzāmāt 'ala 'l-Ṣaḥīhain*, a collection of trustworthy ḥadīths, which fulfil the conditions laid down by Bukhārī and Muslim but are not in their works (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 1132). 4. *Kitāb al-Istidrākāt wa 'l-Tatabbu'*, list of 200 "weak" traditions in Bukhārī and Muslim (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ii 545 and N<sup>o</sup>. 9956). 5. *Kitāb al-Arba'in* (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 406). 6. *Kitāb al-Afrād*, on isolated traditions (Suyūṭī; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 9874). 7. *Kitāb al-Amālī* (Suyūṭī). 8. *Kitāb al-Mustadjād* (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 10488, 11923). 9. *Kitāb al-Ru'ya* in five parts (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 10150). 10. *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīf*, on errors in works on Tradition (Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 9975). 11. *Kitāb al-Mudabbadī*, on traditions, which contemporaries exchanged with one another (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī, *Nukhbat al-Fikr*, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 51, 11; this should also be the reading in the corrupt passages in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 406 [*M dh b h*], Dhahabī [*M d l d j*] and Suyūṭī [*M d y h j*]). 12. *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 8620). 13. *Kitāb al-Mukhtalaf wa 'l-Mu'talaf fī Asmā' al-Ridjāl* (Ibn Khallikān; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 708). 14. *Kitāb al-Du'afā'* (Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 142), preserved in a Stambul MS.: Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, p. 105. 15. *Kitāb al-Kirā'āt* (Fihrist, p. 35; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 10387), a short text-book in which he, the first to do so, put the principles of Qur'ān reading at the beginning of his work (Khaṭīb, p. 34, 21). — A work quoted by Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N<sup>o</sup>. 12413, the *Ma'rifat Madhāhib al-Fuḳahā'*, is due to an error of this compiler as a comparison with Khaṭīb, p. 35, 2 and his copyists clearly show.

**Bibliography:** al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, xii. 34—40; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, in *G.M.S.*, xx., fol. 217 (source: Khaṭīb); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 523; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 331; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāg*, Ḥaidarābād n. d., iii. 199—203 (chief source: Khaṭīb); Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1324, ii. 310—312 (source: Dhahabī); Yāfi', *Mir'āt al-Djanān*, Ḥaidarābād 1338, ii. 424—426 (source: Khaṭīb and Ibn Khallikān); Suyūṭī, *Liber classium*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833, ii. 113 (extract, supplemented from Dhahabī); Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-Schāfi'i*, Göttingen 1890, N<sup>o</sup>. 235; Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 184; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 165.

(HEFFENING)

\***DASŪKĪ** or **DUSŪKĪ**, IBRAHĪM B. ABĪ 'L-MADJID 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ (or 'Abd al-Madjid) (633—676 = 1235—1236—1277—1278), native of Dusūkī, a village of Lower Egypt in the Ḡharbiya District; founder of the Dusūkī Order. According to the commentator on his *Ḥisb* (Hasan Shamma, *Masarrat al-'Ainain bi-Sharḥ Ḥisb Abi 'L-'Ainain*, Cairo n. d.), his father came from a village Mrks (Marcus?) on the opposite bank of the Nile, and was himself

a *walī*; his mother was daughter of another *walī* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī. He is said to have studied *Shāfi'ī* jurisprudence before he followed the *Ṣūfis*, to have stayed ten years in his *khalwa* at Dusūk, and composed many books. Autobiographical details are quoted from some of these (called *al-Haḳā'ik*, *al-Djāwāhir*, *al-Djāwhara*), given most fully in *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shaikh Aḥmad al-Sharnūbi* by Muḥammad al-Bulḳinī (Cairo 1280), but these are of almost unparalleled extravagance: at the age of one he could catch angels, and at the age of two taught the *Djinn* the *Kur'ān*, etc. In a poem preserved in the British Museum MS. Rich. 7596 he asserts that the Sultān of Egypt came against him with his armies; various saints came to his assistance and he became Sultān of Egypt and 'Irāk with authority over men and *Djinn*. Shā'rānī in his *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār* (Cairo 1299, i. 221—245, the sole biography of him used by 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djādida Tawfīkiya*, Bülāk 1305, xi. 7) cites and apologizes for some of his pretensions, e.g. that he was commanded to invest all saints with the *khirḳa*, which he did, and that he gave orders to the angels which they obeyed; they are more severely handled in Ṣāliḥ b. Maḥdī's *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmīkh* (Cairo 1328, p. 476). His reputation appears to have spread far, since the author of the *Tādīj al-ʿArūs* calls him one of the four *Aḳṭāb* (the other three being 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gilānī, al-Rifā'ī and Aḥmad al-Badawī), and states that he visited his tomb twice. In a Leyden MS. containing some of his sermons he is called *Burḥān al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn* (*Catal.*, iv. 333). Ḥasan Shamma mentions two festivals celebrated at Dusūk in his honour, and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak three, in the Coptic months Barmudah, Tubah, and Misra respectively; the last of these continues for eight days and is the occasion of a crowded fair, at which goods of all sorts are sold. The location of these festivals in Coptic months suggests that Ibrāhīm had accorded to him honours which had belonged to some earlier cult or cults.

Some further information about him is furnished by A. le Châtelier (*Les Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p. 190), who, however, misdates him by a century; in Shā'rānī's quotations he repeatedly declares that he is in the seventh century. The homiletic matter in these consists in injunctions to strict morality and Sunnī orthodoxy. His *Ḥizb* (mentioned above) is partly magical in character, and since he claims to have mastered the *ḥaṭasim* of all the *Sūras*, probably he owes his fame to miracle-working. Since in an interview which he professes to have had with the Prophet Muḥammad, his "brother" 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gilānī was behind him and al-Rifā'ī behind 'Abd al-Ḳādir, his system is likely to have been based on theirs, though he claims superiority over all other saints even more emphatically than 'Abd al-Ḳādir, and went somewhat beyond al-Hallādj in identifying himself with Allāh, whereas al-Hallādj had called himself *al-Haḳḳ*.

*Bibliography:* cited in the article.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

**DELI-ORMAN** is the historical name of a district, the greater part of which lies in north-eastern Bulgaria and the remainder in southern Roumania. But as the term is a popular one, exact boundaries cannot be given. It is usually applied to the triangle, the apex of which is at the town of Rusčuk (Russe), and

the two arms formed by the Danube and the Rusčuk-Varna railway, while the base is somewhat undefined and runs at a certain distance from the coast of the Black Sea. On the northeast, Deli-Orman is bounded by the Dobruja, in the south by the Bulgarian provinces of Tozluk and Gerlovo. The most important places in Deli-Orman are the towns of Balbunar, Kemanlar and Razgrad on Bulgarian territory and Akkadınlar and Kurtbunar on Roumanian.

The name Deli-Orman is of Turkish origin and means something like "wild forest, primeval forest". The country was actually at one time covered with primeval forest of which considerable stretches still survive at the present day. The wooded character of the district contrasts strongly with the flat and treeless Dobruja.

The name is also extended to the land on the left bank of the Danube, where in the Wallachian plain between the mouths of the Aluta and the Vede lies a district called Teleorman (C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumanen, sowie die Völkerschaften der sogenannten Gagauzi und Surguti im heutigen Bulgarien*, in *Sitzungsber. d. K. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wiss., Philos.-gesch. Klasse*, Year 1889, p. 11). According to Jireček, the name was formerly applied to the whole of the hilly forest country lying in front of the Carpathians in southern Moldavia and eastern Wallachia. Tomaschek thinks he recognises the name Teleorman in a corrupt place-name in the Byzantine writer John Kinnamos of the xii<sup>th</sup> century. If he is right, the name Deli-Orman would be pre-Ottoman and come from an earlier North Turkish immigration.

Deli-Orman only a generation ago was still inhabited predominantly by Turks, but since the middle of the xix<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian colonisation has been steadily increasing. Nevertheless the Turks still form a considerable percentage of the population. One hears Turkish spoken everywhere, as is also the case in the provinces of Tozluk and Gerlovo adjoining on the south.

The Turks of this district form a particular type; they are remarkable for their tall stature and athletic build. Their language reveals dialectical peculiarities which are not found elsewhere in the Ottoman Turkish system but can be paralleled among the Christian Gagauz of Bessarabia. These peculiarities form the reason why they are regarded by some students as descendants of the Turkish Bulgars (K. and Ch. V. Škorpił, *Pametnici na gr. Oddessos-Varna*, Varna 1898, p. 4—6) and sometimes as descendants of the Kumans (V. Moškov, *Tureckija plemena na Balkanskom poluostrvu*, in *Izv. imp. russk. geogr. Obščestva*, xl., 1904, p. 409—417). But a rigid philological analysis proves no more than that their language shows certain North Turkish features which perhaps go back to an old North Turkish stratum in the population. This stratum was however assimilated in two waves of southern Turkish elements which came later (cf. T. Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est, in Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste de l'Académie Polonaise des Sc. et des Lettres*, N<sup>o</sup> 16, 1933). Nevertheless it is significant that in the Balkan Peninsula the most compact mass of Turks is found not in the southeast but in the northeast, which makes very probable the hypothesis of a very early Turkish settlement in the lands south of the lower Danube.



Turkish immigration in the Saldjūk period (xiiith century) to the neighbouring Dobruja appears to be a historical fact (cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi., 1921, p. 24).

In the Ottoman period Deli-Orman was a place of refuge for all kinds of political and religious refugees. It therefore still offers a great variety of sects. It was from here that in 1416 Shaiḫ Badr al-Dīn began his missionary career (F. Babinger, *Scheiḫ Bedr ed-dīn, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi., 1921, p. 60). At various periods different teachings, usually strongly tinged with Shi'ism, have found an asylum here. To this day there are in Deli-Orman considerable remnants of the followers of 'Alī, who are here called Alians or Kızılbaş (Redheads). Their headquarters seem to be the little town of Kemanlar (plural of Kemal with peculiar dissimilation of the two *l* sounds) in the vicinity of which is the famous, now disused, monastery of the Bektāshī saint Demīr Baba (F. Babinger, *Das Bektaschi-Kloster Demir Baba*, in *M. S. O. S. As.*, xxxiv., 1931; Babinger calls my attention to Ewliya' Ćelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, v. 579, where there is a reference to Demīr Baba as a disciple of Hādjdjī Bektāsh). There is a short poem (*nefes*) composed in honour of this sanctuary by the Bektāshī poet Dertli Kātib of Shumen (xviiith century) in N. E. Bulgaria (Sadettin Nūzhet, *Bektāshī Şairleri*, Istanbul 1930, p. 55 sq.).

A remarkable feature is the wrestling bouts, apparently connected with the worship of Bektāshī saints, which are the favourite amusement of the Turkish population of Deli-Orman. Indeed this little explored region is an interesting field for research not only for Turkologists but also for students of Islām.

*Bibliography*: (besides references in the text): F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, vol. iii., Leipzig 1879 (with full indices); C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891 (indices); W. Stubenrauch, *Kulturgeographie des Deli-Orman*, in *Berliner Geographische Arbeiten*, fasc. 3, 1933 (with full references). — On the problem of population: L. Miletič, *Staroto Bīlgarsko naseleniye v severoiztochna Bīlgariya*, Sofia 1902; S. S. Bobčev, *Za deliormanskite Turci i za Kızılbaşite*, in *Sbornik na Bīlgarskata Akademija na Naukite*, xxiv., 1929. — On the language question: D. G. Gadžanov, two short notices in *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Kl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, Year 1911, N<sup>o</sup>. v. and Year 1912, N<sup>o</sup>. iii. (T. KOWALSKI)

**PIDD** (A.), plur. *addād*, means in philosophical language, corresponding to the Greek ἐναντία, opposite, contrast, usually in the contrary sense. For the contradictory opposite *nakīd*, *tanākud* (ἀντιφρασσις) are used, and for opposite in general various forms of *ḡabala*, because the contrasts are in a subject or substratum, which comprises it.

According to the Categories ascribed to Aristotle, unique substance has no opposite. It is itself, as it is also kind and species. In this sense the theologians and philosophers say that God has no *ḡidd*. It is true that Iblīs (the Devil) is called 'aduww *Allāh* (enemy of God) but only heretics like the Druses can call him the *ḡidd* of God (cf. de S. Sacy, *Religion des Druses*, i., p. cxliii.).

On the different conceptions of the *addād* among the mutakallimūn see al-Ash'arī, *Maḡālāt*, ii. 376 sqq.

According to the philosophers, God and the pure spirits are above opposites, although in a different sense. It is regarded as a proof of the spirituality of the intelligent soul that it can think of a thing and its opposite at the same time. In the physical world opposites are classified according to their substratum e.g. living and dead, white and black, etc. In particular the earthly world, composed of the four elements, is for this reason called the house of opposites (*dār al-addād*). (Tj. DE BOER)

\***DJĀBIR** B. HAIYĀN AL-AZDĪ AL-KŪFĪ. The writings which pass in Arabic literature as the work of Djābir b. Haiyān, a pupil of the sixth Shi'ī Imām Dja'far al-Šādiḳ (d. in 148), are apocryphal. The earliest evidence of their existence is found partly in the works of the alchemist Ibn Umail (c. 350) and of the forger Ibn Waḥshiya (c. 350) and partly in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm [q. v.]. The indications in the *Fihrist* supplemented by the surviving MSS. and the bibliographical notes contained in the writings of Djābir himself enable us to reconstitute for the most part the whole of the *Corpus* of Djābir. It was divided into several collections of which the most important are: the CXII Books, incoherent essays on the practice of alchemy with many references to ancient alchemy (Zosimus, Democritus, Hermes, Agathodemon, etc.); the LXX Books, a systematic development of the alchemical teaching of Djābir; the CXLIV Books or *Kutub al-Mawāzīn* ("Books of the Balances"), an exposition of the theoretical and more particularly the philosophical foundations of alchemy and of all occult sciences; the D Books, consisting of isolated treatises investigating more fully certain problems of the *Kutub al-Mawāzīn*. These four collections also mark successive stages in the development of Djābirian doctrine and in the composition of the *Corpus*. To this have to be added other smaller collections dealing with the alchemy of the commentaries on the works of Aristotle and Plato, then treatises on philosophy, astronomy and astrology, mathematics and music, medicine and magic and finally religious works.

This vast body of literature, which comprises all the sciences of the ancients that passed to Islām, cannot be the work of a single author nor can it date back to the second half of the second century A. H. All the facts combine to show that the *Corpus* was compiled at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century.

The writings of Djābir in the first place present us with a problem in religious history. Just as the ancient alchemists, who have been preserved, are oriented towards Christian gnosis, so Djābir introduces into his system of sciences Muslim gnosis. This gnosis is not the primitive gnosis which developed in Shi'ī circles of the first and second centuries as described to us by Muslim writers on heresy; it is rather the gnostic syncretism which was in vogue among the Shi'ī extremists (*ghulāt*) at the end of the third century, which combining with revolutionary political tendencies threatened the very existence of Islām. Djābir proclaimed the imminent advent of a new imām who would abolish the law of Islām and replace the revelation of the Qur'ān by the lights of Greek science and philosophy. The teachings of the *Corpus* are the expositions of this new, purely spiritual, revelation the representatives of which are the 'Alid imāms.

From the point of view of his religious terminology, Djābir is closely connected with Ḳar-

maṭianism (the Ḳarmaṭians who came to the front after 260 A. H. are even quoted in *Djābir*). The imām is called *nāṭīk* in contrast to the *ṣāmī*; the degrees of initiation are called by the same terms as among the Ḳarmaṭians and the Faṭimid Ismāʿīlīs (*bāb*, *ḥudūdja*, *dāʿī muṭlaq*, *sābiḥ tālī*, *lāḥīk*, etc.); the doctrine of the adversaries (*aḍḍād*) of the imām is also developed. The history of the world is divided according to the successive revelations into seven stages, of which the revelation of the Djābirian imām is the last. Similarly the Muslim imāms who have succeeded one another from ʿAlī to the new *Kāʿim* number seven: Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya (sic!), ʿAlī b. Ḥusain, Muḥammad b. al-Bāḳir, *Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ*, Ismāʿīl (= Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl = the new *Kāʿim*). Contrary to the Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīliya, ʿAlī is not regarded as one of the seven imāms. He is a *ṣāmī*, a concealed divinity, superior to the *nāṭīk* and the seven imāms are his terrestrial incarnations. In this *Djābir*'s teaching resembles that of the sect of the Nuṣairis [q. v.]. With the Nuṣairis it also shares the conceptions of the three divine hypostases: *ʿain* (= ʿAlī), *mīm* (= Muḥammad), *sin* (= Salmān); the *sin* being superior to the *mīm* in *Djābir*'s view. In this system the imām proclaimed by *Djābir* and called *Mādjid* or *Yatim* is a direct emanation from the *ʿain* and takes precedence over the *mīm* and the *sin*. As with all the *Shiʿī ghulāt* and particularly the Nuṣairis, the doctrine of metempsychosis is accepted (terms: *tanāsukh*, *adwār*, *akwār*, *naskh*, *faskh*, *raskh*, *maskh*).

In the second place the writings of *Djābir* present problems connected with the history of the sciences in Islām. The *Corpus* is devoted to the study of the following branches: alchemy (which always takes first place), medicine, astrology, magic (telesmology), the doctrine of the specific qualities of things (*ḫawāṣṣ*) and the artificial generation of living beings (*takwīn*). Granted that we are frequently ill-informed regarding the corresponding branches in ancient science, the writings of *Djābir* still enable us to restore to Greek science some interesting aspects which were thought to have been lost. The alchemy of *Djābir* is fundamentally distinct from all that has survived of ancient alchemy. It deliberately avoids hermetic allegorism (of Egyptian origin) represented in antiquity by the writings of Zosimus and others and revived in Islām by most of the alchemists like Ibn Umail, the *Turba Philosophorum*, *Tuḡhrāʿī*, *Djildakī* etc. The alchemy of *Djābir* is an experimental science based on a philosophical theory.

This philosophical theory comes for the most part from the physics of Aristotle. *Djābir* knows and quotes (often from the translations of Ḥunain b. Ishāḳ [d. in 260] and his school) all the parts of Aristotle's work, as well as the commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Simplicius, Porphyry and others. We also find quoted the writings of Plato, Theophrastus, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, Archimedes etc. Among these there are several the Greek originals of which are lost. No alchemical work of Islām reveals such vast knowledge of ancient literature or has such an encyclopædic character as the writings of *Djābir*. In this they resemble the *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafā*, which moreover come from the same source.

The scientific terminology used by *Djābir* is without exception that introduced by Ḥunain b.

Ishāḳ, which shows once more that the *Corpus* could not have been composed before the end of the third century.

The fundamental principle in the science of *Djābir* is that of *mizān* (balance). This term combines the most diverse speculations and shows very well *Djābir*'s scientific syncretism. *Mizān* means: 1. specific gravity (references to Archimedes); 2. the *σραμύς* of the ancient alchemists, meaning the measure in a mixture of substances; 3. a speculation on the letters of the Arabic alphabet, which are connected with the four elementary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry). This *mizān al-ḥurūf* is not only applied to all things comprised in the sub-lunary world, but also to metaphysical ideas, like intelligence, the soul of the world, matter, space and time. It was from neo-Pythagoreanism on the one hand and the *Shiʿī* speculations of the *djafr* on the other that *Djābir* borrowed this system; 4. *mizān* is also the metaphysical principle par excellence, a symbol of the scientific monism of *Djābir*. In this sense it is opposed to the dualist principle of the Manichaeans. Neo-Platonic speculations on the One do not seem to have been without influence here. 5. Lastly, *mizān* comes from an allegorical explanation (*taʾwīl*) of the *Qurʾānic* references to the weighing at the day of judgment. This speculation is also found in Muḥammadan gnosis and it is through it that *Djābir* connects his scientific system with this religious teaching.

The writings of *Djābir* seem to be closely connected with the pagan scholarship of the Harrānian milieu. *Djābir* definitely refers to the *Ṣābīʿa* when reproducing their discussions of certain metaphysical problems. The direct source of his scientific system are the writings of Ps.-Apollonius of Tyana (*Balīnās*) (*Kitāb Sirr al-Ḳhalīḳa* and others), apocryphal works which, according to a note by Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, were composed in the time of al-Maʾmūn and are found to be the best source for a knowledge of "Harrānian" literature.

*Djābir* says that his knowledge was revealed to him by his master *Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ*. It is to this "mine of wisdom" that all his knowledge goes back, he himself being only a compiler. In the religious hierarchy he comes immediately after the imām. He further quotes as his master a certain Ḥarīb al-Ḥimyarī, a monk (*rāḥib*) and a man named *Uḍḥn al-Ḥimār*. Among the contemporaries of *Djaʿfar* are mentioned the Barmakids *Ḳhalid*, *Yahyā* and *Djaʿfar* to whom *Djābir* dedicated several of his treatises, and the members of the *Shiʿī* family of *Yaqṭīn*.

All these statements belong to the field of legend and are in contradiction to the internal evidence of the writings. Besides, a pupil of *Djaʿfar* named *Djābir b. Ḥaiyān* is nowhere mentioned in *Shiʿī* literature and seems to be a pure invention. It is easily understood why the author of these works attributed them to a pupil of *Djaʿfar*, who was often regarded in *Shiʿī* literature as the representative of Greek learning and particularly of occult sciences. Besides, *Djaʿfar* was the father of the seventh imām Ismāʿīl whose advent is announced in these writings.

The *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm says there were in his time *Shiʿīs* who doubted the authenticity of these writings. The philosopher and scientist Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī (d. c. 370) has left us in his *Taʿlīqāt* a note according to which he was personally ac-



quainted with the author of the writings attributed to Djābir. He calls him al-Ḥasan b. al-Nakad al-Mawṣilī. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this statement even if it is certain that the writings of Djābir are not the work of a single author and even if the *Corpus* underwent a fairly long evolution before attaining its present form. The *terminus ante quem* would be about 330 A. H.

The writings of Djābir considerably influenced the development of later Arab alchemy. All later writers quote them and many of them wrote commentaries. Several books of the *Corpus* were translated into Latin. The famous writings attributed to *Geber rex Arabum*, however, only represent a late recension by a Latin author of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

**Bibliography:** Several treatises by Djābir have been publ. by O. Houdas in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1893), vol. iii. and by E. J. Holmyard, *The Arabic Works of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i/f. (Paris 1928). — A complete bibliography to 1927 is contained in G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i. 532. — Cf. also J. Ruska, *Die sieben Bücher des Gābir ibn Ḥajjān* (*Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie, Festgabe für Edm. O. v. Lippmann*, Berlin 1927); do., *Zahl und Null bei Gābir ibn Ḥajjān* (*Arch. f. Gesch. der Math., der Naturwiss. u. d. Technik*, ii. [1929], 256 sqq.); J. Ruska and P. Kraus, *Der Zusammenbruch der Dschābir-Legende* (*Dritter Jahresbericht d. Forschungs-Instituts f. Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, Berlin 1930); P. Kraus, *Studien zu Gābir ibn Ḥayyān* (*Isis*, viii. 1 sqq.). — The author of the present article proposes to publish shortly a detailed study of the whole question.

(P. KRAUS)

\***DJĀ'FAR** B. YAḤYĀ. See also the art. 'ABBĀSA and Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*. (K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN)

**DJAKAT**, the most usual corruption of the Arabic *zakāt* [q. v.] in the East Indian Archipelago, e. g. in Malay, Javanese and other languages. — The *djakat* has taken a place alongside of the traditional local taxes as a voluntary offering; an exception is found in a part of West Java, where before the Dutch authorities intervened, it had been incorporated in the native system of taxation.

In practice there is only the *djakat* of the fruits of the field: rice is important, maize not so much; only he who is so inclined carries out this duty and need not observe exactly the prescriptions of the law; the offering is very seldom 10% of the yield; on the other hand, no heed is often paid to the *niṣāb*. The *djakat* in the popular view purifies possessions, brings them blessings, and preserves them from speedy decay.

It is usually collected by officials of religion: the devout and the learned prefer to dispose of it in their own way. The officials of religion get the lion's share of what is collected and administered by them. In the first place they are collectors and also needy, because they are said not to be in a position to exercise another profession. Certain classes of persons for whom the yield of the *zakāt* is intended do not exist here or are poorly represented. But other classes entitled to share in the *zakāt* are not turned away if they report themselves: the poor, *mualap* (Ar. *mu'allaf*) who include Indo-Chinese and other converts to Islām, *musafir* (Ar. *muṣāfir*), i. e. vagrants, who may

also be regarded as poor. It sometimes happens that the *djakat* funds help to build or maintain mosques. If the officials of religion form a hierarchy, as is often the case, the funds collected are taken by the collectors to their superiors and administered by the latter; collection and administration are thus quite separate.

The seventh category of those entitled to participate, those who fight on the path of Allāh, was for a time important in Atjeh during the war. For the war party it was a never failing instrument to extort means to continue the struggle. In exceptional cases, e. g. when people have a very large number of children, "djakat of children" is paid. One of 25 children is given and repurchased for a small sum (Java) or one of 16 children is given to the poor and needy, i. e. the dowry received for a daughter (Indonesian, not the equivalent of the *mahr*) [Gajō], or one of the children is given to a religious official to act as his servant.

The *zakāt al-fiṭr* is called *pitrah*; it is observed with the same care and for the same reasons as in the rest of the Muslim world. Many who never pay *djakat*, are careful to pay the *pitrah* for themselves and all persons whom the law obliges them to maintain. They do not ask themselves if they have the necessary means to support their families left over: everyone pays according to his fortune in these regions. It would be a calamity if one could not perform this duty so that well-to-do people assist their very poor fellow-villagers to do so. The *pitrah* purifies the individual; it is paid in cash. In order however to fulfil the letter of the law, the collector, the same as collects the *djakat*, takes some rice with him, sells it for the money to the person who wishes to perform his *pitrah* and the latter at once returns him the rice. The same process is gone through with the next man. Each time the price is fixed which the giver is ready and able to pay.

With the *pitrah* more than with the *djakat*, we find people distributing their own offerings. The religious officials deal with the *pitrah* collected by them just as they do with the *djakat*.

**Bibliography:** Juynboll, *Handleiding* <sup>3</sup>, p. 77 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, i. 256 sqq., 290 sqq.; *Eindresumé*, iii. 332; Hazeu, *Gajōsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, s. v. *Djakat*; Oosting, *Soendasch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, s. v. *djakat*; *Adatrechtbundel*, xxx., index, where references in other "Adatrechtbundel" are given. (R. A. KERN)

**DJAKMAK.** [See ČAKMAK.]

\***DJALĀL AL-DAWLĀ.** Further **Bibliography:** Bowen, *The last Buwayhids* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1929, p. 225—245). (K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN)

**AL-DJARRĀḤ** (more rarely **AL-DJIRĀḤ** and **AL-DJARĀḤ**) is the Arabic term for the surgeon. The name is rarely found in early Arabic literature where we find *al-āsī* used in this sense, which however also means physician. *Djarrāḥ* is first found in the Arabic translations of the third (ninth) century and thence finds its way into medical literature. The word is found in the fourth (tenth) century as the name of a famous family [see **IBN DJARRĀḤ**]. The surgeon in the Muslim world, unlike the Graeco-Roman, was always regarded as a low grade manual labourer, which was his position also in the middle ages in Europe. The main reason for this was probably the reluctance of the

Muslim religion to investigate the constitution of the human body or even the bodies of animals (prohibition of the vivisection of animals). Of the famous physicians of Islām, like Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zuhr, we know that they expressed a marked objection to any kind of surgical work and left it to the djarrāh and the *muḍjabbir* (bone-setter). Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā devotes a long section of his *Kānūn* to the art of the surgeon (*ilm al-djirāḥa*) and his predecessor ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Maḍjūsī (d. 384=994) treats surgery very fully in the ninth book of his *Kāmil al-Šināʿa* in no less than 110 chapters and in the tenth book adds a special section on clinical surgery. The only considerable textbook specially devoted to surgery in the medical literature of Islām seems to be *al-ʿUmda fī Šināʿat al-djirāḥa* of Ibn al-Kuff (Syria, viii<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.) an edition of which is planned in Haidarābād. The section on surgery by Abu ʿl-Kāsim al-Zahrāwī (Cordova, ix<sup>th</sup>—x<sup>th</sup> century), section xxx. of his *Kitāb al-Taṣrif*, had a very great influence in the west. In the works on *ḥisba* (q. v., supervision of markets and morals), there is frequently a section on physicians, oculists and surgeons (e.g. in al-Šaizārī's book, still in MSS.). There it is demanded of a surgeon that he be familiar with anatomy and with the medicine of Galen and have a well-equipped case of instruments, which must contain means of stanching wounds. The bone-setter (*muḍjabbir*) is given special attention by Šaizārī: he must know the number and shape of all bones and the chapters by Paul of Aegina on fractures and dislocations.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Abī Uṣaibīʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ* (Cairo 1882), vol. i.; Harold Bowen, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī b. ʿIṣā* (Cambridge 1928), p. 33—36; ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Maḍjūsī, *Kāmil al-Šināʿa* (Bulāḳ 1294), ii. 454—607; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn fī ʿl-Ṭibb* (Bulāḳ 1294), iii. 146—217; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šaizārī, *Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisba*: ch. 18 of MS. 20 *ʿUlūm maʿāshīya* of the Egypt. Library in Cairo; Ibn al-Kuff, Ibn Abī Uṣaibīʿa, ii. 273; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. arabe*, Paris 1876, ii. 203; do., *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861; G. Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore 1927—1931), i. 681; ii. 1098. (MAX MEYERHOF)

**DJASAD.** [See DJISM.]

**DJAZĪRA.** [See CAIRO.]

ʿABD ALLĀH DJEWDET, Turkish poet, politician, translator of Shakespeare and ʿOmar Khayyām, free-thinker and prominent publicist.

He belonged to the Kurdish family of the ʿOmar Oghulları whose home was in ʿArabgīr, and was born there on Sept. 9, 1869 (3<sup>rd</sup> Djumādā II 1286 = Aug. 28, 1285 of the Turkish financial year). He was an only child.

After a few years in Khōzāt and in ʿArabgīr, he moved with his father and his family to Maʾmūret al-ʿAziz where he attended the Turkish military school and completed his studies there in 1885, so far as we know. He came to Constantinople when about 15 where he went through the higher course of the army medical school at Kūleli as an internal student and passed out in 1888. There, as throughout his life, Djewdet displayed extraordinary industry.

In 1885 he became acquainted with the great Turkish poet ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥamīd. ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet's first literary effort were chiefly poems which were published in four little volumes:

1. *Hic* "Nothing"; publ. at the beginning of 1890; 24 p.; 2. *Ṭulūʾāt* "Poems of Sunrise" with Djewdet's earliest dated poems of the year 1304 (financial year: 1888—1889); publ. about Feb. 1891; 80 p.; 4. *Türbe-i Maʾšūmīyet* "Tomb of Innocence" with preface dated Dec. 3, 1890; perhaps first published towards the end of 1891; 36 p.; 5. *Maʾšūmīyet* "Innocence" (almost always quoted as *Lahd-i Maʾšūmīyet* "Grave of Innocence") published in 1311 A.H. = about the middle of 1894. Djewdet also published a little volume of prose; 3. *Ramāzān Bagh̄česi* "the Garden of Ramāzān", finished on March 27, 1891; 1308 A.H.; probably published as early as the spring of 1891; 29 p.

In these works ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet was influenced by the leading poets of the Turkish Parnassus: Nāmīk Kemāl, Maḥmūd Ekrem, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥamīd, Khālīd Ziyā, but also by third rate poets (Menemenli-zāde Meḥmed Ṭāhir) as well as by French poets whom he knew partly from anthologies (Ronsard, André Chenier, Parny, Musset, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, François Coppée, Laprade, Léon Manier), and further by Bodensadt, ʿOmar Khayyām, Shakespeare, Lord Byron — to some extent the programme of Djewdet's future activity as a translator and commentator.

Djewdet is distinguished from other poets by the fact that he usually gives the date and place of composition of his poems; he is further remarkable in his subject matter for he often records personal experiences in the most faithful fashion and expresses his feelings most pregnantly. His poetry is unusually rich in epigrams. In the little volume entitled *Ṭulūʾāt*, the most important collection of the poems of his early period, he begins a despairing lament with a brilliant version of the words of Francis I: "Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur" (*bütün varım elimden ʿikdī, bir nāmūs müstetknā*). Among particularly beautiful poems of Djewdet's are his undated song in praise of the Prophet (*Naʿt-i šerīf*) which opens *Ṭulūʾāt* and *Ramāzān Bagh̄česi*, the Wandering of Thought (*Serb-i Fikret*; *Ṭulūʾāt*, p. 66 sq.) and the Drive through the Çengel Gorge (*Ṭulūʾāt*, p. 54—55). The poem in praise of the Prophet again and again saved Djewdet in his political struggles from arrest and imprisonment and when on trial from punishment, owing to the piety of Ottoman officialdom, and indeed remained closely associated with his memory after death.

From 1888—1893 Djewdet attended the Army Medical School of Gül-Khāne (Constantinople). During his early years of study there his friend İbrāhīm Temo induced him to read Felix Isnard's book *Spiritualisme et matérialisme* (Paris 1879). This for the first time aroused in the hitherto very religious youth a profound scepticism, until at the end of his studies an acquaintance with Ludwig Büchner's *Force et matière* brought about a revolution in Djewdet's outlook and by freeing him from the restraint of religion allowed free play to that irresistible impulse to westernisation, which at that time and for long after was regarded by many as anarchical. After the usual period of probation (in the hospital at Ḥaidar Paşa), Djewdet became in 1894 a qualified doctor with the rank of captain. During his course he was known to the authorities as ʿAbd Allāh ʿOmer. In his literary works (Nrs. 1—5) down to 1891 he called himself Ibn ʿOmer Djewdet, in his medical works (1890—1894) ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet and from 1894



he usually called himself Dr. 'Abd Allāh Djewdet.

Before the "Ramazān Garden" had left the hands of the printers Djewdet's first medical work appeared: 6. "The Brain" (*Dimāgh*) with a preface of Nov. 10, 1890; 46 p.; later 7. "The Physiology of Thought" (*Fizyölodjyā-i Tefekkür*) with the subtitle *La Pensée*. The sources are Büchner and particularly Guyo-Daubès, also Letourneau, Le Moynac, and others; finished in Nov. 1891; 72 p.; 8. "The Physiology and Hygiene of the Brain and the Intellectual Faculties" (*Fizyölodjyā we-Hîşz-î Şihhat-î Dimāgh we-Melekât-i 'akliye*), with a preface dated July 10, 1894 from Gül-khāne, mainly based on Guyo-Daubès; 232 p.; 9. "Cholera" (*Çölera*) (Amid 1312 A. H.) with a preface dated Amid Nov. 17, 1894; 10. *Çhōril* (i. e. the Gorilla, 1311 = 1895); 57 p.

While in the higher classes of the İdādi School at Kūleli, Djewdet along with a number of similarly minded fellow pupils became interested in a liberal reform policy for Turkey. This political interest assumed a more definite form when at the beginning of summer 1890, under the presidency and at the instigation of the Albanian İbrāhīm Edhem (known as İbrāhīm Temo), the two Kurds 'Abd Allāh Djewdet and his bosom friend İshāk Sukūti and the Circassian Mehmed Rāshid, formed a political society for the liberation of their common fatherland from the absolutism of the Yldız. This meeting of the four students, none of them Turks, was called the "Meeting of the Four" (*Dörtler İdjitimā'i*). Shortly afterwards they assembled in the same place for another meeting, having attracted a few more students; this was called the "Meeting before the Bath" (*Hamām öni İdjitimā'i*) or "in the Reading-Room by the Wood-stack" (*Haşab Kır'a-at-khānesi İdjitimā'i*). Soon afterwards at the instigation of İbrāhīm Temo, the members of the association met in the "Garden of Midhat Pasha" outside the Adrianople Gate of Constantinople. Here statutes and a carefully sketched programme were drawn up. This meeting is more often called the "Meeting under the Fig-tree" (*İndjir aghad'i İdjitimā'i*) than the "Meeting of the 12" (*On ikiler İdjitimā'i*) (according to others, it was called the "Conference of nine"). The latest date on which this could have taken place must have been July 20, 1890. The association a few years later received the name of "Society for Union and Progress".

In 1892 the activity of this political association provoked extensive measures by the government. Djewdet found himself in jail. On Nov. 23, 1895 we find him in Constantinople under arrest at the office of the chief of police and the very same day he was in the Central Prison. The government now transported in January 1896 a portion of the most dangerous conspirators to Tripoli; here after a period of detention in the fortress, Djewdet became oculist to the military hospital, then from Dec. 1896 to the Kşār hospital where he worked for about four months. But Tripoli was also the home of section N<sup>o</sup>. 7 of the party of Union and Progress; a powerful agitation arose among the officers and officials in which Djewdet of course took a part. We therefore find him again on Jan. 15, 1897 in prison in Tripoli, where a court-martial was held eventually on 104 political prisoners. Djewdet, who was one of them, was released and was medical officer for another six weeks. In the summer of 1897 he succeeded in escaping from Tripoli into French Tunisia.

In Aug. 1897 Djewdet landed in Marseilles. In Geneva where he arrived probably on Sept. 6, 1897, he worked with his friends İshāk Sukūti, Tunalı Hilmî, Nūri Aḥmad, Midhat of Serres and Reshid on the fortnightly '*Oḥmānî*'.

In these years there appeared from his pen:

11. *Fünun we-Felsefe* ("Natural Science and Philosophy") written while Djewdet was still in Constantinople, printed at Geneva in 1897; 31 p.; 2nd ed. Cairo 1906; 49 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, vi.); 12. *Kahriyat* ("Acts of Oppression"), with poems from 1890 to Nov. 1, 1897; Geneva 1898; 13. *Giyom Tel*, a good translation of Schiller's drama from the French text, finished July 1896 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxiv.); 14. *İki Eml* ("Two Wishes"), extended version of Djewdet's preface to 13 with an introduction dated Geneva Sept. 28, 1897 published in 1898; 2nd ed. Cairo 1906; 32 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, iv.); 3rd ed. Istanbul; 32 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxxviii.); 15. *Ode à Shakespeare*, literal translation in prose, from the Turkish by the author, 1 leaf folio in typescript, Geneva 1898; 16. Alfieri, *Della Tirannide*, entitled *İstibād* (i. e. Absolutism), a very good translation from the French; transl. finished Geneva Dec. 30, 1897; first ed. 1900; 2nd ed. Cairo 1908 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xix.).

Djewdet went from Geneva to Germany via Paris. From here he sent a postcard with 'Abd ül-Ḥamid's portrait and 9 verses in Turkish, in which he familiarly challenged the caliph to do his duty in the cause of freedom, to this ruler in Constantinople. The Turkish Ambassador in Brussels, who happened to be in Constantinople at the time, Étienne Karatheodori, was at once sent to Berlin and succeeded in getting Djewdet expelled from Germany (about Feb. 1899; *Kahriyat*<sup>2</sup>, p. 102—104).

Djewdet went back to Geneva followed by the ambassador. Along with other agents of the Sultān the latter induced Djewdet to come to an agreement. Djewdet was to become medical officer to the embassy in Vienna with a salary of 15,000 francs, İshāk Sukūti medical officer in Rome and Tunalı Hilmî secretary to the embassy in Madrid. Djewdet also demanded the pardon and release of about 70 Young Turks. The prisoners in the province of Tripoli were actually released. Djewdet took up his appointment in Vienna in June 1899. Unimportant members of the Young Turkish party were allowed to enter 'Abd ül-Ḥamid's service unchallenged but the leaders of the movement were branded as traitors to the cause if they had come to terms. This was Djewdet's fate and the agreement with the authorities was a blot on his blameless life. For 20 years he suffered unspeakably for it and only seemed to recover towards the end of his life. He never attained political office on account of his agreement with 'Abd ül-Ḥamid's agents.

Djewdet's post in Vienna was a sinecure which permitted him to travel a great deal and write extensively. His favourite study at this time was French poetry and he made versions from the French of works of Byron, Alfieri, Gustave Le Bon and Shakespeare. Of his salary, as was then usual in Turkey, he did not quite receive the half. In 1901 he arranged a meeting in his Vienna home with some of his intimate revolutionary friends, İshāk Sukūti, İbrāhīm Temo and the Tatar 'Alī Rizā. In course of time his opposition to the sultān became more and more intense. "A jamais

je tordrai dans ma rude tenaille Ton âme d'assassin et ton cœur de canaille", he shrieked in a poem of hate in Jan. 1903 (*Rafale de parfums*, p. 85). The Turkish ambassador in Vienna, Maḥmūd Nedīm Bey (formerly ambassador in Athens and Belgrade), duly reported on the attitude of such a dangerous official. This led to Djewdet challenging the ambassador to a duel on Sept. 13, 1904 and boxing his ears four times. The result was that Djewdet was expelled from Austria next day and when he moved from Vienna to Bratislava (Pressburg) he was also expelled from Hungary (about Sept. 17, 1903; cf. *Neue Freie Presse* of Sept. 15 and 18, 1903). The official Ottoman dates for the beginning and termination of Djewdet's appointment as physician to the embassy — important for Djewdet's biography — are March 30, 1900 and Sept. 7, 1903).

Djewdet now lived in Geneva for 13 months from Oct. 1903. The Young Turkish press in Geneva had been more and more muzzled since 1900 and the last number of *‘Oṭhmānī*, finally edited by Edhem Rūhī, a lawyer in Constantinople in 1903, appeared in Oct. 1904. Shortly before, Djewdet had founded in Geneva with the permission of the local authorities (given about Aug. 4, 1904) the printing establishment known as *İdjtihād* and in French as *Imprimerie Internationale*. There appeared on Sept. 1, 1904 the first number of the Turkish paper *İdjtihād*, founded by Djewdet, with which his name was to be associated for over 28 years. The *idées directrices*: political, intellectual, religious and social liberty, proclaimed in the first number of the new periodical are significant. Together with it Djewdet in 1904 also began the publication of an *İdjtihād* series (*kütüb khāne-i İdjtihād*), a collection of his own and other works (No. i.—lxi.), which was carried on by him until his death. — When Djewdet in Aug. 1904 absolutely refused a Turkish office offered him, he was tricked by an Ottoman agent, and the Turkish ambassador in Paris, Şālīḥ Munīr Pasha, about Oct. 30, 1904, was able to get him expelled from Switzerland before he was well settled there. On Nov. 2, 1904 he moved to Annemasse (Haute-Savoie) in France. For Djewdet who had invested his fortune in the printing-press the expulsion from Switzerland was a great financial blow. The Ottoman government again took action against him and on Feb. 8, 1905, he was condemned to imprisonment for life in a fortress, to loss of civil rights, confiscation of his property, and to the costs of the proceedings (140 piastres) in his absence (*İ‘lām* of Feb. 12, 1905).

Djewdet's works for this period were: 17. *Mémoire présenté au Congrès international de l'éducation sociale, tenu à l'exposition universelle de Paris du 26 au 30 sept. 1900*, Paris 1900; 40 p.; transl. into German by Eisenschiml under the title *Über die Erziehung der Lehrer*, Vienna 1902; 48 p.; 18. *Fièvre d'âme*, Vienna and Paris 1901. Author's preface dated Dec. 21, 1900; 132 p.; 19. *La lyre turque*, with the subtitle *Feux de paradis et roses d'enfer*, with introduction dated Oct. 27, 1901 by Djewdet, Vienna and Paris 1902 (introduction by Gustave Kahn); 187 p.; a poem by Djewdet in this volume "Magyar-Turc" had already appeared in Dec. 1900 as a leaflet in Budapest; 20. *Les quatrains maudits et les rêves orphelins*. Librairie de la Plume, Paris 1903; 173 p.; 21. *Hadd-i T‘edīb*, i.e. "the chastisement" [of the Turkish ambassador in Vienna by the author in

1903], Paris 1903; <sup>2</sup> Istanbul 1912; 72 p.; 22. *La vengeance dorée (nouvelle turque)*. Extrait de la Revue *İdjtihād*, Imprimerie Internationale 1904; 26 p.; 23. *Rafale de parfums; sonnets*. Edition de la Revue *İdjt.*, Geneva, Impr. Intern.; 1905; 132 p.; 24. Lord Byron, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, transl. into Turkish by Djewdet as *Şhilyōn Maḥbūs* and finished on Sept. 27, 1899 in Geneva, Geneva 1904 (*İdjt. Libr.*, i.); 38 p.; 25. *İdjtihād*, periodical Nr. 1—358, Sept. 1, 1904 to 1932—1933; 26. *Droit d'asile en Suisse*. Preface dated: Annemasse, Nov. 30, 1904; Geneva 1905; 74 p.; 27. Alfieri, *Del principe e delle lettere*, by Djewdet under the title *Hükümdār we-Edebiyāt* transl. into Turkish with a preface, Vienna Sept. 13, 1903; Geneva 1905; 341 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, ii.); 28. *Kāfşāsyadaki Müslümānlara Beyānnāme*, "Appel aux Mahometans du Caucase", a summons to fight against Russian absolutism, Geneva 1905 (second half of the year).

In the second half of the year 1905 Djewdet moved from Annemasse, where he was not allowed to express his opinions freely, to Cairo and took with him his printing-press *İdjtihād* and his periodical *İdjtihād*. From 1905 to 1911 he lived in Cairo and worked as an oculist, publicist and printer. He was a member of the Young Turkish group known as the Decentralists. From October 1906 Djewdet in the *İdjtihād* attacked for the first time the Ottoman ruling family on account of the almost complete moral and physical degeneration of almost all its members (he very soon stopped these attacks and never resumed them). With ruthless passion he printed pamphlets unceasingly against ‘Abd ūl-Ḥamid; in the first half of 1908 the hail of Young Turkish pamphlets from Djewdet's press was incessant; nevertheless the years in Cairo were the quietest and most harmonious in Djewdet's political life: no persecution by the authorities, no police investigation, no censorship. When in July 1908 the Ottoman constitution of 1876 was revived in Constantinople, Djewdet took up the attitude that ‘Abd ūl-Ḥamid as a despot beyond all hope of reform must be deposed, but found no support for this in July 1908.

29. *Kahriyāt*<sup>2</sup>, with a dedication dated Geneva, May 17, 1904; Cairo 1908 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, vii.); 128 p. The concluding poem of April 1908 with the title *Ey Ḑhill-i Allāh saña* (i.e. "Yes, to thee, God's shame") is directed against sultān ‘Abd ūl-Ḥamid; 30. Dr. Gustave Le Bon, *Les lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*, translated by Djewdet in Vienna as *Rūḥ al-Akwām*, 1900 and 1901; Cairo 1908; 308 p.; <sup>2</sup> Istanbul 1913; 279 p. (both ed. *İdjt. Libr.*, viii.); 31. Muḥammad-i Ghūrī of India (died in Berlin) wrote a pamphlet in 1903 which Djewdet translated into Turkish under the title *Müslümānlar uyanın! İḳāz! Müslim* ("Wake up, Muslims! The rousing of the Muslim"); 157 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, ix.); 32. *Uyanın! Uyanın! Uyanın!* ("Awake! Awake!"), Cairo, *İdjt. press* 1907; imprint Mişr, May 22, 1907. 2,000 copies of this pamphlet were distributed; 36 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, x.); <sup>2</sup> Cairo 1908; 32 p.; 33. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, end of the transl.: Vienna, Oct. 15, 1902; Cairo 1908; 244 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xii.); 34. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*, transl. by Djewdet as *Tārīkh-i Islāmīyet*, 2 vols., Cairo 1908 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xv., xvi.). Djewdet's introd. to vol. i. dated April 16, 1908; 35. *Mūsīqī ile Tedāwī*, transl. of M. Daubresse's essay on Musicothérapie; transl. finished Mişr al-Ḳāhira Dec. 12, 1906; Cairo,



İdjt. press, 1908; 64 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xviii.); 36. *Viola semper florens. Sonnets*. Cairo 1908; 79 p. The sonnets cover the period from Feb. 20, 1903 to July 15, 1905; 37. *Hemshekrilerime bir Khutbe* ("a sermon to my countrymen"); Cairo 1909 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxi.); 38. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*; transl. ended Feb. 12, 1904 in Paris; Cairo 1909; 160 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxiii.); 39. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*; end of the translation: Feb. 1904; pr. Cairo 1908; repr. Istanbul 1909; 165 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xx.); 40. Emile Boutmy, *Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, transl. into Turkish by Djewdet as *İngiliz Kuvvî*, 1 vol. with preface dated Mişr, Jan. 22, 1909; 100 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxii.). Vol. 2 (= Book 2—3) and vol. 3 (= Book 4) appeared at Istanbul, İdjt. press 1911 or 1912 (= 244 and 387 p.) (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxvi. and xxvii.); 41. *Yashamak Korkusu* (i. e. "The fear of the Muḥammadans for the struggle for existence in active professional life"), İskenderiye, dated March 5, 1910; Djiḥān press, Istanbul 1326 (= 1910); 24 p.

The last number of the *İdjtihād* to appear in Egypt was dated July 1909. After ‘Abd ūl-Ḥamid’s abdication Djewdet moved in 1911 to Constantinople and on June 14, 1911 after an interval of almost two years there reappeared with N<sup>o</sup>. 24 the first number of the *İdjtihād* printed in Turkey in Constantinople, in the second storey of the İdjtihād Ewi, which Djewdet had built for himself in the Diḡhāl Oghlu quarter in 1911. But the free-thinking Djewdet was a thorn in the flesh of the governments of the dying Ottoman empire. Between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1910, a special meeting of the Young Turkish cabinet of İbrāhīm Ḥakkī Paşa [q. v.] who had recently come to power, prohibited in Turkey "the History of Islām by ‘Abd Allāh Djewdet Bey which is directed against the Muslim faith". This attitude of the government was directed not only against Djewdet’s preface to his translation but particularly against Dozy’s work itself. Many copies of the work were on this occasion burnt in Constantinople or thrown into the sea. Djewdet’s later differences with the government were also usually of a religious nature. After the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War in 1911 the Shaikh al-Islām in an Arabic prayer, which was to be repeated everywhere, had appealed for the blessing of God and Muḥammad upon the kingdom and army. Djewdet hastened to expose the absurdities in the prayer. After the defeats of the Turks in the Balkan War he was arrested by command of the Turkish commander-in-chief Nazīm Paşa along with 60 other leading men in the capital and detained from Nov. 14 to Dec. 11, 1912. The summer of 1913 found the *İdjtihād* fighting against the superstition of Dūzdjalī Yūsuf Ziyā. The result was the suppression of the *İdjtihād* for a short time. In the summer of 1913, there appeared in the *İdjtihād*, N<sup>o</sup>. 73, under the title *Yūnus Khodja Kendisi* (i. e. Yūnus Khodja Himself) from the pen of Kīlīdjāde Ḥakkī, a literary masterpiece, the caricature of the Muḥammadan theologian, which was intensified by a picture by Sedād Simāwī, a literary man. The influence of this skit was considerable but it also led to a warning to the editors by the governor of Constantinople, Colonel Djemal Bey, for their disrespect to the class of the Sofṭa (*İdjtihād*, N<sup>o</sup>. 77). In Feb. 1914 Djewdet had to agree to a temporary change of the name of the periodical to *İshḥād* (N<sup>o</sup>. 90—92), later to *‘Alem*, and

in July and Aug. 1914 to *İshḥād* (Nrs. 111—116). These times before the War marked with 3,000 subscribers or buyers the zenith of the *İdjtihād*. For many reasons Djewdet, who was an extreme pacifist, was against the entry of Turkey into the War (cf. *İdjt.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 124) and did not beat the war-drum. The periodical was therefore prohibited without more ado (last number 127: Feb. 13, 1915). Shortly afterwards, it looked for a time as if even Djewdet’s life were threatened (Karlı Dağdan Ses, p. 21).

42. *Fenn-i Rūḥ* ("Psychology"), Istanbul 1911; 136 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxv.); 43. "Explanation of the book by Prof. Dr. Dozy called "History of Islām" and its translator", Istanbul 1328 (1912); 23 p.; 44. *Fünūn ve-Felsefe ve-Felsefe Sānihalarī* ("Natural science and Philosophy and Philosophic Views"), revision and expansion of N<sup>o</sup>. 11; publ. about March 1913; 159 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, vi.); 45. A survey of the History of civilisation by Prof. Z. Weber, entitled: *‘Asīrların Pānōrāmāsī yākhōd Tārīkh-i Kāināta bīr Naḡar*; Istanbul 1913; 246 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxix.); 46. Dr. Le Bon, *Les aphorismes du temps présent*, transl. by Djewdet as *‘Asrīmīzīn Nuşūs-u felsefīyesi*. With pref. of Nov. 9, 1913; publ. 1914 or 1917; 184 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxxii.); 47. *Rubā‘iyāt-ī Khāiyām ve-türkīdjeye Terdjümeleri*, first ed. Istanbul 1914; 288 p.; second ed. with a pref. by Djewdet dated April 20, 1924 İdjt. House, Istanbul, press of the Printing Society; 1926, sold by İkbāl; 433 p. (both ed. *İdjt. Libr.*, xxxvi.); 48. *Dimāḡh we-Melekāt-ī ‘aqliyenīn Fīzyōlōjīyā ve-Ḥifz al-Şḡḡasī* ("Physiology and Hygiene of the Brain and the thinking faculties"), an expanded new edition of the work of his youth (N<sup>o</sup>. 8), Istanbul 1333—1335 (1917); 478 p.; 49. Shakespeare, *Kīral Lear*; end of the transl.: April 5, 1904 (or 1901); 190 p., printing begun 1912, publ. 1917 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xxviii.).

When Turkey dropped out of the War in Oct. 1918, the *İdjtihād* was able to reappear with its N<sup>o</sup>. 128 on Nov. 1, 1918. During the grand-viziership of Dāmād Ferīd Paşa, Djewdet was twice Director of Public Health.

On Nov. 30, 1921, as soon as he was relieved of his high office, Djewdet republished his *İdjtihād* which had been suppressed for almost three years. But he very soon came again into conflict with orthodoxy in an article entitled "The Teaching of Bahā Allāh as a World-Religion", which appeared in N<sup>o</sup>. 144 of the *İdjtihād*. The trial of Djewdet for heresy which was begun by an *irāde* of the last sultān (perhaps of March 1922) and continued under the republic deserves to be classed among the world’s famous trials. In the court of first instance in April 1922, Djewdet was sentenced to two years’ imprisonment for blasphemy but discharged after 4½ years argument in the final verdict of Dec. 30, 1926 under the new Turkish code introduced on July 1, 1926. The trial of Djewdet is given in the new Turkish code as one of the reasons for abolishing the crime of blasphemy (*İkḏām*, of Dec. 31, 1926, N<sup>o</sup>. 10,665, p. 3).

As early as 1927 specialists in Anḡara had ordered Djewdet to drop all serious intellectual work. But he read and wrote day and night; on Nov. 3, 1932 he was overcome by an attack of angina pectoris in Anḡara (formerly: Sublime Porte) Street in Constantinople from a recurrence of which he died on Nov. 29, 1932. He expired at home in the arms of his wife.

As early as 1901, Djewdet had expressed a wish to be cremated. But this proved not to be possible. At the widow's wish this "eternal enemy of Islām" was buried with all the rites of religion: service in the Aya Sofa, burial in the Muslim cemetery of Kızıl at the Stambul gate west of Mewlewî-khāne, i. e. outside of the Byzantine city wall (Dec. 1, 1932). The recital of Djewdet's panegyric of the Prophet composed in 1890 again made the deepest impression on those present.

Djewdet's first wife Fâtma whom he had married when she was aged 12 in 1888 died on March 8, 1898. By this marriage he had a daughter Behiye who married young and a son Mehmed born 1889.

He married again in 1908 but this marriage was soon dissolved. In 1913 he married a third time a Turkish lady named Fâtma who survived him. By his last marriage he had a daughter named Gül.

50. Dr. Le Bon, *Enseignements psychologiques de la guerre européenne* (appeared 1917), transl. by Djewdet as *Awrupa Harbindan alınan Psikolojîyâî Dersler*; transl. finished: Sept. 25, 1917; 715 p. of text, Istanbul 1918 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xli.); 51. Shakespeare, *Anıün we-Kle'opâtrâ*; transl. finished: Nov. 18, 1913; 223 p.; Istanbul 1921 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xliii.); 52. *Dilmestî-i Mewlânâ* ("The spiritual intoxication in admiration of Mewlânâ"); 128 p.; Istanbul 1921 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xlv.); 53. Dr. Le Bon, *Hier et demain*; Turkish title: *Dün we-yarın*; transl. finished: Jan. 21, 1920 midnight, İdjt. House; 266 p.; Istanbul 1924 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xlv.); 54. Dr. Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules*; transl. apparently prepared from the 29th edition of this famous book. Turkish title: *İlm-i Rûh-i İdjtîmâî*. With a preface dated Nov. 18, 1923, İdjt. House; 288 p.; Istanbul 1924 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xlv.); 55. Râhib Melienîñ *Waşiyetnâmesi hakkında* ("On the testament of Parson Meslier") with the title on the cover without *hakkında*. It is Voltaire's famous work, *Testament de Jean Meslier* [1664—1729]; 64 p.; Istanbul 1924 (= *İdjt. Libr.*, xlvii.); 56. *Bir zekâî Feiyâz* ("A creative genius"). The first part of the book is the Turkish transl. (26 p.) of Baron Motono's *L'œuvre de Gustave Le Bon*; the second and third parts contain bio-bibliographical matter and reflections on civilization and society; 112 p.; publ. in the second half of Dec. 1925 (*İdjt. Libr.*, xlviii.); 57. Dr. Omer Buyse, *Méthodes américaines d'éducation générale et technique*; Turkish title: *Umûmî we-âli Amerika Terbiye Uşulları*, 3 vols. (610 + 384 + 381 p.); Istanbul 1925 and 1926; 58. Jean-Marie Guyau, *Education et Hérité*, transl. for the commission for education under the title *Terbiye we-Werâthet*; Djewdet's preface: May 3, 1926; publ. 1927; 570 p.; 59. Jacques Novicov, *La guerre et ses prétendus bienfaits*. Turkish title: *Harb we-sözde Eyilikleri*, begun 1915 with introduction of June 8, 1915 and July 22, 1915 finished in İdjt. House; Istanbul 1925; 226 p. (*İdjt. Libr.*, lii.); 60. *Mükemmel we-resimli Adâb-i Muâşeret Rehberi* ("Complete illustrated guide to good manners"), finished on Jan. 20, 1928; 523 p.; 61. Baron Holbach (d. 1789), *Le bon sens ou Idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles*, transl. by Djewdet as *Akl-i selim* but wrongly — as often since 1792 — ascribed by Djewdet to the Abbé Meslier (s. above N<sup>o</sup>. 55). With preface dated May 1, 1928; 527 p. (= *İdjt. Libr.*, lv.).

From this date Djewdet's works were printed

in Roman characters, the first being a reprint of *Akl-i selim*, 1929, 548 p.; then:

62. Jean-Marie Guyau, *Vers d'un philosophe*, transl. by Djewdet under the title *Bir filosofun şîirleri* into Turkish and printed at the expense of the Turkish commissariat for education with Djewdet's preface of Aug. 12, 1929; 262 p.; 63. *Karlı Dagdan Ses* ("Voice from the snow-covered mountain", i. e. the poet, whose hair had become white), poems in the form *kiş'a*, the majority of which had so far not been printed. The author's preface is dated Aug. 29, 1930; Istanbul 1931; 183 p. (= *İctihadın Kitapları*, N<sup>o</sup>. lix.); 64. Dr. Le Bon, *Les incertitudes de l'heure présente*, transl. as *Ameli Ruhîyat* (= Practical Psychology); 1931; 223 p. (= *İctihadın Kitapları*, N<sup>o</sup>. lviii.); 65. *A' malik sebepleri ve korunma cereleri*, 1931; appeared Dec. 1931; 126 p.; 2 1932; 127 p. (= *İctihadın kitapları*, N<sup>o</sup>. lix. 1, N<sup>o</sup>. lx. 2); 66. *Düşünen musiki*, Turkish quatrains with the exception of two all of the year 1931. Preface of March 26, 1932; 1932; 94 p. (*İctihadın kitapları*, N<sup>o</sup>. lxi.).

Besides his own works, and the editorship of the periodical *İdjtihād* which was partly written by him and the editorship of the *İdjtihād* library, Djewdet displayed considerable activity as a publicist.

He was a pioneer in Turkey in politics, sociology and religion, with whom very few can be compared, and equally so in the fields of science and pure literature. No one cultivated the *kiş'a* in the form of *rubâî* in Turkish literature to the extent of Djewdet. Djewdet's works were particularly stimulating in modern psychology and phrenology (N<sup>o</sup>. 6, 7, 8, 42) and are to a considerable extent responsible for the rise and considerable literary development of these subjects in Turkey.

Djewdet and the Study of Shakespeare.

Before Djewdet began his work, only the *The Merchant of Venice* had been translated into Turkish. Djewdet's translations of other 6 works of Shakespeare (including *Romeo and Juliet* in the Turkish periodical *Shehbal*, Nrs. 7—25, 1909—1910) were a continuation of this work. His translations of *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar* (Nrs. 38 and 39 in the list of Djewdet's works) suffer from having been printed in Cairo just when Djewdet had moved to Constantinople and were not supervised with sufficient care by Djewdet. They contain serious misprints and other errors. Djewdet, who usually translated the masterpieces of European authors into rhymeless Turkish prose, used in his translation of *Hamlet* (1st ed.) verse for the famous prose monologue of the prince (act. ii., scene 2), and unfortunately not very finished verse. His translation of *King Lear* (N<sup>o</sup>. 49) is good. The weaknesses of all existing Turkish translations of Shakespeare are due to their having been made from French texts without the name of the French translator being mentioned, which is remarkable. The difference between the English and the French text is disturbingly apparent in almost every sentence of the Turkish translation. The only exception in Turkish literature so far is the last of his translations to appear in Djewdet's lifetime: *Anıün we-Kle'opâtrâ* (N<sup>o</sup>. 51). The translation is made from the English text, in places with the help of Tieck's German translation also. The translation is a masterpiece: obscure expressions in Shakespeare appear in lucid language in the Turkish translation and not infrequently Shakespeare's or-



dinary language becomes on Djewdet's pen a sentence of striking character. Only one thing is wanting to make the translation as good as the original: the metrical form, which is not found in Djewdet's translation.

Djewdet and the Study of 'Omar Khayyām.

Djewdet's edition of the Persian text and Turkish prose translations of 'Omar (N<sup>o</sup>. 47) were based on Nicolas's text which in turn reproduces the Persian text of 1861. Djewdet in his second edition used many European editions and commentaries and the number of quatrains in the Persian text and Turkish translation was increased from 532 in the first edition to 576 in the second. Djewdet's second edition however is also distinguished by a feature not found in any European edition (but perhaps in some Oriental ones): a complete list of the first half-lines of all the quatrains. Djewdet introduced the Turks to a knowledge of 'Omar and his literary activity in this field was the starting point for a whole series of editions of 'Omar in Turkey and for translations of the quatrains into Turkish prose and verse.

*Bibliography:* Oriental sources: *Sālnāme* for the wilāyet of *Diyyārбекr* <sup>7</sup>, 1292 A. H.,

p. 90; *Sālnāme* for the wilāyet Ma'mūrat al-'Aziz, for 1301 A. H., p. 71, 78 sq. Statistics of books publ. with the approval of the Ministry of Education from the accession of 'Abd ūl-Hamīd to March 1893, issued by the Min. 1310 A. H. (1318) = 1894, p. 172, 177, 180; *Sālnāme-i 'askerī*, 1311 (1895), p. 600; Hüseyin-zāde 'Alī in *Füyūzāt*, N<sup>o</sup>. 4 (Baku, Dec. 8, 1906); Achille Sekaly in the Egyptian periodical *Les Pyramides* of Sept. 3, 1908; Ebu 'l-Ziyā Tewfik in the Turkish newspaper *Taşvīr-i Efkar*, p. 244—245; Major al-Hādīdj Rizā Tahsīn, *Mir'āt-i Mekteb-i tibbiye*, Der Sa'adet 1328 (1912), book 1, p. 127—129; book 2, p. 115—116; Rizā Tewfik, in *Newsāl-i millī* 1, Sa'adet 1330, p. 100—102, 535; *Türkiye Djumhūriyeti Devlet Sālnāmesi*, 1925—1926, Istanbul 1926, p. 472; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, p. 244—247; Kan Demir (pseudonym for Feriūdūn Fakhrī), *Zindan Hatıraları*, 1848—1908, vol. i., Istanbul 1932, *passim*; concluding number (358) of the periodical *İctihat* (Jan. 1933); periodical *Galata Saray*, N<sup>o</sup>. 19 (Dec. 24, 1932), p. 15—16; Mustafa Nihat (Nihād) in *Bibliyografya* (publ. by the Turkish Comm. for Education), Dec. 1932; İbrāhīm Temo, in *Yolların Sesi*, N<sup>o</sup>. 6 (Feb. 1933), p. 129—133; *ibid.*, Nov. 1933 and N<sup>o</sup>. 13 (Dec. 1933; Professor Mazhar Osman). Information kindly supplied by 'Abd Allāh Djewdet, his widow Fātma, his son Mehmed and Dr. İbrāhīm Temo. — European sources: *Aus fremden Zungen*, Year ix., Feb.-fasc. 1899, Stuttgart and Leipzig, p. 190—191; also in the Berlin *Börsencourier*, N<sup>o</sup>. 19 (Feb. 22, 1899), suppl. 1, p. 1—2; *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung*, Year xii., fasc. 15 (Jan. 11, 1903); comic paper of Geneva *Guguss*, Nov. 1904; Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, Paris [1907], p. 323—410; *Kürschners Deutscher Literaturkalender*, Year 1909 to 1916, Art. Eizenschimi; Th. Menzel, in *Isl.*, v. (1914), p. 1 sqq.; Martin Hartmann, in *M.S.O.S.*, vol. xix. (1916), part 2, p. 143—144; Hachtmann, in *W. L.*, vi. (1918), p. 10—11; Martin Hartmann, *Zur Gesch. d. neueren Türkei*, 1919, p. 47—48; *R. M. M.*, 1. (1922),

p. 222—226; *Cat. génér. de la librairie française*, xx., Paris 1910, p. 569; *Cat. génér. des livres imprimés de la Bibl. Nat.*, xl., Paris 1910, col. 1035; *Bulletin bibliographique de la Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse*, xiii., Bümplitz 1913, p. 235; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books* <sup>2</sup>, i., London 1931, col. 230—231.

(K. SÜSSHEIM)

**DJIRM.** [See **DJISM.**]

\***DJISM** (A.), body. In philosophical language the body (*σῶμα*) is distinguished from the incorporeal (*ἀσώματον*), God, spirit, soul, etc. In so far as speculation among the Muslims was influenced by Neo-Platonism two features were emphasised: 1. the incorporeal is in its nature simple, indivisible, the body on the other hand is composite and divisible; 2. the incorporeal is in spite of its negative character, the original, the causing principle, while the body is a product of the incorporeal.

The more or less naïve anthropomorphism of the old Islām, i.e. the conception of God after the analogy of the human form, is not to be considered here. On it one may consult I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, 1910, p. 107 sq., 120 sq. and A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 1932, p. 66 sq. But from the usual *taḍjīm* or *tashbih* we must distinguish the teaching of certain philosophers who called God a body; this is to some extent a question of terminology. According to al-Ash'arī (*Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, i. 31 sq., 44 sq., 59 sq., 207 sq.; ii. 301 sq.), the Shī'ī theologian Hishām b. al-Hakam (first half of the ixth century A. D.) was the most important champion of the view that God is a body. He would not however (cf. p. 208 and 304) compare him with worldly bodies but only describe him in an allegorical sense as an existing being, existing through himself. His description of God (p. 207) is thus to be interpreted: God is in a space which is above space; the dimensions of his body are such that his breadth is not distinguished from his depth and his colour is similar to his taste and smell; he is a streaming light, a pure metal shedding light on all sides like a round pearl. If we add that the qualities of bodies are also called bodies by Hishām and others, then we must conclude with S. Horowitz (*Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie*, 1919, p. 38 sq.) that here Stoic terminology is present but with foreign additions. The doctrine that God is light etc. is not a Stoic theory.

After a long fight among the theological schools the incorporeality of God was recognised by Islām. Only the doctrine of the spirituality of the soul of man, held by many theologians, notably Ghazālī, did not find general recognition [cf. the article *NAFS*, iii. 828]. Ibn Hāzīm, for example (*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, p. 80 sqq.), calls the individual *nafs* a *djism*, because it is distinguished from the souls of other individuals, because it has knowledge about much that another does not know, and so on.

A remarkable doctrine about the body had already appeared before Ash'arī and then developed in his school, namely a theological atomism. Regarded from the philosophical side, the atomists and their opponents have at least one hypothesis in common: the body is composed of the incorporeal. But how? According to the view of the atomist theologians, the body is composed of the smallest particles (atoms) which cannot be further subdivided, incorporeal themselves and not perceptible. They then fall out over the

question how many atoms are required to make a body, in a way which reminds one of the old problem of how many grains of corn make a heap. A survey of this speculative atomism, the origins of which have not yet been fully explained, is given by D. B. Macdonald, *Continuous re-creation and atomic time in Muslim scholastic theology* (in *Isis*, N<sup>o</sup>. 30, ix./2, 1927, p. 326 sqq.).

The philosophers, on the other hand, say with Aristotle and his school that the body is composed of matter and form (*hayūlā* or *mādda* and *ṣūra*). Both are in themselves incorporeal, indivisible and imperceptible, but their combination, the body, is divisible because the body is a continuous magnitude. This is really a philosophically diluted cosmogonic conception, the birth of the body from a male active principle (form) and a female receptive principle (matter). For Aristotle, who taught the eternity of a world order coming from God, the idea had hardly any importance; still less had it for the Stoics, who taught that matter and form are in reality eternally combined and can only be separated in imagination (Arab. *fi 'l-dhikn*, *fi 'l-wahm*). But for the Neo-Platonists it became a gigantic problem, to derive the material, corporeal world from the incorporeal; it became still more difficult for the Muslim philosophers to effect a reconciliation with the absolute doctrine of creation.

Aristotle gives the following definition (cf. *De coelo*, i. 1, 268<sup>a</sup>, 7 sq. and *Metaph.*, v. 13, 1020<sup>a</sup>, 7): a body is that which has three dimensions (dimension = *διάστασις*, *διάστημα*, Arab *bū'd*, *imtidād*) and is a continuous, therefore always divisible, quantity (*ποσὸν συνεχές*, *kam mutṭaṣil*).

A wordy dispute arose over this; the question was which is the most essential, the dimension or the magnitude, and how the magnitude is to be conceived (as incorporeal form). When the Neo-Platonists wish to "explain" something they make an abstract out of the concrete: *ποσόν* becomes *ποσότης*, *kam* becomes *kamiya*, magnitude becomes quantity and *djism* *djismiya* (corporeality). The following answer is then given to the question how a body comes into being: through corporeality (= corporeal idea of form) being assumed by matter (also incorporeal by definition). When the absolute body or second matter is thus brought into existence, the dimensions and other qualities of the concrete bodies come into existence; the gap between incorporeal and corporeal is thus bridged.

As regards matter, this doctrine comes from the Enneads (ii. 4); the formulation, that corporeality is the first form of the body (*σωματικὸν εἶδος*) is found in the Neo-Platonist expositor Simplicius (iv<sup>th</sup> century) in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (ed. Diels, p. 227 sqq.). Hence in Arabic the expression *ṣūra djismiya* and in Latin *forma corporeitatis*; because the body according to Aristotle is one of the five continuous magnitudes (like line, surface, space and time) one talks of continuity (*ittiṣāl*) as the form of the body.

The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Ibn Sinā and Ghazālī adopted these subtleties, although in different proportions. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* place corporeality or absolute body (*djism mutlak*) last in the series of emanations [cf. the art. \*FAID].

Ibn Sinā, who also distinguishes two matters, although he knows that *mādda* is the translation of the Greek *hayūlā* (ὕλη) and he regularly uses it synonymously, regards as the first form of existence of the body continuous quantity, in which

the power is according to the dimensions, in other words, the dimensions are added like attributes or accidents (cf. *ḥudūd* in *Tis' Rasā'il*, p. 58, 60 [thereon Ghazālī, *Mīyār al-'Ilm*, p. 180]; *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, p. 90 sqq.).

Ibn Rushd disputes (*Metaphysics*, Cairo ed., p. 37 sqq.), as so often, the teachings of his predecessor without quite clearing up the problem. It is doubtful how far he understood himself and his opponents.

When the Neo-Platonising philosophers and theologians talk of the body, it should always be asked what they mean by it: the divine original (= idea of the body) or its purest, unalterable copies in the heavenly spheres and constellations, or lastly the sublunar elementary bodies with their qualities, changes and combinations. This is the first step to comprehension, so far as this is possible.

The distinction between the heavenly bodies and earthly bodies influenced by them was very important for the natural philosophy of the period. The latter were composed of the four relatively simple bodies (elements, in Aristotle *ἄπλᾶ σώματα*: Arab. *al-basā'if*). In the higher sense the heavenly bodies were simple; to describe them the term *djirm* (plur. *adjirām*) was often used which otherwise is synonymous with *djism*. It is to be noted that the "Theology of Aristotle" (ed. Dielerici, p. 32, 40 sq.) understands by *Djirmiyūn* those philosophers who as followers of Pythagoras teach that the soul of man is the harmony of its body (*ἡμῶν, ittifaḳ, ittihād*). This was a theory particularly common among physicians.

Generally popular also was the distinction taken from Aristotle between the physical and the mathematical body (*dj. tabī'i* and *dj. ta'limi* = *dj. al-handasa*). The geometers are said to regard dimensions as ideal figures, abstracted from the many qualities possessed by natural bodies, with which the physicists deal.

*Djirm*, *badan* and *djasad* are used as synonyms of *djism*; the two last are usually applied to the human body, *badan* often only to the torso. While *badan* is also used for the bodies of animals, *djasad* is rather reserved for the bodies of higher beings (angels etc.). *Djamād* is an inorganic body, but *adjsād* is used particularly for minerals. It may also be mentioned that *haikal* (plur. *hayākil*) means with the gnostics and mystics the physical world as a whole as well as the planets, because the world-soul and the spirits of the stars dwell in them like the soul of man in its body (cf. the art. AL-ṢĀFI'Ā; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 110; cf. "Theology of Aristotle", p. 167).

*Bibliography*: P. Dubem, *Le Système du Monde*, iv. 541 sqq.; S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitome des Averroes*, Leyden 1924, p. 63 sqq.; H. A. Wolfram, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, p. 278 sqq.; art. MĀDDA and \*ĀLAM.

(TJ. DE BOER)

**DJUGHRĀFIYĀ.** The present article is intended to deal with the Muḥammadan geographical literature and, as such, is an attempt to fill a gap that was described as a serious omission in the Encyclopaedia by W. Barthold in his introduction to the facsimile edition of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (Leningrad 1930, p. 7).

The word *djughrāfiyā* (sometimes vocalised *dja-ghrāfiyā*) itself only came rather late to denote



the science of geography. With the older geographical authors it is mostly used for the well-known geographical work of Ptolemy (cf. *Fihrist*, p. 268) and for that of Marinus of Tyre (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 33, where *djughrāfiyā* is interpreted as *ḥaṣṣ al-arḍ*). The use of the word for the science of geography (*ʿilm al-djughrāfiyā*) is found for the first time in the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (ed. Cairo 1347, p. 111), but even here it is given the interpretation of a "map of the world" (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*), and this meaning remained prevalent throughout the Middle Ages. Only in relatively modern times it has become identical with what is now called geographical science (cf. the chapter *ʿIlm al-Djughrāfiyā* in the *Kaṣṣf al-Zunūn* by Ḥājjdī Khalifa, Constantinople 1311, i. 394).

The Muḥammadan geographical literature may be said to have started as a literary category of its own only after 800 A. D., for in the ix<sup>th</sup> century there was composed for the first time a series of treatises dealing chiefly with geographical matters. These matters were treated at that time from very different points of view and they evolved only gradually to a more or less established literary form that constituted the chief characteristic of the classical period of Muḥammadan geography, which period comprises the x<sup>th</sup> and the xi<sup>th</sup> centuries. A monotonous literary uniformity, however, has never been attained.

Occupation with geographical matters as an object of study could only begin at a time when the Muḥammadan civilisation had taken definite form and gathered round its first important cultural centre Baghdād. Here for the first time the opportunity was offered of committing to literary expression the varied knowledge about the material world, a knowledge acquired by the preceding generations of Arabs and of Islāmized inhabitants of the conquered countries.

This knowledge came from manifold sources. An important source was the knowledge about geographical conditions in Arabia, as reflected in the ancient Arabic poetry. These poems contain a rich geographical nomenclature, which was a living reality for the Bedouins who knew these poems by heart and were able to orientate themselves immediately in their large country by recollecting in one of their poems the name of the place where they found themselves (Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 61). This very detailed geographical knowledge passed, with the ancient poetical tradition, into the more literary civilisation of Islām, and the lexicographers of the viii<sup>th</sup> century, such as al-Aṣmaʿī [q. v.], were serious students of the geography of Arabia. This connection between lexicography and geography continued to exist through the centuries and still appears clearly in the alphabetical form (*muʿdjam*) given to geographical works of later centuries, such as the *Muʿdjam* of al-Bakrī [q. v.] — a work that aims to give orthographical and other information about geographical names occurring in poetry —, the *Kitāb al-Amkina* of al-Zamakhsharī [q. v.], the work of the same name of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr al-Iskandarī (d. 1165; cf. Yāqūt, i. 8), and the *Muʿdjam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt [q. v.], not to speak of still later lexicographical works like the *Taḍj al-ʿArūs*, which provide much geographical material. But in the earlier centuries, Arabic geography had also been studied in a more independent way by

scholars of the type of Hishām Abu 'l-Munḍhir Ibn al-Kalbī (d. c. 820 A. D.), who, according to the *Fihrist* (p. 97), wrote no less than ten books on geographical matters. None of these works has come down to us, so that we do not know if his *Kitāb al-Buldān al-Kabīr* and his *Kitāb al-Buldān al-Ṣaghīr* treated also of countries other than Arabia; if the *Kitāb al-ʿAdjāib* by Ḥassān Ibn al-Munḍhir, so often cited by al-Idrīsī, should be identical with Hishām's *Kitāb al-ʿAdjāib al-Arbaʿa* (*Fihrist*, loc. cit.), this author would be the first writer on general geographical matters in Islāmic literature. Connected with the same purely Arabian geographical tradition is also the monumental *Djāsiṣat al-ʿArab* by al-Hamdānī [q. v.].

The earliest document on not purely Arabian geographical knowledge is the Qurʾān. The geographical notions contained in the Book are, however, very scanty; they imply the idea that the earth has a flat surface, on which the mountains are put like plugs (Sūra lxxviii. 6, 7). Muḥammadan writers often recall these Qurʾānic texts in their doxology (as e. g. al-Idrīsī), or try to seek a confirmation of their own views in the Qurʾān. This applies especially to the doctrine of "the two seas, between which is a *barzakh*" (Sūra xxv. 55; xxvii. 62; lv. 19; cf. al-Maḳḍisī, p. 16), which doctrine became a kind of geographical and cartographical dogma in the x<sup>th</sup> century (on the possible origin of this view cf. W. Barthold, *Der Koran und das Meer*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1930, p. 37 sqq.). In one passage, however, the Qurʾān speaks of seven seas (xxi. 26).

From the same very early Islāmic times, and possibly still earlier, some primitive geographical notions must have come to the Arabs, notions that were rooted in a very ancient past and transmitted by Jewish and Christian circles and were mostly of oriental origin. They were often more of a cosmographical than of a geographical nature and related for instance to the extension of the earth counted in hundreds of years (cf. Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 93), to the encircling ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, q. v.), to the paradisiacal origin of some rivers, to the depth of seas and lakes, to the nature and the cohesion of mountains and mountain systems (these last views are often reported on the authority of Wāḥb b. Munabbih; cf. also AL-MUKAṬṬAM). These cosmological conceptions have been studied by A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, 1916. Hereto belong also traditions on an original division of the earth, and speculations on its form, which is said to be that of a bird in a traditional saying of ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 1; Ibn Ḥawḳal in MS. of the Top Kapu library N<sup>o</sup>. 3346 at Constantinople, p. 121 remarks that this description only holds good if Arabia is meant). Further there are views on the distribution of peoples on the surface of the earth, views that clearly derive from the Old Testament and to which is due i. a. the localisation of the peoples Yādjūd and Mādjūd, which are already Qurʾānic, in the extreme North-East [cf. YĀDJŪD WA-MĀDJŪD]; also the derivation of the genealogy of different peoples from the sons of Noah. Gradually, as the non-Arabian elements in Islām became more numerous, other similar primitive conceptions were added from Persian, Egyptian and Greek sources.

Some of them were the source of prejudices that have influenced for centuries the geographical literature; others, though certainly of ancient origin, such as the belief in the existence of the earth-encircling mountain *Qāf*, appear in literary form only at a later date.

A more concrete enrichment of the geographical knowledge of the non-Arab world was acquired in the course of the great conquests and was recorded down in the first records relating to these conquests. The *Ḥadīth* literature, especially in its sections about the *Futūḥ*, contains reflections of these records, but on the whole does not furnish characteristic geographical information; we find in it eulogies (*faḍā'il*) of different towns and countries (Madina, Jerusalem, Syria, Egypt, al-Yaman; a somewhat more detailed description of al-Baṣra in Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, bāb 10. — I owe this information about the *Ḥadīth* to A. J. Wensinck). Besides the canonical *Ḥadīth* there circulated, however, many other similar traditions; as an example we may cite the praise of Egypt and of the Copts found in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and the later Egyptian *Faḍā'il* literature. Another connection with early geographical political knowledge is found in a fragment of a description of the known world from the *Kitāb al-Zīj* by the astronomer al-Fazārī (second half of the viii<sup>th</sup> century), preserved by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, iv. 37 sqq.). Here is a link between early historiography and geography, which was never entirely broken. Many geographers of the following centuries were at the same time historians, such as al-Ya'qūbī, al-Balkhī and al-Mas'ūdī, while many historical works contain important geographical sections. An instructive passage in the *Kitāb al-Mu'djib* by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (ed. Dozy, p. 252) shows, however, that the difference between the two literary "genres" was clearly felt. The same connection has always continued to exist and was reinforced even at the time when geographical and historical activity became restricted to special countries, as in the so-called *khiṭaṭ* literature of Egypt and in the numerous local and regional annals.

Another group of sources of geographical lore was the notions of what we may call astronomical geography. Several indications lead to the conclusion that the first acquaintance with these ideas came from the East, probably from Indian astronomical treatises like the *Siddhānta*, that reached Baghdad in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr by the way of the school of Djundāḥ-Shāpūr. In this way must have become known originally the doctrine of the seven climes (influenced perhaps also by the Iranian division of the earth into seven *kishwars*), which is proved by the circumstance that the earliest descriptions of the seven climes (al-Farghānī, ed. Golius, p. 32 sqq.; cf. E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, Heidelberg 1929, p. 135 sqq.) begin the enumeration of the countries belonging to each clime in the east. Further there are remnants of a calculation of longitudes from an eastern meridian (in al-Hamdānī's *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 44 sqq.; cf. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 139 sqq.), while also the belief in the existence of a "cupola of the earth" (*kubbat al-arḍ*) is of Indian origin, as is proved by the name *Arin* given to this cupola, which name is a false reading of the name of the Indian town of Ujjayinī, where there was an astronomical observatory. The cupola of Arin, as is well known, passed, through

Islāmic mediation, into the geographical conceptions of mediaeval Europe. Finally the name *zīj* of astronomical tables, as well as geographical tables of longitudes and latitudes, must go back to the tradition of this Persian-Indian science (cf. the reference above to the *Kitāb al-Zīj* of al-Fazārī).

A far more important event, however, was the introduction into the studies of the Baghdad scholars of Greek astronomical geographical science, by the translation activity at the court of the early 'Abbāsids. It was the *Γεωγραφικὴ ὁφίστησις*, together with other Ptolemaic material, that formed the starting point. There are several data about Arabic translations made of Ptolemy's work, one made by Ibn Khurḍādhbih according to his own statement (*B. G. A.*, vi. 3), one by (or for) the philosopher al-Kindī [q. v.] (d. 874; cf. *Fihrist*, p. 268; Ibn al-Kiṭī, p. 98), and one by Thābit b. Qurra [q. v.; d. 901]. What we really possess is, however, the *Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ* by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̲wārizmī (ed. by H. v. Mzik, in *B. A. H. U. G.*, iii. 1926), written about the middle of the x<sup>th</sup> century. Al-Kh̲wārizmī was an astronomer, and his book has for the greater part the form of a table or a *zīj*. So the *Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ* is not a mere translation of Ptolemy's Geography, but a tabular reproduction of Ptolemaic material, in which already specifically Muḥammadan geographical data have been interpolated. The problems connected with the dependence of the work on Greek or Syriac Ptolemaic works, the interpolation of Muḥammadan towns, and the map which apparently is described by al-Kh̲wārizmī and its system of gradation have been discussed by C. A. Nallino (*Al-Huwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, in *Atti R. Acc. dei Lincei*, ser. v., vol. 2, 1894), H. von Mzik (*Ptolemaeus und die Karten der arabischen Geographen*, in *M. G. G. Wien*, lviii, 1912, p. 152 sqq.) and E. Honigmann (*op. cit.*, p. 122 sqq.). Two important points deserve mention. Firstly the tables of the *Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ* have been arranged according to the already mentioned system of the seven climes, with which the Islāmic scholars seem to have been conversant already before the reception of Ptolemaic geography. Thus this system has become, from being a rather secondary idea in classical geography, a popular principle in Muḥammadan astronomical works and in many geographical treatises. Most of these works show that the geometrical basis of the system was lost, as is proved by the very different figures given for the latitude of the demarcation lines of the climes [cf. İKLİM], and for instance al-Mas'ūdī's belief that all towns in one clime lie on the same latitude (*Tamhīh*, p. 44); al-Bīrūnī's conscientious calculations in his *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīm* (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, xlv. 16 sqq.) make a rare exception. Secondly there are the four maps which accompany the Strassburg MS. of the *Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ*, and which apparently are intended to be renderings of detailed geographical features; the most important among them is the map of the Nile's course [cf. NİL], on which the boundaries of the climes have been indicated. There is no world map, but the indications of longitudes and latitudes furnish all the materials for designing one; the reconstruction of the map of Africa by H. von Mzik (*Denkschr. der phil.-hist. Cl. der Kais. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, lix. 4) shows,



however, that such a reconstruction is only possible with considerable emendations.

Besides the *Kitāb Šurāt al-Arḍ* by al-Kh̲wārizmī, there were other tabular geographical works, derived from the same kind of sources, such as those given by al-Battānī (ed. Nallino, iii. 234 sqq.) and those cited by Yāqūt from a *Kitāb al-Malḥama* attributed to Ptolemy. To the same scientific tradition belong the indications about longitudes and latitudes given in the *zīj*s of many astronomical works, always after the system of the seven climes; we may cite as instances the works of Ibn Yūnus (d. 1008) in *al-Zīj al-Hākīmī*, al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) in *al-Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, the anonymous *Kitāb al-Aṭwāl* so often cited by Abu 'l-Fidā', al-Marrākushī (d. 1262) in his *Djāmī' al-Mabādī* and many others. Cartographical reconstructions on the basis of these *zīj*s are impossible and do not even seem to have been thought of by the astronomers themselves, just as the real geographers do not seem to have had a right understanding for the data procured by the astronomers. The *Kitāb Šuwar al-Aḳālīm*, written by Suhṛāb in the middle of the x<sup>th</sup> century (ed. by H. v. Mzik, in *B.A.H.U.G.*, v.) and arranged after the same method as al-Kh̲wārizmī's work, though giving much more Islāmic material, is, in a way, a favourable exception.

The reception of Greek astronomical geography is closely connected with the scientific activity ascribed to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813—833), who ordered certain scholars to make astronomical observations. In the course of these observations the length of a geographical degree was measured, and one of their results were astronomic tables, which were called *al-Zīj al-Ma'mūnī al-Mumtaḥan*, but which are no longer extant in their original form (cf. Honigsmann, *op. cit.*, p. 143 sqq.). Another result was probably a kind of world map, called by al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 33, 44): *al-Šūra al-Ma'mūniya*. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the earth was represented here after the Ptolemaic system, but if the xii<sup>th</sup> century Spanish geographer al-Zuhṛī (see below) in his *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyā*, really describes the map of al-Ma'mūn, as he says in his introduction, this map was divided into seven *iklīms*, six of which surrounded a seventh, central *iklīm*, the whole being surrounded by the encircling ocean. This would better answer to the Persian division of the *kishwars* as described by al-Bīrūnī (*Kitāb al-Taḥīm*, cf. *S.B.P.M.S. Erlg.*, xlv.), and it is by no means improbable that this was the case. In addition the execution of a world map for al-Ma'mūn may be considered as a symbol of world dominion, which is in the ancient Persian style; it is recorded, indeed, that similar works were executed for Sāsānian kings (Ardashīr I, according to Yāqūt, i. 16; al-Dimashqī, p. 18; al-Makrizī, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx. 33; Qubādh, according to Aḥmad al-Tūsī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, MS. Gotha, Pers. N<sup>o</sup>. 35, fol. 27<sup>b</sup>). In later times great cartographical enterprises were likewise favoured by powerful rulers, such as the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and the Norman kings in Sicily.

The impulse, however, to the production of the first descriptive geographical works that appeared in the ix<sup>th</sup> century A. D. in the cultural centre of the 'Abbāsīd Empire came from practical needs, in the first place from the necessity of knowing the great roads that linked together the provinces of the Muḥammadan Empire. This knowledge was

required for administrative and religious purposes, for the stations on the pilgrim roads leading to Mecca had equally to be fixed. The material for such descriptions of itineraries was partly at hand in the *diwāns* of the government and was supplemented by travellers and merchants. Among the travellers a particular place was occupied by the navigators, who brought in particular fresh information about distant countries situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean and on its many islands. In the ix<sup>th</sup> century these travellers' stories rarely were recorded in separate treatises; we possess, however, the account of the travels to India and China of the merchant Sulaimān in the middle of the ix<sup>th</sup> century (published in 1811 by Reinaud, after the MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 2281 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, entitled *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh*). Usually we find the travellers' accounts incorporated, more or less distinctly, in the more general descriptions, such as the journey of the interpreter Sallām to the North East (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 162 sqq.). Only in the following centuries these travellers' books begin to form a category of their own (like the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahrīyār, ed. van der Lith, Leyden 1883—1886), and to collect a large amount of wonderful stories which have found their way into the later cosmographical works and can hardly be called geographical any more than when they appear as the travels of Sindbād the Sailor in the Arabian Nights. On the other hand they are related, however, to the nautical works that appear in the xv<sup>th</sup> century.

The collection of itineraries and other actual geographical knowledge brought into existence the different books on "the roads and the countries" (*al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*). The earliest book that bore this title was, according to the *Fihrist* (p. 150), composed by Abu 'l-'Abbās Dja'far b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 887), but if Ibn Khurdādhbih [q. v.] (better: Ibn Khurra-dādhbih) composed the first version of his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* about 846 (as de Goeje thought; but cf. J. Marquardt, in *Ost-europäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 390), this statement cannot be correct. Another early author of a book with the same title was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaiyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 899; cf. *Fihrist*, p. 261; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 210), who was a pupil of al-Kindī, already mentioned as translator of Ptolemy, and author of a treatise on ebb and flow (in MS. Seld. Arch. A. 32 of the Bodleian Library). We possess, however, only Ibn Khurdādhbih's work, which furnishes, besides many itineraries, notes on astronomical (Ptolemaic) geography, statistical data about the revenues of different provinces, travellers' accounts, historical notes from Persian sources about pre-Islāmic conditions, and some popular geographical ideas. The text is not very systematical, but this may be due to the fact that we only possess an abridgment of the work. It is of interest to remark, however, that we meet in it at the same time geographical material from almost all the different sources enumerated above. The material treated is by no means confined to the Muḥammadan world of the author's time, but extends to all non-Islāmic regions about which he could obtain information. This universality is a feature no doubt due to the influence of Ptolemaic geography; it was largely avoured by the circumstance that the greater

part of the Ptolemaic world coincided with the then 'Abbāsīd-Islāmic world, which at that time was already beginning to be more a cultural than a political unity. With Ibn Khurdādhbeh's book we may put in the same literary group the *Kitāb al-Buldān* by Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'kūbī [q. v.; d. 897], the treatise of the same name by Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (by whom a more complete MS. was described recently by P. Kahle, in *Z. M. D. G.*, 1934, p. 43 sqq.); the *Kitāb al-A'lāk al-Nafisa* by Ibn Rusta [cf. IBN ROSTEH; beginning of the x<sup>th</sup> century], and the geographical parts of the *Kitāb al-Kharādī* by Qudāma [q. v.; first half of the x<sup>th</sup> century]. All these works afford the same kind of information, but they have on the whole more literary pretensions. They were probably more under the influence of the already described Arabic literary tradition in geography, to which must have belonged the lost geographical treatise of al-Djāḥiẓ [q. v.; d. c. 865], *Kitāb al-Amṣār wa-'Adjā'ib al-Buldān*. Finally we must, in all probability, reckon to the same group the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* by al-Djāihānī, who, in the first half of the x<sup>th</sup> century, was a vizier of the Sāmānids; this book is lost (cf., however, E. Herzfeld, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, Leipzig 1926, N<sup>o</sup>. 28) but, according to al-Maḳḍisī (p. 241), it was little different from that of Ibn Khurdādhbeh. On the whole it can be said that this group of descriptive geographical works is a rich source of information about all kinds of subjects that interested the cultivated classes of society (cf. the appreciation of al-Djāihānī's work by al-Maḳḍisī, p. 3, 4). It would seem as if this kind of literature was used for the collection of all the secular knowledge that could not find a place in the religious and traditional literature.

The geographical literary activity which had sprung up in Baghdād and its environs, gave birth, in the x<sup>th</sup> century, to a geographical school that deserves the name of classical. The father of this new school was the scholar Abū Zaid Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī [q. v.; d. 934], who had been in his younger days, like al-Sarakhsī, a pupil of al-Kindī at Baghdād, and composed at Balkh, in his old age, a book which is usually given the title of *Ṣuwar al-Aḳālim*. This work was in all probability mainly an atlas, to which a short text was added (al-Maḳḍisī, p. 4). The original text of al-Balkhī is no longer extant, but it is incorporated in the geographical treatises of al-Iṣṭakhri [q. v.; middle of the x<sup>th</sup> century] and Ibn Ḥawḳal [q. v.; c. 975], which both bear the name of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, and in a number of Persian manuscripts that contain translations of the early version of al-Iṣṭakhri. The maps contained in the manuscripts of all these works give an adequate idea of the maps of al-Balkhī's Atlas. This Atlas has been rightly styled "Islām-Atlas" by K. Miller in his *Mappae Arabicae*. It consisted, in an established succession, of a world map, a map of Arabia, a map of the Indian Ocean (*Baḥr Fāris*), maps of the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria, a map of the Mediterranean (*Baḥr al-Rūm*) and fourteen further maps of parts of the central and eastern Islāmic world. The fact that the different geographical sections of Persia are represented by separate maps, while the maps of the western world illustrate entire countries, betrays their Irānian origin, which is also confirmed by some passages in the text. But, in the form

and succession in which they are put before us in the x<sup>th</sup> century, they intend in the first place to figure the Islāmic world, the *Mamlakat al-Islām*, which fact is equally strongly emphasized in the accompanying texts (al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 2; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 4). This purely Islāmic geography renounces, in addition, every connection with astronomical geography (al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 3; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 4). The maps, indeed, show no trace of a division into latitudinal climates; the word *iqlīm* is applied to each of the regions of which a map is given.

The way in which the "Islām-Atlas" came into existence remains to be investigated. A. Sprenger (*Die Post- und Reiserouten, Vorrede*, p. xiv. sqq.), on the authority of a passage in the *Fihrist* (p. 138), considers the astronomer Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin (who, however, according to W. Suter, *Die Math. u. Astron. der Araber*, p. 58 died between 961 and 962, and was therefore much younger than al-Balkhī) as the first designer of this type of map. But the maps have nothing to do with astronomical geography; they treat each region apart and can in no way be classed together as a whole, nor do they show any connection with the maps found in the MS. of al-Khwarizmi. We may not yet discard, however, the assumption that they were originally intended to be itinerary maps. What we further know about cartography in earlier times is very scanty; Ibn al-Faḳīh (p. 283) mentions a map of Dailam, made for al-Ḥadjdjādī, and in al-Balādhuri (p. 371) mention is made of a map of the canals of al-Baṣra, made in support of a petition to the caliph al-Manṣūr. The arrangement of the maps in the "Islām-Atlas" makes it probable that there was an older "Irān-Atlas", which was adapted and amended for the use of Islām and that the maps of the purely Irānian regions were preceded only by a world map and by maps of each of the "two seas". The world map may have had to do something with the map of al-Ma'mūn. It is noteworthy, in addition, that the division into regions presents some resemblance to the division of the regions the conquest of which is related in the *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* by al-Balādhuri. Besides the maps the different texts of the treatises of the Balkhī-school (improperly called the "Masālik-literature" by de Goeje, because this name is older) put before us a good many philological problems, for which we refer to: de Goeje, *Die Istachri-Balkhi-Frage* (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxv. 42 sqq.) and J. H. Kramers, *La question Balḫī-Iṣṭakhri-Ibn Ḥawḳal et l'Atlas de l'Islām* (*Acta Orient.*, x. 9 sqq.). The arrangement of the geographical material is entirely dependent on the maps; for each region we find successively treated the towns, the rivers, the mountains and the inhabitants, followed by the itineraries. This arrangement leaves room for inserting a lot of fresh material furnished by travels, by official documents, by the progress of history and by other sources. The text of Ibn Ḥawḳal especially shows large additions to the knowledge of Africa and Spain, additions that are also perceptible in his much improved maps of those regions.

The specifically Islāmic Balkhī-school of geographical literature did not arise in the surroundings of the 'Abbāsīd court — with which it is linked together by traditional ties — but in the new and more Persian cultural centre that had clustered round the Sāmānīd court in Khurāsān. The



geographical interest of al-Djaihānī — though his own work was a continuation of the older tradition — must have been here of considerable influence. The continuators of the Balkhī-school, however, were not Khurāsānians; al-Iṣṭakhri was a native of Fārs, while Ibn Ḥawqāl was from Naṣībīn. This author's last text version is even orientated in favour of the Fātimids, while the Iṣṭakhri-text and Ibn Ḥawqāl's earlier version still show strong inclinations towards the Sāmānids. The last great continuator of this school, al-Maḳḍisī [cf. AL-MUKADDASĪ; d. c. 1000], whom A. Sprenger has called the greatest geographer of all ages, came from Jerusalem. His work *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Ma'rifat al-Aḳālīm* is known likewise in two versions, one of which is orientated towards the Sāmānids and one towards the Fātimids. Al-Maḳḍisī has emancipated himself already from the system of the "Islām-Atlas". The maps of his manuscripts show the primitive features of the early Iṣṭakhri maps; his division of the regions is different from the Atlas, and he deals again, though very inadequately, with astronomical geography. This author can be said to close the purely Islāmic school of geography, which, though leaving traces in many works of later centuries, was left henceforward chiefly to the care of more or less careless copyists. Of the maps of this school it is mainly the world map that has survived in geographical literature. They are clearly recognisable in the world maps of al-Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, and a little less clearly in the round world maps of al-Idrisī. Perhaps it is also at the basis of the interesting round world map found in the Constantinople MS. of al-Kāshgharī's *Diwān Luḡāt al-Turk* (Constantinople 1333—1335).

Besides the Balkhī-school, there were in the xth century quite a number of authors who contributed to the spread of geographical knowledge. We can divide their works roughly into such as attempt to treat the entire known world, and those that describe special countries or regions. To the first category belong the treatises already mentioned of al-Djaihānī and Suhrāb. Further there is a *Kitāb Akām al-Mardjān* by a certain Iṣḥāq Ibn al-Ḥusain, who is perhaps identical with one of the sources cited by al-Idrisī; in this work, written about 950 and published by A. Codazzi (*R.R.A.L.*, 1929), we find already the later so popular system of enumerating a series of towns. There is also a notice on geography in the fourth treatise of the first part of the *Rasā'il Iḥkhwān al-Ṣafā*, where the adopted Ptolemaic views of the foregoing century are expounded. Similar notices are found in the *Kitāb al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rikh*, written in 996 by al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḍisī (ed. by Cl. Huart in *P. E. L. O. V.*, Paris 1899—1917). More important is again the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, written in Persian (or translated from Arabic?) in 983 (published in facsimile by W. Barthold, Leningrad 1930); the arrangement of this treatise is again very Ptolemaic, omitting, however, all indications about latitude and longitude. Barthold presumes a literary connection with al-Djaihānī's book and shows another connection with the geographical part of the Persian *Zain al-Aḥbār* by al-Gardizī (wrote about 1050). Finally there was composed in this century for the Fātimid al-'Aziz (975—996) a *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* by al-Muḥallabī, of which only quotations are preserved by Yāqūt and Abu 'l-Fidā'.

The most original geographical author of the xth century is al-Mas'ūdī [q. v.; d. 956]. In his voluminous *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, as well as in his *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, this great traveller describes without much system the countries he has visited, giving at the same time historical notices and discussing all the geographical problems that occur under some form in the works of the geographers of the preceding century. He does not confine himself to the Islāmic world. Another traveller was Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.], who went in 921—922 as an envoy to the Wolga Bulghars, and whose *Risāla* is known to Yāqūt and recently in a more complete form in the newly discovered MS. of Ibn al-Faḳīh (cf. P. Kahle, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1934, p. 44); further the account of his travels by Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. al-Muḥallil [cf. MĀ'AR], who began in 942 his extensive travels in Asia; an authentic text of this *Risāla* seems to have been preserved in the same Ibn al-Faḳīh MS. (cf. Kahle, *loc. cit.*). Another traveller Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb gave an account of his travels in Europe (quotations with al-Bakrī and al-Ḳazwīnī), while Ibn Sulaim al-Uṣwānī made about 975 a journey up the Nile into Nubia, described in a *Kitāb Aḥbār al-Nūba* fragments of which have been preserved by al-Maḳrīzī [cf. AL-NIL].

The accounts of travel lead us to the second category of geographical descriptions mentioned above, namely the regional and local geographical treatises, which have commonly at the same time a historiographic character. Among these stand in the first place the beginnings of the Egyptian *khitaṭ* literature, the first representative of which is said by al-Maḳrīzī to have been Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī [q. v.; d. 961], although the first beginnings of those topographical descriptions are already to be found in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam [q. v.; d. 871]. The *Faḍā'il Miṣr* by al-Kindī's son 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī (ed. by J. Oestrup, in *Kong. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Forh.*, 1896, N<sup>o</sup>. 4) and the treatise with the same title by Ibn Zūlāk (d. 997) may be reckoned to the same category, but have also connection with the *faḍā'il* passages that have been preserved in the *Ḥadīth*. In the xiith century this genre was continued by Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Ḳudā'ī (d. 1062) in his *al-Mukhtār fī Dhikr al-Khitaṭ wa 'l-Āthār*, important quotations from which are found in Yāqūt and al-Maḳrīzī; in the xiith century there is *al-Risāla al-Miṣriyya* by Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1134) from which the same two authors give quotations. The Maghrib was given a geographical description, again under the title *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāk (d. 973; cf. al-Maḳkari, *Analektes*, ii. 112 sqq.). This book is lost, but al-Bakrī, in the following century, has largely drawn upon it. For Spain a similar description was composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Ta'rikhī (d. 955; cf. Dozy's introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Idhārī, i. 23); this lost work has left traces in early Spanish literature. Arabia was described in a masterly way by al-Hamdānī in his *Djāzirat al-'Arab* already mentioned. It remains to be examined how far these regional descriptions have provided material for the more general treatises. The same applies to the many historical-topographical works which are consecrated to a single town and which cannot be sharply

separated from the regional descriptions. In the descriptions of towns the historical and often the biographical side predominates, for which reason they not seldom bear the title of *Ta'rikh*. To the earliest works of this kind belong the annals of Mecca by al-Azraqī [q. v.; d. 858]; from the same century we have still a part of the *Ta'rikh Baghdād* by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [q. v.; d. 893], the forerunner of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [q. v.; d. 1070], who wrote a work under the same title. Similar works were composed for more eastern towns, such as the *Ta'rikh Bukhārā* by al-Narshakhī (d. 959). Very many towns in East and West have found in this way a historical-topographic description. Their great number makes an enumeration impossible, for these descriptions have remained up to the present day a popular literary category in all parts of the Arab, Iranian and Turkish Islamic countries.

The production of new works of general geographical interest becomes much smaller in the xth century, which no doubt was a consequence of the continuing political disintegration of the Muḥammadan world. We may also venture to say that all had been said about itineraries and descriptions of countries that answered to literary and practical demands. The known world had been re-explored from the Islamic-imperialistic point of view, for no practical knowledge about territories unknown to the Ancients — with the exception of some parts of Africa — had been added. But the exploration had been more intensive and we owe to the geographical works of the ixth and xth centuries a much better acquaintance, especially with the Asiatic countries, than the classical and hellenistic sources afford. Still we meet in the xth century two geographical works of the first order, which conclude in a worthy way the classical period of this literature. First comes al-Bīrūnī's description of India (written in 1030), which, besides giving much geographical information about that newly conquered country, introduces into Muḥammadan science a better knowledge of the cosmological and geographical ideas of the Hindus. The same great scholar's other works, especially *al-Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, though belonging to the astronomical category, deserve a special notice for their clear exposition of geographical facts. The *Kitāb al-Taḥīm* contains in its five known manuscripts a remarkable round world map to illustrate the position of the seas (the maps of 4 MSS. have been reproduced on fol. 713 of the *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti* by Yūsuf Kamāl); further, in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (ed. Sachau, p. 357), al-Bīrūnī describes some geometrical methods for the projection of maps of the sky and of the earth, which method does not seem, however, to have found practical application, as has been the case with other ingenious inventions of this great scholar. The other great geographical work of the xth century is the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* written in 1067 by the Spanish author Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī [q. v.], mentioned already as the author of a *Mu'djam*. As we are only acquainted with al-Bakrī's description of Northern Africa (by de Slane's edition) and his information about southern Russia (by Kunik and Rosen's publication) we cannot yet well form an opinion on the nature of the entire voluminous work (cf. the note on the Constantinople MS. by H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xix. 43); it does not seem to

have belonged to the Balkhī school, because there are no maps. It was in any case a work based largely on the author's own studies and recording many contemporary facts.

Accounts of travel pertaining to the xth century are the well-known Persian *Safar-nāma* by Nāsiri Khusraw [q. v.], composed about 1045, and the accounts deriving from Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarṭūshī (d. 1085), who travelled in France and Germany (quoted by al-Kazwīnī).

While, after the xth century, many literary sources, notably the historical works, continue to give geographical information, the purely geographical literature henceforward gains ever more the character of literary compilation of the material laid down in earlier works. The burden of tradition begins to be felt heavily. There is a tendency to combine in literary form, but indiscriminately, the results of the knowledge collected in various ways by past generations, while at the same time the historical development loosens the feeling of the geographical unity of the Islāmic world. In addition there reveals itself a strong liking for the wonderful and supernatural, just as happened in later Latin geographical works.

The most important feature is the rapprochement of descriptive and astronomical geography. Its outstanding example is the *Nuḥat al-Muḥṭāḩ* by al-Idrīsī [q. v.; d. 1156], famous for its seventy maps, each representing a tenth part of one of the seven climates and giving, if laid together in the right way — which is entirely new in Islāmic cartography — a complete Ptolemaic map of the inhabited world. In the beginning of the work there is also a round world map, which may go back to an earlier Muḥammadan cartographical tradition [see above]. It is difficult to ascertain whether it is this world map or rather the big climate map, put together, that is a reproduction of the silver "image of the world" which was constructed for al-Idrīsī's patron, King Roger of Sicily, according to the author's introduction. It is an amazing fact that this introduction, besides giving some very general notes on astronomical geography, does not say anything about the astronomical methods that were used for the drawing of the maps, and this leads to the equally amazing conclusion that there was no astronomical method at all, and that some ancient Ptolemaic map must have been the basis on which al-Idrīsī worked (cf. also H. von Mzik, in *M. G. G. Wien*, lviii., 1912, p. 152 sqq.). The text, so far as Muḥammadan countries are concerned, draws largely on older writers, especially Ibn Ḥawḩal, who, however, are often wrongly interpreted (a striking example in J. Marquardt, *Ērānsahr*, p. 261). For the European countries al-Idrīsī had at his disposal information collected for King Roger from travellers and merchants; being so early this information is of extreme importance, but after what gradually becomes known about the uncritical way in which it was used in the text and in the maps (cf. R. Ekblom, *Idrīsī und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer*, in *Namn och Bygd*, xix., Stockholm 1931) we learn more and more to use the work with much circumspection. There exists an abridgment of al-Idrīsī's text, composed in 1192 (MS. No. 688 of the Hekim Oghlu library at Constantinople), to which also maps are joined, including the "climate" to the south of the equator; the introduction to this abridgment is somewhat more



profuse in astronomical information, but does not reveal either any cartographic principles. Al-Idrisi's fame seems to have been restricted to the western part of the Muḥammadan world. The only work of a similar type we know of is the *Kitāb Djuḡhrāfiyā fī 'l-Aḳālim al-Sab'* by Ibn Sa'īd [q. v.; d. 1274], of which book we possess an extract (Paris, MS. arabe, N<sup>o</sup>. 2234; British Museum, Or. 1524). Here we find the same division into seven climates, each subdivided again into ten sections; for each geographical point of greater importance, however, the longitude and latitude is given, which enables a complete map to be drawn. This book has made use of many new facts, i. a. the accounts of Ibn Fāṭima's travels, who journeyed far along the African coasts and the new tribal orientation in Northern Africa after the rise of the Almohades. Another more incomplete extract from this work is found under the title *Kitāb Baṣṭ al-Ard fī Ṭūliḥā wa 'l-Ard* in a MS. of the Bodleian at Oxford.

The rapprochement between descriptive and astronomical geography in the xii<sup>th</sup> century is also perceptible in an abridgment of Ibn Hawḳal's text, made by a Spanish author about 1150 (MS. Paris, N<sup>o</sup>. 2214; MSS. Constantinople Top Kapu Library 3347; Aya Sofia 2934); this treatise contains many additions referring to the new editor's own time and, besides the already known Ibn Hawḳal maps, the same map of the Nile with which we are acquainted from the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard* by al-Khwārizmī; to this map corresponds an addition in the text [cf. AL-NIL]. From the astronomical side the *Muntaha 'l-Idrāk* by al-Kharaḳī (worked in Marw; d. A. D. 1138—1139) may be considered as a movement in the direction of descriptive geography.

To the middle of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century belongs likewise the treatise *Kitāb Djuḡhrāfiyā* by a Spanish author called al-Zuhri; this work announces itself as a description of the world map (*djuḡhrāfiyā*) of al-Ma'mūn [see above], but divides the known earth, in an entirely unusual way, into seven *iqlims*, six of which are grouped around a central one, after the fashion of the Persian *kishwars*; each *iqlim* is divided again into three sections. There is no doubt that this division goes back to much older geographical views, which require special investigation. The geographical contents, likewise, are somewhat out of the common and tend to the wonderful and the fantastic; Spain has received the most detailed description.

In the centuries after al-Idrisi it becomes ever more difficult to assign to the various manifestations of geographical literary activity their place in the cultural and political surroundings of the then much diversified and divergated social conditions of the Muḥammadan world. Geographical lore becomes more and more traditional. At the courts of the rulers of those times there was less demand for general geographical compositions; their needs were amply provided by the copying of geographical works of older times, as is proved e. g. by the many copies of works of the Balkhī-school that were executed for the *khizāna* of the Mamlūk sultāns in Egypt, and later for the Ottoman sultāns. The authors of the geographical treatises themselves belong henceforward more to the class of independent scholars with vast bibliographical knowledge; for this reason also we find their works to be to a great extent compilations, varying from dry alphabetically or otherwise arranged enumera-

tions to sometimes highly original rearrangements of the known material. This situation favoured also the conditions for the writing of the so-called cosmographical works, where wonderful stories often take the most important place. In the mass of traditional stuff the new geographical facts — which become more numerous in this epoch on account of the enlargement of the territories where Muḥammadans had settled — often do not occupy the place they deserve. It is noteworthy, further, that the bulk of real geographical literature is produced henceforward in the Middle East, Syria and Egypt. The political conditions in Persia and further East did not favour this kind of literary activity; here the earlier tradition was chiefly continued by astronomers, like Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [q. v.; d. 1273] and his younger contemporary, the great scholar Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [q. v.; d. 1311], who, in his astronomical treatises *Nihāyat al-Idrāk* and *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiya*, gives remarkable views on astronomic geography, and even gives the material for designing a world map. The last representative of astronomic geography in the East is Ulūḡ Beg [q. v.; d. 1449]. Meanwhile the regional geographical treatises, especially in Egypt, gain ever more in importance, and occasionally treat subjects of general geography in an introductory chapter. Finally a fresh note is brought into the geographical literature of these later centuries by the increasing number of travellers, most of whom were again of Western origin.

The first work of the truly cosmographical type was the *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* by the Spanish author Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, written in 1162 (ed. by G. Ferrand, in *J. A.*, 1925). The geographical material is meagre and unsystematic and shows a strong predilection for the wonderful. A similar work, though of much richer content, is the Persian '*Adja'ib al-Makhlūqāt*' by Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī (d. 1193); this treatise shows in many respects a strong likeness to al-Kāzwinī's cosmography.

Regional descriptions of this time are found in the anonymous *Kitāb al-Isṭibṣār*, which is substantially a rendering of al-Bakrī's geographical material concerning Egypt and Northern Africa, but arranged in the form of an enumeration of towns after a certain geographical system, and enriched by contemporary information. In the East this regional description has, in the first half of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century, a counterpart in the Persian *Fārs-nāma* by Ibn al-Balkhī (ed. by G. Le Strange, and R. A. Nicholson, in *G. M. S.*, 1921), the geographical part of which mainly reproduces the material of Ibn Hawḳal. This is one of the few geographical works belonging to Salḍjūk times in Persia. We may mention at the same time a Persian *Djihān-nāma*, composed by Muḥammad b. Naḍīb Bakrān for Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh (1200—1220; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 36).

The famous *Mu'djam al-Bulān* by Yāḳūt [q. v.] was finished in 1228, at the end of the ideal political unity of Islām under the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. This gigantic alphabetical work is the most complete compilation of the descriptive, astronomical, philological and travellers' geographical material collected by the preceding generations. It is likewise intended to serve the needs of biographers for identifying the *nisbas* after the fashion of al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (comp. in 1167) and

that author's predecessors al-Dārakutnī and Ibn Makūla. Its purpose was to satisfy all demands, just as it still answers largely the needs of modern orientalists. Yākūt is conversant with all the aspects of Muḥammadan geographical knowledge of his time, including many sources that are lost to us (cf. F. J. Heer, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Fāqūt's Geographischem Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1898), and deserves much credit for quoting al-Birūnī so largely in his preface. His *Kitāb al-Muḥṭarīk*, on geographical names that stand for more than one place, is taken from the *Mu'djam*, while the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, composed a century after his lifetime, is an extract of the same, containing exclusively the geographical material. In addition Yākūt has a claim to be called one of the great learned travellers of his age. The *Takwīm al-Buldān* by Abū 'l-Fidā' [q. v.; d. 1331], the final redaction of which was composed in 1321, is a scientific achievement not less remarkable than that of Yākūt. It may likewise be called a compilation, in so far as it systematizes the data of many older works. But it adds much information about non-Muḥammadan countries and its division of the inhabited world into twenty-eight regions (*iklim*), though based on the original *iklim*-division of the Balkhī-school, shows independence of treatment. The popularity of Abū 'l-Fidā's work with later generations and with the orientalists who came to know his work for the first time (Goliuss and Reiske) is fully justified.

Works of the cosmographical category in this period are those of al-Ḳazwīnī [q. v.; d. 1283], al-Harrānī (d. 1300), al-Dimashqī [q. v.; d. 1327], Ibn al-Wardī [q. v.; d. 1349] and al-Bākuwī (d. 1410). Al-Ḳazwīnī put down the information from his manifold sources in a more exclusively cosmographical work *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* and a geography *Adjā'ib al-Buldān* (later arrangement *Āthār al-Bilād*), of which works the first especially has become famous all over the Islāmic world, as is attested by its translations into Persian and several Turkish languages. It is the first systematic cosmographical work in Islāmic literature and shows in its treatment of the non-earthly world much likeness with contemporaneous Christian treatises in Europe and in the East, like the Syriac work *Ellath kul 'Ellān* (ed. C. Kayser, Leipzig 1889). The geography, arranged after the seven climates, makes, like Abū 'l-Fidā's work, a large use of alphabetical enumeration of towns, thus showing a literary parallelism with works like those of Yākūt, as well as by the many biographical notices it contains. Al-Dimashqī's *Nukhbāt al-Dahr* is at the same time cosmographical and geographical, and superior in composition, though it probably appealed less to the taste of his age. The *Kitāb Djāmī' al-Funūn wa-Salwat al-Maḥṣūn* of al-Harrānī (found in the Arabic MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 1513 at Gotha) is less well known; it is composed on the same lines as al-Dimashqī's work, although the geographical system is different. Ibn al-Wardī's *Khariḍat al-Adjā'ib* is said to be mainly a re-edition of al-Harrānī. In the same way al-Bākuwī's *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār wa-Adjā'ib al-Malik al-Qaḥḥār* is an extract of al-Ḳazwīnī's geography. The manuscripts of al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Harrānī and Ibn al-Wardī contain round world maps that are clearly of the Iṣṭakhri-type.

Two very voluminous works of this time, which deserve the name of encyclopædias rather than that of cosmographies, are the *Nihāyat al-Arab*

*fī Funūn al-Adab* by al-Nuwayrī [q. v.; d. 1332] and the *Masālik al-Aḥṣār fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Amṣār* by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī [cf. Faḍl Allāh; d. 1348]. From the point of view of literary history they belong to the specific Egyptian category of descriptive works composed by scholars and officials of the Mamlūk Empire, to which equally belong a series of treatises, to be mentioned hereafter, on the geography and administration of Egypt and Syria. These two works contain much new geographical material; Ibn Faḍl Allāh's description of Asia Minor (ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929) deserves a special mention.

The travel literature of this period can be said to begin with the famous *Rihla* of Ibn Djubair [q. v.], written in 1185; it is followed by the *Ishāra 'alā Ma'rifat al-Ziyāra* by al-Harawī [d. 1214], the *Ta'rikh al-Mustanṣir* composed about 1230 by Ibn al-Muḍjāwir and containing important topographical descriptions of Southern Arabia (cf. A. Sprenger, *Post- u. Reiserouten*, p. xxi. sqq.), the *Kitāb al-Rihla* by al-Nabātī (d. 1239), the *Kitāb al-Rihla* by al-'Abdārī (1289), the travels of al-Taiyibī (1299), the *Kitāb al-Rihla* of al-Tidjānī (1308), the *Rihlatānī* of Muḥammad b. Ruṣṣaid, and finally the voluminous *Tuḥfat al-Nuḥḥār* by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q. v.; d. 1377]. The rich contents of the latter work give information on countries far beyond the limits of mediæval Islāmic territory in Asia and Africa. The works of other travellers have not come down to us, but have provided material for the general works, such as the travels of Ibn Fāṭima on the African coast in Ibn Sa'id's treatise, and those of Abū 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān al-Multānī in Inner Africa, recorded by al-Ḳazwīnī.

After the cosmographical works of the xiii<sup>th</sup> and xiv<sup>th</sup> centuries the period of general geographical Islāmic literature may be said to have come to an end. Its place was henceforward occupied by the regional and, in a way, national literary activity in the various Islāmic countries.

In Egypt the so-called *khiṭaṭ*-literature was continued in an extensive and brilliant way under the rule of the Aiyūbids and the Mamlūks. We owe to it a series of valuable geographical and statistical descriptions of Egypt and of Syria, such as the *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* by Ibn Mammātī (d. 1209), the earliest known description of Egypt by 'Abd al-Laṭīf [q. v.; d. 1229], the description of the Faiyūm by al-Nābulusī (d. 1243), the *Kitāb Faḍā'il Miṣr* by al-Ṣafadī (d. 1361), the *Kitāb Ikāz al-Mutaḡaffil wa-tt'āz al-Muta'ammil* by Ibn al-Muta-waḍḍajī (1325), the *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-saniya bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣriya* by Ibn Djī'ān (1375), the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* by Ibn Duḳmāk [q. v.; d. c. 1406], the voluminous *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā* by al-Ḳalkaṣhandī [q. v.; d. 1418] and the very famous compilation of al-Maḳrīzī [q. v.; d. 1442], *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-I'tibār*, to which we owe so many data from lost sources. After al-Maḳrīzī the best known representatives of this literature are Khalīl al-Zāhiri in his *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (c. 1450), al-Suyūṭī [q. v.; d. 1505] in his *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* and other treatises, and finally the partly cosmographical work *Nashk al-Azhār fī 'Adjā'ib al-Aḥṣār* by Ibn Iyās [q. v.; d. 1528].

Northern Africa and what was left of Spain were much less productive in regional



descriptions. A rather exceptional figure was here the astronomer al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marrākushī (d. 1262), who in his *Djāmi' al-Mabādī wa 'l-Ghāyāt* gave tables of longitudes and latitudes partly compiled by himself. In descriptive geography we have here the last part of the *Kitāb al-Mu'djib* by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī [q.v.], written in 1224. The *Kitāb al-'Ibar* by Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.; d. 1406] is likewise an important geographical source, while the first book of its *Muḥaddima* gives a lengthy exposure of Islāmic geographical science. A similar geographical-historical source is the *Kitāb al-Mu'nis* by al-Ḳairawānī (c. 1450), while the last well-known representative of Muḥammadan geographical lore in these regions is Leo Africanus [q.v.], who translated in 1526 his description of Africa into Italian.

In the East, 'Irāk and Mesopotamia had received too serious blows to allow a literary continuation of geographical traditions. 'Irākian scholars, such as the already mentioned 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghādādī sought more favoured political centres as their fields of activity. Mention must be made, however, of the geographical studies of Barhebraeus [q.v.; d. 1286] in his *Mēnārath ʔudshē*, who was much influenced by the Islāmic tradition, as is shown i.a. by a semi-circular world map contained in the work mentioned (cf. R. Gottheil, in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May 1888).

The large territory where Persian had become the literary language is equally poor in geographical works. Mention has been made already of the Persian versions of treatises of the Balkhī-school, of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, of Nāṣirī Khusrāw's *Safar-nāma*, of Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī's '*Adjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt* and of the *Djihān-nāma* of Bakrān. Al-Ḳazwīnī's '*Adjā'ib al-Buldān* was translated into Persian. About 1300 flourished the astronomers Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, already mentioned because their place is still more in general Islāmic literature. Important geographical data, especially on the countries of the Mongols and the Turks, are found in the *Djihān-namā* of al-Djuwainī [q.v.; d. 1283], to whom the '*Adjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī was dedicated, and in the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn [q.v.; d. 1318]. A third volume of the latter work, which was to deal exclusively with geography, was never written in all probability (cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 72). A real geographical Persian work, and at the same time somewhat of a traveller's description is the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭawfī al-Ḳazwīnī [q.v.; d. 1340]. A contemporary work was the *Ṣurwar al-Aḳālīm* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (cf. Salemann, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, x. 493 sqq.), composed in 1347. In the following century the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarḳandī [q.v.; d. 1482] is rich in information about Asiatic countries. An important and curious description of travel in Persian is the description of China in the *Khita'y-nāma*, composed in 1516 by 'Alī Akbar for the Ottoman Sultān Salīm I (cf. P. Kahle, in *Acta Orient.*, xii. 91 sqq.). The *Haft Iḳlīm* of Aḥmad-i Rāzī, finished in 1594, is for the greater part biographical. The last great astronomers in this part of the Islāmic world were Ulūgh Beg, already mentioned, and his collaborator 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳūshdjī

[q.v.; d. 1474], who likewise contributed to the spreading of astronomical geographical knowledge in Turkey.

It is in the xvth century that the geographical studies of European Christian scholars, stimulated by the discoveries of the sea-faring peoples, begin, with amazing rapidity, to emancipate themselves from the mediæval geographical conceptions, to which notably the translations of Muḥammadan astronomical geographical works (as al-Farghānī and al-Battānī) had not a little contributed since the xii<sup>th</sup> century (A. C. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 3 vols., London 1900). This is the time when the first Portuguese and Italian sea-charts or portulans appear. The revolution of geographical ideas in Europe soon made the mediæval European and Oriental geographical works antiquated and is the chief reason why the production of new Oriental works on astronomical and general geography based on the ancient tradition, ceased.

There is, however, a category of Islāmic geographical works, namely the one that deals with maritime geography, that produced some remarkable treatises just in this period. If we consider the importance of the subject, this is not to be wondered at; nevertheless this maritime literature has an ancient tradition of its own. This tradition links them, not so much to the classical Islāmic literature as to the ancient narratives of sea-farers, as found in the adventures of the merchant Sulaimān in the ix<sup>th</sup> century and the information on India and Africa given by Abū Zaid al-Sīrāfī, in the beginning of the x<sup>th</sup> century in the MS. called *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh* (*Relation de voyages*, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1846). Among the navigators along the coasts of the Persian Gulf, Southern Arabia and the Red Sea there was spread since olden times an extensive knowledge of nautical and maritime matters, which knowledge was occasionally collected in books called *Rāhnāmādj*; in the time of the 'Abbāsids three authors are said by Ibn Mādjīd to have composed nautical treatises, for which they had obtained the material from sea-faring people. Why the works of these authors have left no discernable traces in the classical geographical literature is perhaps explained by the fact that their information did not square with the preconceived ideas of the learned authors. Some instructive passages in al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i. 281 sq.) and al-Maḳḍīsī (p. 10 sq.) show at least that this was the case with relation to the form of the Indian Ocean. In later times, cosmographical authors may have drawn to a certain extent on this nautical literature, but as it is, the first author of this kind of whom works on navigation and descriptions of sea-routes are known is the *mu'allim* Ibn Mādjīd [cf. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN; d. shortly after 1500], the same who in 1498 served Vasco de Gama as a pilot from the African coast to India. Ibn Mādjīd's chief work is the *Kitāb al-Fawā'id*. A younger contemporary of his was Sulaimān al-Mahrī [q.v.], of whom likewise some nautical treatises are known, among these the one called *al-'Umda al-Mahrīya* is the most important from the geographical point of view. We owe the acquaintance with these two Arabic authors mainly to the studies of G. Ferrand. Their activity in navigation and literature is closely connected with that of the Turkish admiral and writer Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs [cf. 'ALĪ B. AL-

HUSAIN; d. 1562], the author of the oceanography entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, composed in 1554. In this work Sidi 'Alī translated into Turkish parts of Sulaimān al-Mahri's work. What Sidi 'Alī Re'is did for the Indian Ocean had been done shortly before by Piri Re'is [q.v.; d. 1554] for the Mediterranean in his *Bahriya*, written in 1523. This maritime geography is particularly noteworthy for the many maps of all parts of the Mediterranean coast. The work of Piri Re'is must necessarily be the continuation of an older tradition. But for the Mediterranean the existence of such a tradition can hardly be proved from Muhammadan sources; it may not have been a specific Islāmic tradition at all, for Piri Re'is' work shows in the first place connection with the earlier activity of the Portuguese and the Italians. In how far there is a link with the careful and detailed descriptions of the African coast by al-Bakri and al-Idrisi remains to be investigated. An Islāmic author who certainly belongs to the same category is 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharkī al-Sifaḳsī, whose work was composed in 1551 (Arabic MS. Paris, N<sup>o</sup>. 2278) and contains interesting maps, including a world map which reminds us of al-Birūnī.

The works of Sidi 'Alī Re'is and Piri Re'is belong to the geographical literature in Ottoman Turkish. This literature has produced a series of other works in which the change of the Islāmic geographical conceptions and their gradual extinction under the influence of European science is clearly visible.

The form in which Arabic geography became mainly known in Turkey was that of the cosmographies; notably the works of al-Ḳazwīnī, Abu 'l-Fidā' and Ibn al-Wardī drew the attention of the first Turkish geographers. They began with translations or with extracts from these works. Al-Ḳazwīnī's cosmography was translated into Turkish in the xvth century, after, in 1453, there had already been compiled a Turkish extract of this work by Yāzīdjī Oghlu Aḥmad Bīdjān [q.v.] under the title '*Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*'. Abu 'l-Fidā' was reedited in Arabic by Sīpāhī Oghlu (d. 1588), who published also a Turkish extract of this work. There was made likewise a translation of Ibn al-Wardī. Translations of books belonging to other categories were those of the astronomical work of the already mentioned 'Alī al-Ḳūshdjī — who himself settled down in Constantinople under Muḥammad II —, of the already mentioned *Khifāy-nūma* and even of Ibn Dīr'ān's description of Egypt, *al-Tuhfa al-Saniya*. It is probable that the first Ottoman rulers were not indifferent towards these geographical activities; in their reigns there were collected MS. copies of ancient geographers (many were acquired in Egypt), and new copies were made, which are now to be found in the Constantinople public libraries. Sulṭān Muḥammad II had an Arabic translation made of the Greek of Ptolemy's geography (edited in facsimile by Youssouf Kamal, Cairo 1929), and still under Muḥammad III al-Iṣṭakhri's book was translated into Turkish. The interest of the Sulṭāns went out, however, principally towards maps, which was completely in the style of Oriental tradition. But quite naturally it was European maps they were interested in and, among the presents brought by foreign missions to the Sulṭāns there maps were often to be found. Recently the researches of P. Kahle have made us acquainted with a world map designed by Piri

Re'is and presented by him to Sulṭān Salīm I in 1517; the high importance of this map is the fact that the author has copied the lost map which Columbus made in 1498 (P. Kahle, *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte von 1498*, Berlin and Leipzig 1933). Further there is the curious world map, made after an unknown map by Orontius Finaeus, by Ḥādjdjī Aḥmad of Tunis in 967 (1559), engraved on wood and preserved in the San Marco library at Venice (cf. d'Avezac, *Note sur une Mappemonde Turke du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie*, Paris 1865, p. 675 sqq.). Finally it deserves mention that Sulṭān Murād IV invited the Dutch orientalist Golius to make a new map of the Turkish Empire, an invitation which was not accepted (W. M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht 1932, p. 141).

The oldest known original geographical work in Turkish is the cosmography *Durr-i Maknūn*, by the already mentioned Yāzīdjī Oghlu Aḥmad Bīdjān. Other works of this kind were the small cosmography *Tuhfat al-Zamān* by the astronomer Muṣṭafā b. 'Alī (xvth century) and an anonymous *'Ālām al-'Ibād*. More important is the geographical part of the cosmographical introduction to the well-known historical work *Kunh al-Aḥbār* by 'Alī [q.v.; d. 1599], based principally on Abu 'l-Fidā' and al-Iṣṭakhri. The most important Turkish geographical treatise after the mediæval Muhammadan tradition was composed in 1598 at Damascus by Mehmed b. 'Umar b. Bāyazīd al-'Āshīḳ under the title *Manāẓir al-'Ālam*; this work, besides being a very complete compilation of the ancient geographical material, gives at the same time a great many contemporary facts, gathered on extensive journeys. The much better known *Djīhān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa [q.v.; d. 1657] is no longer an exclusive representative of ancient Islāmic geography, at least not in the form in which we know it by the printed edition of 1732. There existed, however, a first edition of 1648, which was dedicated to Sulṭān Muḥammad IV and which probably had not yet used European sources. The *Djīhān-numā*, as we know it, depends largely on Mehmed 'Āshīḳ, but draws also on the works of Piri Re'is and Sidi 'Alī Re'is. The European element in this second edition comes mainly from the author's becoming acquainted with the *Atlas Minor* of Mercator — of which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa had made in the meantime a translation — and some other European works of the time. The second version of the *Djīhān-numā* uses the results of European science for its astronomical introduction and divides the earth according to political and administrative frontiers, which is entirely unknown in older Islāmic treatises. The maps too, which accompany the printed edition show European structure, although bearing a good many long since extinguished geographical names — as does the text also — that are taken over from mediæval works. The same is the case with some other maps that were printed at Constantinople in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century. A considerable step forward was the printing of a modern atlas with extensive commentary in 1218 (1803) in the newly founded state printing office at Scutari, under the title *Djedīd Atlas terdjemesi*; the initiative to this publication was due to the well-known Re'is Efendi Maḥmūd Rā'if, and the final edition of the text was confided to the historian Aḥmad Wāṣīf.



Turkish travel literature produced in the xvith century the *Mir'āt al-Mamālik* in which Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs describes his return journey from India to Constantinople (1556–1557). By far the most important Turkish work of travel is, however, the *Ta'rikh-i Saiyāh* by the great traveller Ewliyā Çelebi [q. v.], in which he describes his extensive travels made between 1640 and 1672 in all parts of the Ottoman Empire and also in Persia and Europe. This book is unique in its kind and belongs fully to the Muḥammadan travel literature in so far as it does not show any trace of European geographical ideas.

After the works of Ḥādjī Khalifa and Ewliyā the Islāmic tradition dies out in Turkish general geographical literature. But topographical and regional descriptions, likewise of ancient tradition, have continued to be produced until modern times; as a noteworthy representative of this numerous category we only mention the *Ta'rikh-i Kustāntīniya*, which goes certainly back to the xvth century (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 27 sqq.). The travel literature likewise continued by different works, including accounts of pilgrimages to Mecca. A special category of documents of geographical importance are the *Sefaret-nāmes*, reports of Turkish diplomatic envoys to foreign courts; fifteen of these documents have been enumerated by F. Taeschner in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1923, p. 75 sqq., in his paper on Ottoman Turkish geographical literature, to which is due the greater part of the data given above.

It is not within the scope of this article to sketch the way in which western geographical methods and knowledge have found their way into the modern literature of the Muḥammadan peoples. The reception of western views does not mean, however, that the geographical outlook even of the intellectual classes of Muḥammadan society has changed abruptly and radically since the xvith century. There are many indications that show a strong survival of traditional views in later times. In 1770 the Turkish ministers would not believe that a Russian fleet could sail from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and when in that year the fleet of Admiral Spiritow really appeared in the Aegean, the Porte lodged complaint with the Venetian bailo because his government had allowed this fleet to pass from the Baltic into the Adriatic Sea (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. W.*, iv. 602); this is clearly a survival of the mediæval belief in the existence of a *khalidj* between the two seas. Further there is found in the description of Morocco by al-Zaiyānī [q. v.; d. 1833] a world map that is nothing but the reproduction of an Idrisi-map (reproduced in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, p. 188). A last instance is the geographical ideas held by the Shāfi'ī mufti of Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zēnī Daḥlān, about Europe and other parts of the world (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii. 78, and *Mekka*, Leyden and London 1931, p. 163).

On the other hand, the rich concrete geographical material gathered in course of time in general and regional descriptive works has passed into the hands of modern orientalists to help them in their researches of historical geography and topography. Scholars in different parts of the Islāmic world have shown in their works, that the ancient geographical records about their country have not been entirely forgotten and that they

wish to link up their contemporary descriptions with the best traditions of the past. An outstanding instance for Egypt is the volumes of *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīya* by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak [q. v.; d. 1893], which also by their title betray a conscious connection with the *khiṭaṭ*-literature; the sixteenth century printing activity in Egypt points in the same direction. In Turkey a similar work was done by Sāmī Bey [q. v.; d. 1904] in his *Kāmūs al-'Ālām*; here also the interest in the travels of Ewliyā has been reawakened since the end of the sixteenth century. Further there are i. a. good modern Turkish descriptions of Yemen. For Persia must be mentioned the works of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān I'timād al-Saltāna (d. 1896); the never completed *Mir'āt al-Buldān* (4 vols., lith. Teheran 1294–1297 = 1878–1880) and the *Maṭla' al-Shams* (3 vols., lith. Teheran 1301–1303 = 1884–1886), which is a gazetteer of Khurāsān (cf. on these books: E. G. Browne, in *A Literary Hist. of Persia*, iv. 454), and further the *Fārs-nāme-i Nāsiri* by Ḥādjī Mirzā Ṭāhib of Shirāz (lith. Teheran 1313 = 1895; cf. G. Le Strange, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 16). Recently was published the *Djughrāfiyā-yi Mufaṣṣal-i Irān* by Mas'ūd Kaihān (3 vols., Teheran 1311 = 1933). In North Africa the tradition has been vital as is shown by the already quoted work of al-Zaiyānī and recently by the historical description of Mequinez, entitled *Iḥāf 'Ālām al-Nās* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaidān (3 vols., Rabat 1929–1931).

In the above survey of Muḥammadan geographical literature the various geographical conceptions and ideas it contains could only be touched on incidentally. A systematic treatment of these views, such as Reinaud gave for his time in the second part of his *Introduction générale* and as has been given for a special subject by E. Honigmann in his book *Die sieben Klimate*, is a task which might be attempted again in our day, thanks to the increase of the sources at our disposal and especially to our better acquaintance with the maps. I must not omit to mention here that my collaboration in the *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti* by Youssef Kamal, quoted in the bibliography below, has given me a most valuable opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the geographical literary sources used in the composition of the present article.

**Bibliography:** Biographical and bibliographical notes on the authors and their works (and several otherwise unknown authors) are found in the first place in these works themselves (cf. the introductions of al-Maḥḍisī and al-Idrisī), further in the bibliographical works *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by al-Nadīm [q. v.] and *Kashf al-Zunūn* by Ḥādjī Khalifa [q. v.] and occasionally in biographical works such as the *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'* by Ibn al-Kifī [q. v.], the *Wafayāt al-'A'yān* by Ibn Khallikān [q. v.] and the *Irshād al-Arib* by Yāqūt [q. v.].

Sources for geographical literary history are the general works on Arabic literature by C. Brockelmann, R. Nicholson, Cl. Huart and H. A. R. Gibb. Special treatments of the subject are the following books and papers: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Literatur der Erdbeschreibung bei den Arabern*, in *Ztschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde*, i., Magdeburg 1842; L. A. Sédillot, *Mémoire sur les systèmes géographiques*

*des Grecs et des Arabes*, Paris 1842; M. Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la Géographie des Orientaux*, vol. i. of the *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris 1848; J. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen-âge*, 4 vols., Brussels 1850—1857; A. Sprenger, preface to *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abh. D.M.G.*, iii./3, Leipzig 1864; M. J. de Goeje, *Eenige mededeelingen over de Arabische geographen*, in *Tijdschr. Aardr. Gen.*, 1874, i. 190—199; P. Schwarz, *Die ältere geographische Literatur der Araber*, in *Hettner's geogr. Ztschr.*, iii., 1897, Heft 3; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg, p. 264 sqq.; F. Taeschner, *Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen*, in *Z. D.M.G.*, 1923, p. 31 sqq.; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Sciences*, Carnegie Institute of Washington, 2 vols., Baltimore 1927—1931; G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l'Astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris 1928; W. Barthold, preface to his edition of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Leningrad 1930; J. H. Kramers, *Geography and Commerce*, in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931; V. Minorsky, *Études historiques et géographiques sur la Perse*, in *Acta Orient.*, x. (1932), p. 290 sqq.; G. Ferrand, *Géographie et cartographie musulmanes*, in *Archéion*, xiv. (1932), p. 445 sqq.; Ahmet Zeki Velidi, *Der Islam und die geographische Wissenschaft*, *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 1934, p. 361 sqq.

The editions and translations of the different geographical authors are indicated in the articles relating to them in the *E. I.* Some of them have appeared in larger series like the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* edited by M. J. de Goeje; the *Bibliothèque des géographes arabes* edited by G. Ferrand and the *Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen* by H. v. Mzik. — Collections of various texts are: M. J. de Goeje, *Selections from Arabic geographical Literature*, Leyden; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2 vols., Paris 1914; Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta Geographica Africae et Aegypti*, vol. iii., Leyden 1928 and following years. — Editions and discussions of maps are found in several of the works already quoted. Maps from a great many manuscripts have been reproduced by A. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae. Arabische Welt- u. Länderkarten des 9.—13. Jahrhunderts*, vol. i.—v. with Beiheften, Stuttgart 1926—1930; this publication disregards the texts that accompany the maps and therefore contains many errors. The most useful collection of Oriental maps, reproduced in natural size, is found in the *Monumenta Geographica Aegypti et Africae* by Youssouf Kamal, already quoted.

The geographical information furnished by the Muhammadan literature has been used in many books and studies; among the more specifically geographical studies based on more than one author we may cite C. Ritter's *Erkunde* (1848); A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten* (1864), the studies of W. Tomaschek, in *S.B.A.K. Wien*, 1877 and 1883, and G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905) for large parts of Asia. — For Persian geography: C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geo-*

*graphen*, i.—viii., Leipzig 1896—1934; W. Barthold, *Istoriko-geograficheskiy Obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903; J. Marquardt, *Ērānshahr*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1901; do., *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903. — For Central Asia: chapter i. of W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, in *G.M.S.*, London 1928. — For the northern countries: G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, i.—iv., Berlin 1892. — For Egypt: E. Reitemeier, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1903; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi. — For Africa: Ch. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-âge*, 3 vols., Cairo 1925—1927; J. Marquardt, introduction to *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, Leyden 1913. — For Spain cf. the bibliography of the article *AL-ANDALUS*, and E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932; for Sicily the *Bibliotheca Sicula* by Amari. (J. H. KRAMERS)

**DJŪCĪ**, **DJŪSHĪ**. [See **ĀGHATĀI-KHĀN**, **ĀNGIZ-KHĀN**.]

**DUFF** (DAFF, the modern pronunciation, may be traced back to Abū 'Ubaida [d. ca. 825 A.D.]) generic name for any instrument of the tambourine family, although sometimes it is the name for a special type. Islāmic tradition says that it was invented by Tubal b. Lamak (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 88) whilst other gossip avers that it was first played on the nuptial night of Sulaimān and Bilkīs (Ewliyā' Ālebi, i./ii. 226). Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 920 A.D.) says that it was of Arab origin (fol. 20) and Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 1524) says in his *Radā'i' al-Zuhūr* that it was the *duff* that was played by the Israelites before the Golden Calf. Certainly the name can be equated with the Hebrew *toph* and perhaps with the Assyrian *adapa*. Sa'adya the Jew (d. 924) translates *toph* by *duff*. We see both the round and the rectangular instrument in ancient Semitic art (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, i. 535; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, iii. 451; Heuzey, *Figurines antiques*, pl. vi. 4), and in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. 443, fig. 220).

The tambourine of Islāmic peoples may be divided into seven distinct types: 1. The rectangular form; 2. The simple round form; 3. The round form with snares; 4. The round form with jingling plates; 5. The round form with jingling rings; 6. The round form with small bells; 7. The round form with both snares and jingling implements.

1. The rectangular tambourine of modern times has two heads or skins with "snares" (*awṭār*) stretched across the inside of the head or heads. We know from al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610 = 1213) that the name *duff* was given to both a rectangular and a round tambourine. As early as the vi<sup>th</sup> century A.D. we read of the *duff* in the poet Djābir b. Ḥuyayy and this was probably the rectangular instrument. The author of the *Kashf al-Humūm* says that the pre-Islāmic tambourine (*ṭār al-djāhili*) was different from the round Egyptian tambourine (*duff al-miṣrī*) of his day (fol. 193). Ṭuwais, the first great musician in the days of Islām, played the *duff murabba'* or square tambourine (*Aghānī*, iv. 170). He belonged to the *mukhannathūn* and it was perhaps on that account



that the rectangular tambourine was forbidden whilst the round form was allowed (al-Muṭarrizī). At the same time the rectangular instrument was favoured by the *élite* of al-Madīna in the first century of Islām (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, fol. 11). We know also that the Syrians used this type of instrument since it is called *rebbī'a* (rectangular) in the Syriac version of the O.T. (*Exodus*, xv. 20; *Judith*, iii. 7). To-day this form has fallen into desuetude in Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Persia, but may be found in the Maghrib. For designs see Christianowitsch, p. 32, pl. 11 where it is called a *daff*, and Höst, p. 262, Tab., xxxi. 11, where it is called a *bandair*. Actual specimens are to be found at Brussels, Nrs. 339, 340 (Mahillon, i. 400) and at New York, Nrs. 392, 1316 (*Catalogue*, ii. 82; iv. 50).

2. The simple round form. This was also called the *duff* (al-Muṭarrizī) and it is said that this type, without jingling plates or bells, was considered "lawful" (Ewliya' Čelebi, i./ii. 226). Probably, this was the *mazhar* or *mizhar* of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. It is true that Arabic lexicographers say that the *mizhar* was a lute (*'ūd*), a definition borne out by Arabic writers on music (*'Ikd al-farid*, iii. 186; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, fol. 27; *Kitāb al-Imā' wa 'l-Intifā'*, fol. 13v; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, viii. 93), but it is extremely doubtful that the *mizhar* or *mazhar* was a lute. The mistake probably arose with an early lexicographer saying that "the *mizhar* was a musical instrument (see the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī) like the '*ūd* (lute)" meaning "like the '*ūd* is a musical instrument". In the 15th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* the *mazhar* (p. 562) or *mizhar* (p. 508) equates with *tinpanum* (= *tympanum*). The type is still to be found under this name in Turkey (Lavignac, p. 3023) and in Palestine (*Z. D. P. V.*, i. 64, plate 8). The *mazhar* of Egypt has jingling rings attached to it.

3. The round form with "snares". This is similar to the preceding but with the addition of "snares" stretched across the inside of the head. We cannot be sure of its name in the early days of Islām but probably it was the *ghirbāl*, so-called because it was round like a sieve. Al-Ṣaghānī (d. ca. 1261—1262 A.D.) says that this was the tambourine which was referred to by Muḥammad when he said: "Publish ye the marriage, and beat for it the tambourine (*ghirbāl*)". Other accounts of this *ḥadīth* call this instrument the *duff*. In Algeria of modern times this type of instrument is known as the *bandair* or *bandir*, a name borrowed, seemingly, from the Gothic *pandero*, one of the instruments of pre-Moorish Spain mentioned by Isidore of Seville. The *bandair* is generally larger than the other types such as the *duff*, *mazhar* and *ṭār*, although in the *Kashf al-Humūm* we read that tambourines were made in various sizes "from the large *ṭār* (*ṭār kabīr*) to the small *ghirbāl* (*ghirbāl daḥīk*)". For the Egyptian instrument see Villoteau (p. 988), and for the Algerian see Christianowitsch (p. 31, pl. 9), Delphin et Guin (p. 37) and Lavignac (p. 2931). In Morocco, according to Höst (p. 261, pl. xxxi. 6), it was called the *dif* (دیف). Actual specimens may be found at Brussels, Nrs. 308, 309 (Mahillon, i. 393—400) and at New York, N<sup>o</sup>. 452 (*Catalogue*, iii. 50).

4. The round form with jingling plates.

This is similar to N<sup>o</sup>. 2 but with the addition of several pairs of jingling plates (*ṣunūd*) fixed in openings in the shell or body of the instrument. This is the *ṭār*. Although the author of the *Kashf al-Humūm* makes the name older than that of the *duff*, yet we have no substantial proof of this. We find the *ṭār* in the Yaman in the 12th century A.D. (Kay, *Yaman*, p. 54) and in the 13th century *Vocabulista in Arabico* it is given as *ṭarr* (= *tinpanum*). The Persian instrument is depicted by Kaempfer under the name of *daf* (p. 741, fig. 7) and Niebuhr shows an Arabian example which he calls the *duff* (i., pl. 26). Höst (p. 261, pl. xxxi.) gives a design of a Moroccan instrument in the

xviii century under *tirr* (تير). In Algeria it is called the *ṭār* (Delphin et Guin, p. 42; cf. *Tadhkirat al-Nisyan*, p. 93; Lavignac, p. 2844), and a design is given by Christianowitsch (pl. 10). The Egyptian *ṭār* is described and delineated by Villoteau (i. 988) and Lane (chap. xviii.), whilst actual examples may be seen at Brussels, Nrs. 312—315 (Mahillon, i. 394—395) and New York, Nrs. 455, 1319, 1359 (*Catalogue*, iii. 51). In Egypt the smaller types were given the name of *rikḥ* (Villoteau, i. 989), by no means a modern name (*Kashf al-Humūm*, fol. 193). There are examples at Brussels, Nrs. 316, 317 (Mahillon, i. 395).

5. The round form with jingling rings. This is a similar instrument to the preceding but with jingling rings (*djalādji*) fixed in the shell or body instead of jingling plates. In Egypt, in the time of Villoteau (i. 988), it was known as the *mazhar*, but in Persia, a century earlier, Kaempfer calls it the *dā'ira* (p. 741, g).

6. The round form with small bells. Same instrument as the preceding in regard to shape but the jingling apparatus, instead of being fixed in spaces in the shell or body, is attached to the inside of the shell or body. These small bells (*adīrās*), often globular in shape like sonnettes, are sometimes attached to a metal or wooden rod fixed across the inside of the head. This instrument is popular in Persia and Turkestan where it is generally known as the *dā'ira*. A xviii century instrument is shown by Kaempfer (p. 742, g). For a modern instrument see Lavignac (p. 3076). Apparently *dā'ira* and *duff* became generic names for all types of the tambourine although the former must have been reserved for a round type.

7. The round form with both snares and jingling implements. In the Maghrib this instrument is called the *shakshāk* (Delphin et Guin, p. 38, 65; Lavignac, p. 2932, 2944). In some parts however, this type is called the *ṭabila*. In Egypt, according to Villoteau, it was the *bandair*.

If the drum (*ṭabl*) sounds the martial note of Islām, as Doughty once said, the tambourine sounds the social note. It is true that in the *djāhiliya* the tambourine was in the hands of the matrons and singing-girls (*ḥainār*) during the battle, sometimes in company with the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) as with the Jewish tribes (*Aghānī*, ii. 172), but it was also the one outstanding instrument of social life (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii. 236) as many a *ḥadīth* testifies. In artistic music the tambourine has ever been the most important instrument for maintaining the rhythm (*īk'āt*, *uṣūl*, *ḍurūb*).

The *duff* became the Persian *daff* or *dap*, the

Kurdish *dafik*, the Albanian and Bosnian *def*, and the Spanish and Portuguese *adufe*. The *dāira* is the Caucasian *dahare*, the Serbian and Albanian *daire*, and the *dārā* of India. The *ṭār* survives in the Polish *tur* and the Swahili *atari*. The tambourine was popularized in Europe by the Moors of Spain and was, for a long time, known as the *tambour de Basque*, the latter region being one of the gateways for the infiltration of Moorish civilisation. It fell into desuetude in Europe about the xvth century but was revived again in the xviii century when Europe adopted it as part of the Turkish or Janissary music craze.

*Bibliography*: Farmer, *History of Arabian Music to the xiii<sup>th</sup> Century*, 1929; do., *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 1931; Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, 1913; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, 1869—1876; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, 1863; Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes dans le Maghreb algérien*, 1886; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, 1885; Höst, *Nach-*

*richten von Marokos und Fes*, 1787; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum...*, 1712; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Kitāb al-Malāḥī*, Cairo MS., f. dj. 533; *Kashf al-Humūm*, Cairo MS., f. dj. 1; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlak ed.; Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique*, 2nd ed.; *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments*, New York; Ewliya<sup>3</sup> Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels...* by *Ewliya Efendi*, 1846; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888; *Kitāb al-Imtā‘ wa ‘l-Intifā‘*, Madrid MS., N<sup>o</sup> 603; Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 1787; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, vol. v., 1922; Villoteau, in *Description de l’Égypte*, vol. i. (Folio ed.); *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, ed. Seybold; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1776; Fitrat, *Uzbek kīlāssik mūsikāsī*, Tashkent 1927; Mironov, *Pesni Ferganī Bukhari i khivī*, Tashkent 1931; Belaiev, *Musikalnye instrumenti uzbekistana*, Moscow 1933; Kāmil al-Khulā‘ī, *Kitāb al-Musikī al-Sharḥī*, Cairo 1322. (H. G. FARMER)

## E

\*EGYPT. [See *KHEDĪW*.]

## F

AL-FAḌL B. AḤMAD AL-ASFARĀ‘INĪ ABU ‘L-‘AB-BĀS, the first wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was formerly the *Ṣāḥib-i Barīd* (Master of the Post) of Marw under the Sāmānids. At the request of Subuktigīn, Amīr Nuḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid sent Faḍl to Nishāpūr in 385 (995) as the wazīr of Maḥmūd who had been appointed to the command of the troops of Khurāsān, in the previous year. Faḍl managed the affairs of the expanding empire of Sulṭān Maḥmūd with great tact and ability till 404 (1013), when he was accused of extorting money from the subjects of the Sulṭān. Instead of answering the charge when he was called upon to do so, he voluntarily placed himself in the custody of the commander of the fort of Ghazna. The Sulṭān was annoyed at his conduct and allowed him to remain there. Faḍl died in 404 (1013—1014), during the absence of Sulṭān Maḥmūd on one of his Indian expeditions.

Faḍl was a good administrator, but he was not a great scholar, and during his wazīrate, the official correspondence was carried on in Persian.

*Bibliography*: ‘Utbi, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed.), p. 265—271; *Āthār al-Wuzarā‘*<sup>2</sup> (India Office, MS. N<sup>o</sup> 1569), fol. 88a—89a.

(M. NAZIM)

FĀFĪR. [See *KĪRĀS*.]

FAID (A.), effusion, emanation, is much used in the Arabic tradition of neo-Platonism, as a name for the gradual but steadily descending creative development of the world out of God

and its maintenance through his providence. No definition (*ḥadd*) can be given of God’s being and of his creative activity, but it is possible to describe it in other words (*rasm*), e.g. to say: He is the existent one from whom all else emanates (*yafīd*). For this the philosophers primarily use the expressions of the Qur’ān and Tradition (*khalk*, *ibdā‘* etc.) interpreted in a spiritual sense (*ta’wīl*). At the same time however, they find it necessary to use a language based on that of the neo-Platonists with the knowledge that this language requires an allegorical interpretation (clearly expressed for example by Fārābī, “Abhandlungen”, ed. Dieterici, p. 30 and 51).

Before we outline the Arab tradition concerning faid, in order to understand it, it is necessary to understand the position of this doctrine in the *Enneads* of Plotinus. There are, as already in Plato, in Plotinian thought two motives, often contradictory, associated with one another: 1. the necessity for a philosophical cosmology: the way has to be described which leads from the most perfect being (God) through the spheres of heaven to the less perfect earthly world, i.e. everything comes from God and is, although in a diminishing degree, good in itself and has its definite function, the soul, for example, as organising principle forms and guides its body; 2. a religious motive: the fate of the soul on its journey through the world. From this point of view the soul has fallen from the world of spirits and feels itself in



the world of bodies as in a cave, a prison, a tomb, and longingly seeks release from its body by reflecting on the higher world. In Plotinus both views are intimately connected but the second predominates, the cosmological theory is considered rather as religious than as philosophical.

Speculation regarding faid is of a cosmological, or, if preferred, of a cosmogonic nature, whether it is considered from the religious point of view or not. This article is confined to this aspect. The myth of the soul has to be treated elsewhere and has its own terminology.

The Neo-Platonists, particularly Plotinus, used, to describe the origin of the world out of God, many words with the meaning of emerging or issuing and sought to make this metaphysical process more intelligible by metaphors borrowed from the world of the senses. For example, the origin of the world was compared with the radiation of the light of the sun (e.g. *Enn.*, v. 1, 6), with the gushing forth or overflow of water (iii. 8, 10) or with procreation (v. 4, 1). As Allāh does not procreate, the latter image could not be adopted by orthodox Islām; the two other comparisons however found wide circulation, not only among gnostics but also among philosophers and mystic theologians. In these, faid, originally used of the flowing or overflowing of water, was also applied to the radiation of light.

The dissemination of the doctrine of emanation can be traced mainly to the "*Theology of Aristotle*" and to the *Liber de causis*. According to the *Theology*, a series of spiritual beings (the 'akl, through whose intermediary the soul, through the latter nature) emanates from God and there flows from him not only the strength for their existence but also for their preservation. Creation and preservation are not distinguished. Nor is there any distinction made between substantialism and energism. Energism i.e. the doctrine that powers emanate from God (*kuwwa*: here not in the sense of a receptive power but in the real sense of deed = *fi'l*), predominates. Therefore this doctrine of emanation may be called a dynamic or energetic pantheism.

The evolution of the world out of God is indicated in the *Theology* in general as a *khurūd* or a *zuhūr* i.e. phenomenon of the inner (*bātin*) in the outer (*zāhir*); cf. Dieterici's edition, p. 49 sq., 111, 136. Faid is used, but more frequently, with the same meaning; also *inbiḍjās* (p. 136) which is generally used of the flowing of water. Faid here hardly conjures up any longer the image of a spring of water. In any case it is clear (in connection with the doctrine of *insān awwal* = *insān 'aklī* or *insān kāmīl*, p. 51, 150) that faid and *ishrāk* (radiation of the light of the sun) are used synonymously. It may be further noted that faid is used for the activities both of God and of the lower spiritual beings and of the first man, of course with reference to God's activity in the highest sense.

In the *Liber de causis* faid has become rather vague; its use may be compared to that of the word "influence". In general the doctrine is the same as in *Theology*; it is also connected with the speculation on the *nūr* but everything is more systematised. It is not Plotinus but Proclus who is speaking here. The *Theology* starts out from the soul, the *Liber de causis* from God as the originator of the world. The myth of the soul thus falls into the

background. The soul appears as a cosmological quantity, a member in the series of emanations, its function is to form and guide the world of bodies. As in the *Theology*, God is called the first cause of the world. His influence (faid) however is not only the first cause, but in spite of repeated transmission is always for all that exists the strongest and nearest cause i.e. God is not far from us. Everything comes from him; to be more definite: the good simply, being or existence as well as all perfection. In particular, knowledge is transmitted through the 'akl and life through the soul. The whole emanation is described as in the *Theology* as a gift or communication from God.

In the *Liber de causis* it is particularly emphasised (ed. Bardenheuer, § 17) that God's activity is in the nature of *ibdū'* (absolute creation), the activity of the spirits below him is in the nature of shaping. This is however not in the Greek original.

Among the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* everything revolves round the fate of the soul, and the doctrine of emanation of the Neo-Platonists with many neo-Pythagorean and gnostic additions is also used for edifying purposes. The series of emanations is given a double name and in place of the Neo-Platonic triad we have the Pythagorean quaternad. According to the abstract series, there emanate from God: being (*wuḍūd*), existence (*baḳā'*), completion (*tamām*) and perfection (*kāmāl*); according to the concrete series come the 'akl (direct from God, further transmitted), the world soul (nature, third in the Neo-Platonic series, is called one of the powers of the soul), first matter and absolute body, which is also called second matter. Everything comes from God just as the series of numbers comes from one (cf. esp. the *Rasā'il*, N<sup>o</sup>. 29, 32, 35). The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* also used the above mentioned comparisons. Among the synonyms of faid are *sarayān* and *ṣudūr*, the latter already found in Fārābī, and general in the later philosophical usage.

Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ruṣhd added nothing essential to the emanation theory. There are only little differences of schematisation and use of terms. Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā use faid and *ṣudūr* synonymously: this may be here observed because, as it appears, later mystics have posited a distinction between the two terms (cf. Horten, *Die Philosophie des Islām*, 1924, p. 162).

Fārābī lays stress ("Abhandlungen," ed. Dieterici, p. 58) on the world's emanating (*ṣudūr*, *ḥuṣūl*) from God not happening from natural necessity, but with knowledge and approval, neither arbitrarily nor for an extra-divine purpose i.e. it lies in the essential goodness of God (cf. Plato's *Timaios*) that he creates from his superabundance. Ibn Sīnā lays stress on this also when he puts forward the doctrine that the creation of the world is an eternal necessity on God's part [cf. IBN SĪNĀ].

On the other hand, Ḡhazālī raises his protest in the *Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, p. 90 sq., 214 sqq.). In his opinion the philosophers, although they deny it, are in this way lowering God's activity to the causality of nature. God is however not an impersonal 'first cause' but a *fā'il* i.e. one who makes the world with knowledge and free will, when and how he wills. This does not prevent him using the philosophical vocabulary: faid (for this also, as already in Ibn Sīnā, *Naḍjāt*, p. 76, the impressive *fayaḍān*) and *ṣudūr* etc. Cf. e.g. *Maḍnūn ṣaghīr*, p. 90 sq., where he compares God's blowing

(*nafkh*) the soul (*rūh*) into man, not to the pouring of water from a vessel, not with the blowing of breath (water and air are too near to earth) but only with the *faḡāḡ* of the sunlight.

Ibn Rushd (cf. v. d. Bergh, *Epitome*, p. 131 sqq.) adopts in the main the theory of emanation from Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā and defends it against Ghazālī (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 438 sqq.) with the observation that God's will is above the antagonisms of necessity and free will. Besides, the theory of emanation in its connection with the Ptolemaic system is not capable of exact proof but is a probable hypothesis.

The neo-Platonists were interested almost entirely in the genealogy of spiritual beings (from God to nature) but the Muslim Aristotelians from Fārābī onwards (cf. his "Abhandlungen", Arab. ed. Dieterici, p. 39 sqq., and "Musterstaat", p. 19) also sought to define the relation of the pure spirits (*uḡūl*) to the separate souls and bodies of the spheres. Along with the above outlined series of emanations in three or four stages a ten- or elevenfold series was also laid down, corresponding to the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic conception of the world. The systematic exposition of this theory is found in Ibn Sīnā (see M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, p. 595 sqq.) in the following way. From God the absolute one, in whom thinking, thought and idea coincide, can — a neo-Platonic dogma! — only a simple incorporeal being (*voḡ*, *ʿaḡl*) proceed, a super-worldly spirit. This is in its origin simple but as a caused being it has plurality, more exactly the triad, in it. When it thinks of its cause (God), a second spirit flows out of it; when it thinks of itself and regards itself as a contingent being, the soul and the body of the surrounding sphere proceed from it. From this second spirit flows a third, as well as the soul and the body of the sphere of the fixed stars. And so it flows further through the spheres of the seven planets from Saturn to the Moon. The last spirit in this series of emanations, proceeding from the spirit of the moon (or is it identical with the spirit of the moon?, cf. Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 114 sq.) is called *ʿaḡl faʿʿāl*, active spirit, because from it or through its intermediary all forms of the earthly world flow. This whole process is said to take place timelessly like the radiation of light.

Ibn Rushd was not enthusiastic for this presentation of the theory. Ibn Sīnā's first *ʿaḡl* is in his view superfluous and the soul of the planets is not to be distinguished from their thinking spirit. The Neo-Platonic principle of unity from unity and the idea of contingency do not please him either (cf. S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitome des Averroes*, p. 116, 132 sqq.).

**Bibliography:** On Neo-Platonism cf. W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, 2 vol., London 1918; E. Bréhier, *La philosophie de Plotin*, Paris 1928; see the artt. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀḡ, ḲARMAṬIANS, ḲHALḲ, NŪR, SUHRAWARDĪ (AL-MAḲṢŪL), TAṢAWWUF, \*ĀLAM and \*DJISM.

(TJ. DE BOER)

**FARĤĀT, DJARMĀNUS**, Arabic philologist and poet, precursor of the literary renaissance of the 19th century in Arab lands, Maronite archbishop of Aleppo (1725–1732), born there on Nov. 20, 1670 and died on July 10, 1732. This is not the place to discuss his epoch-making work in organising the Maronite church nor the majority of his dogmatic, polemical, educational and historical works; but he must be given a place in the history of Arabic

literature as a lexicographer, grammarian and poet.

Aleppo was one of the few Arab cities which retained to some extent their literary tradition after the Turkish conquest and continued to cultivate it. A certain amount of European influence was added, especially among Arabic speaking Christians. A not inconsiderable part was played by the opening of the Maronite college in Rome in 1584 and by the existence of a large European trading colony in Aleppo; it should be remembered that J. Golius (1625–1626) and E. Pocock (1630–1636) spent some years here. In all the Christian communities the influence of the literary revival was felt and the figure of the orthodox patriarch Makāriyūs b. al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1672) is only one example out of many.

The son of a prosperous Maronite family, the Maṡar, Farḡāt was able to receive a good education from Christian and Muḡammadan scholars of Aleppo; e.g. Buṡrus al-Tulawī, a product of the Maronite college in Rome (d. 1745; see Manash in *Mach.*, vi. [1903], 769–777 and Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 76–78, N<sup>o</sup>. 270), Yūsuf al-Dibsi, a great authority on oratory (see Cheikho, *op. cit.*, p. 97, N<sup>o</sup>. 344), and the celebrated Muslim *Shāikh* Sulaimān al-Naḡwī al-Ḥalabī. While still a boy he learned Latin and Italian in addition to his mother-tongues of Syriac and Arabic. In 1693 he became a monk, taking the name *Djibrāʿil*, went on a journey to Jerusalem (cf. *Diwān*, p. 131) and then migrated to Lebanon where he enjoyed the special instruction of the celebrated Maronite patriarch Stephan al-Duwaiḡ (1630–1704). In 1697 he became abbot of a monastery, in 1711–1712 as a result of some complications (see *Diwān*, p. 403, 469) he went on a journey to Rome, which made a deep impression on him (see *Diwān*, p. 87, 131, 146, 294, 434, 438, 448), to Spain, Sicily (*op. cit.*, p. 220, 404) and Malta (*op. cit.*, p. 229). While archbishop of Aleppo he collected a fine library of MSS. which still exists to-day (see Zaidān, *Taʿrīḡ Ḥād al-Luḡa al-ʿarabiya*, iv., Cairo 1914, p. 135), and he was able to gather a circle of poets and scholars around him. Of his friends mentioned in the *Diwān* special reference may be made to Niḡlā al-Ṣāʿigh (1692–1756), of Greek descent, who shares with him the honour of being a very popular poet (*Diwān*, p. 150; Cheikho, in *Mach.*, vi., 1903, p. 97–111 with portrait; do., *Catalogue*, p. 131, N<sup>o</sup>. 484; do., *Shuʿarāʿ*, p. 503–511), Mikirdīḡ al-Kasīḡ, an Armenian by birth (*Diwān*, p. 239, 466; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 195–196, N<sup>o</sup>. 751; do., *Shuʿarāʿ*, p. 498–501), the poet Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥalabī (died c. 1770; s. *Diwān*, p. 64; Manash in *Mach.*, v., 1902, p. 396–405; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 205–206, N<sup>o</sup>. 796; do., *Shuʿarāʿ*, p. 396–405), ʿAbd Allāh Zāḡhir who rendered great services to printing (1680–1748; see *Diwān*, p. 158; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 108–109, N<sup>o</sup>. 386; do., *Shuʿarāʿ*, p. 501–503), the theologian Ilyās b. al-Faḡhr (died c. 1740; see *Diwān*, p. 214; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 39–40, N<sup>o</sup>. 122) etc.

As a philologist Farḡāt felt especially the need of creating such textbooks for his countrymen as would facilitate for them the study of Arabic in the changed circumstances. In almost all fields, lexicography, grammar, rhetoric, he wrote such handbooks, some of which have not yet entirely lost their popularity in Christian circles in Syria. Although they are to some extent based on Arabic



tradition, in particular cases, especially in grammar, one can see some traces of European influence, especially of the Roman Maronites and the school of Erpenius. Of his lexicographical works *al-Muthallathāt al-durriya* is in print (Tāmiṣh, Lebanon 1867); it is a versified imitation of the well known *Muthallathāt* of Kūṭrub [q. v.]; the text prepared in the year 1705 is also given in his *Diwān* (p. 92—106) and was later provided with a commentary by the author himself (MSS. not uncommon: one of the year 1712 in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad; see v. Rosen, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'institut des langues orientales*, St. Petersburg 1877, p. 71, N<sup>o</sup>. 156). Of more importance is his dictionary *Bāb al-l'rāb 'an Luḡhat al-A'rāb*, which was finished in 1718. It is based substantially on al-Firzābādī's *Ḳāmūs* [q. v.] but contains many more modern words and Christian Arabic terms. It was edited by the Maronite émigré and Maecenas Rushaid al-Daḥdāh (1813—1889) on the basis of five MSS. collated with the *Ḳāmūs* and with many additions and improvements (*Dictionnaire arabe par Germanos Farhat, maronite, évêque d'Alep. Revu, corrigé et considérablement augmenté sur le manuscrit de l'Auteur par Rochaid de Dahdah scheick maronite*, Marseilles 1849, with portrait of the author; Arabic title: *Iḥkām Bāb al-l'rāb*). In the appendix is printed the pamphlet *al-Faṣṭ al-ma'ḥūd fī 'Awāmil al-l'rāb*. Of his grammatical works the *Baḥṭh al-Maṭālib* (see Manāsh in *Mach.*, iii., 1900, p. 1077—1083) was particularly successful: written in a fuller version in 1705 and provided with notes in the following year, it was abbreviated by the author himself in 1707 and this last version is still popular in countless editions (Malta 1836; Bairūt, American Press 1845; Bairūt, Imprimerie Catholique 1865, 1883, 1891, 1896, 1899, 1913 and many others). It was several times edited and annotated by Syrian scholars in the sixteenth century. As an ardent pupil of Ya'qūb al-Dībī, Farḥāt also wrote a textbook of rhetoric and poetics entitled *Bulūḡh al-Arab fī 'Ilm al-Adab* (so far only accessible in MSS.; see P. Sbath, "L'arrivée au but dans l'art de la littérature". *Ouvrage sur la rhétorique par Germanos Farhat, in B.I.E.*, xiv., 1932, p. 275—279 with picture; cf. *Diwān*, p. 89; Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 151, N<sup>o</sup>. 6). Two little pamphlets on prosody by him are known: *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-Ḳawāfī* (printed in the *Diwān*, p. 13—22) and a *Risālat al-Fawā'id fī 'l-Arūd* (cf. Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 161, N<sup>o</sup>. 7).

Farḥāt attained great renown not only as a scholar but also as a poet. His *Diwān* was collected by him personally in 1720 under the title *al-Tadhkira* and has been thrice published in this version (Bairūt 1850 — lithogr. 1866, 1894 — with Sa'īd al-Sharūnī's commentary from 3 MSS.; on the last edition cf. C. F. Seybold, in *Litterarisches Zentralblatt*, 1895, col. 1447). This edition does not include all his poems and many have been printed separately (cf. e.g. Cheikho, *Shu'arā'*, p. 463—468, also in *Mach.*, vii., 1904, p. 288; xxiv., 1926, p. 397 and *passim*). From the point of view of literary history his work is interesting as a systematic attempt to apply the forms of Arabic poetry to specifically Christian subjects; e.g. the ghazal to hymns to the Virgin, the *ḵhamrīyāt* to the holy communion, etc. Farḥāt was of course not the first to do this; as early as the sixteenth century we find the *Diwān* of a certain Sulaimān al-Ghazzi (see Cheikho, *Shu'arā'*, p. 404—

424) which was devoted to the same subjects but his name and works are almost forgotten, and he was not able to found a school. The Christian element is by far the most predominant in the *Diwān* of Farḥāt, although a good acquaintance with Arabic poetry in general cannot be denied him; we find vigorous polemics against Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (p. 248, 420, 439), many traces of the influence of Ibn al-Rūmī (p. 257), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (p. 295), al-Suhrawardī (p. 310), imitations of the famous *ḵaṣīda* of Avicenna on the soul (p. 274—277) etc. The form of his poems is in general classical but various forms of *muwashshah*, *takḥmīs* and *tasmīṣ* are used. His language is not always faultless and he is with justice accused of being too fond of all kinds of poetical license.

In 1932 the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Djarmānūs Farḥāt was celebrated in Aleppo and a monument erected to him in the courtyard of the Maronite archbishop (*Mach.*, xxxix., 1931, p. 949; *ibid.*, xxxii., 1934, p. 300; see also F. A. al-Bustānī's article in *Mach.*, xxx., 1932, p. 49—53 on the *Festschrift* in his honour; cf. *ibid.*, xxxi., 1933, p. 789—790).

**Bibliography:** G. Manache, *Notice historique sur l'Évêque Germanos Farhat* (Arabic), in *Mach.*, vii., 1904, p. 49—56, 105—111, 210—219 (with portrait); do., *Les œuvres de l'Évêque Germanos Farhat*, *ibid.*, p. 354—361 (list of 104 works of which 37 are original and of works of other authors edited, translated and annotated by him); F. Taoutel, *Mgr. Germanos Farhat, directeur d'âmes*, in *Mach.*, xxxii., 1934, p. 261—272 (with portrait and autograph); Butrus al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-Ma'arīf*, Bairūt 1882, vi. 437—438; A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, i.<sup>2</sup>, Freiburg 1897, p. 413—414; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1912, p. 41—42; K. T. Khairallah, *La Syrie*, Paris 1912, p. 41—42; Djirdjī Zaidān, *Ta'rikḥ Adāb al-Luḡha al-'arabiya*, Cairo 1914, iv. 13—14 (with portrait); L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam* (Arabic), Bairūt 1924, p. 160—162, N<sup>o</sup>. 609 and 240 (additions from the libraries of Leningrad by Ign. Kračkovskij, in *Mach.*, xxiii., 1925, p. 681); do., *Kitāb Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniya ba'd al-Islām*, Bairūt 1927, p. 459—468; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe* (Arabic), Cairo [1929], col. 1441—1442.

(IGN. KRATSKHOSKY)

**FARK.** [See FAṢĻ.]

**FAṢĻ** (A.), like *farḵ*, *ḵisma* and other synonyms meaning separating, dividing, distinguishing, is much used in philosophical works to translate the *διαίρεσις*, *διαφορά* etc.

In logic *faṣṭ* means the difference between two kinds or between two species: particularly in the section dealing with definition (*ḥadd*) the differentia of a species (*διαφορά*), which along with the statement of the next highest species comprises the definition, e.g. "Man is an intelligent (kind) creature (species)". In this significance *faṣṭ* is one of the 5 (or 6) words dealt with by Porphyry in the "Introduction": 1. γένος, *djins*, species; 2. εἶδος, *naw'*, kind; (3. *shaḵḵ*, individual, added by the *Iḵhwān al-Safā'* in *risāla* 10); 4. *faṣṭ*; 5. ἴδιον, *ḵhaṣṣa*, character, peculiarity; 6. συμπεφυκότος, *'araḍ*, accident. According to the *Iḵhwān al-Safā'*, 1—3 refer to substances (*a'yān*), 4—6 to the qualities (*ṣifāt*).

The Platonic method of analysis or division (*diairesis*) is distinguished as *ṭarīḥ al-kisma* from the Aristotelian *ṭarīḥ al-ḥiyās* (συλλογισμός) (Fārābī, "Abhandlungen", ed. Dieterici, p. 2).

For the metaphysical distinction between the incorporeal and the body *farḥ* (χωρισμός) is used. God is *mufārah*, i. e. separated, free from all material, corporeal. In his being there is neither *farḥ* nor *faşl* ("Theology of Aristotle", ed. Dieterici, p. 40). Pure spirit beings (*ʿuḳūl*), spirits of the spheres and stars are also *mufārahāt* (syn. *muḍjarradāt*).

*Bibliography*: I. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1913, *Glossar*; cf. the articles DJINS and HADD. (TJ. DE BOER)

\*FĪ'L. [See KŪWWA.]

\*FILASTĪN (PALESTINE). Under Turkish rule and British mandate.

By the victory of Selim I at Dabīḳ on the 25<sup>th</sup> Radjab 922 (Aug. 24, 1516) Palestine passed into the hands of the Ottoman Turks for 400 years. During this period of cultural and economic decline there were formed a number of small temporary independent Druse states like that of Fakhr al-Dīn (1595–1634), of Zāhir al-ʿAmr (about 1750), of Aḥmad al-Djezzār (Djezzār Paşa) and his successors who usually ruled in ʿAkkā and held a considerable part of Galilee with al-Nāṣira and Ṭabariya. Napoleon I in 1799 took Yafā, besieged ʿAkkā and advanced as far as Şafad and al-Nāṣira. Ibrāhīm Paşa, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, in 1832 with the help of the Shihābid emir Baṣīr (1789–1840) [q. v.] took ʿAkkā and Damascus and defeated the Turks at Hims and Bailān. Palestine remained Egyptian until after the capture of ʿAkkā by Napier when it was returned to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Medjid in 1840 through the intervention of England and Austria. The Turkish government from 1840 endeavoured to consolidate their position by reforms. Christian missions in Palestine did much for education.

In the Great War the English under Allenby entered southern Palestine in 1917, Jerusalem was occupied on Dec. 9, 1917. On Sept. 19, 1918 began the "battle of Palestine" after which the German and Turkish troops under Liman von Sanders gradually withdrew to North Palestine and Syria where an armistice was concluded (Oct. 31).

Palestine then received an English mandate. On July 1, 1920 a Civil Government was established under an English High Commissioner: the first was Sir Herbert Samuel (1920–1925) who was followed by Lord Plumer and others. The League of Nations on July 24, 1922 approved the British mandate which came into force on Sept. 29, 1923. The military administrative divisions, originally 13 in number, were gradually reduced to seven and under the civil government finally to two Districts (*liwāʾ*), the Southern (Yafā) and the Northern District (Ḥaifā). In 1926 Jerusalem and the country round it was separated from the former as a special district.

The British mandated territory comprises an area of 26,300 sq. km. with (1931) about 1,000,000 inhabitants of whom 760,000 are Muḥammadans, 175,000 Jews, 91,000 Christians and 9,000 Druses; nearly 87% speak Arabic and 10.6% Hebrew. English is an official language. The northern boundary of the mandated territory is a line from Rās al-Nāḳūra to Bāniyās; from there the frontier runs between Palestine and Transjordan to the

south along to the Jordan, crosses the Dead Sea and the ʿAraba on the Wādī al-Djeb and ends in a sharp corner on the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, from which it runs after bending northwest in almost a straight line past al-ʿAwdjā to Tell Refaḥ (Raphia).

According to the constitution of Sept. 1 1922 (with the alterations of May 4, 1923), the British High Commissioner is the supreme military and civil authority and also President of the Executive Council which consists of three officials. An Advisory Council temporarily established by the High Commissioner is later to be replaced by a Legislative Council of 10 official and 12 elected members.

The Jewish Agency looks after the interests of the Jews who have emigrated into Palestine, for whom a national home was erected there by the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917.

The basis of the laws of the mandated territory is the Turkish law (civil code of 1869–1876, commercial code of 1850 etc.) which has been extended by the government by the addition of a number of new laws based on English common law.

Transjordan has since Nov. 1927 been closely connected by treaty with the English mandated government. The hereditary emirate under ʿAbd Allah, son of king Ḥusain of the Ḥidjāz, is independent but under English control.

*Bibliography*: F. Charles-Roux, *Les échelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1928 (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, vol. x.); Liman von Sanders, *Fünf Jahre Türkei*, 1922; English transl. by C. Reichmann, Annapolis 1927; *Palestine Blue Book*, Alexandria 1930; H. C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, 1930; Gurevich, *Statistisches Handbuch für Palästina*, Jerusalem 1930; Fannie Andrews, *The Holy Land under Mandate*, i.–ii., Boston 1931; R. Almagià, *Palestina*, Rome 1932; Josef Cohn, *England und Palästina*, Berlin 1932; A. P. Wall, *The Palestine Campaign*, 1928; *Report on Palestine Administration (Annual)*, London; *The Statesman's Year-Book for the year 1933*, p. 190–200. (E. HONIGMANN)

\*FUTUWWA. Additional references.

1. The term *fatā*. *Fatā* in the Kurʿān means sometimes "youth" (xviii. 10; xxi. 60), sometimes "slave" (xii. 30, 36, 62; xviii. 60, 62 and *fatāt*: iv. 24; xxiv. 33). We suspect that this last meaning of the term *fatā* is foreign to pre-Muḥammadan language. It is the word ʿabd which in the pre-Muḥammadan language is used for slave (Maidānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1342, i. 179, 414, 437; *Diwān Ḥassān b. Thābit*, Cairo 1929, p. 62; *Kitāb al-Aghāmī*, xx. 2: ʿAbd Bani l-Ḥaṣḥās, and p. 20; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, p. 146, where ʿabd is opposed to *ḥurr*). Islām however made *ʿubūdīya* the mark of subordination and submission to God (*Liṣān al-ʿArab*, xx. 4). In one tradition reported by the author of the *Liṣān al-ʿArab* and attributed to the Prophet it is said: "do not say my ʿabd but my *fatā*" (cf. Bukḥārī, *Itḥ*, bāb 17; Muslim, *Alfāz*, trad. 13–15; cf. *Liṣān al-ʿArab*, iv. 260).

In pre-Muḥammadan poetry, *fatā* means a youth (*Dīamhara*, Bülāḳ, p. 51, where *fatā* is opposed to *shaiḳḥ*; Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyūn al-Aḥḥbār*, iv. 48; cf. Ibn Sida, *al-Mukḥaṣṣaṣ*, Bülāḳ 1316, i. 38) and is commonly extended to mean man in general (*Ḥamāsāt Abi Tamīm*, Cairo 1322, i. 213; ii. 13, 155, 237, 283; *Ḥamāsāt al-Buḥturī*, Cairo



1929, p. 137, 140, 141, 155, 289; *Djamhara*, p. 90—91, 102—103, 110, 137; *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, i. 243, 247; *Dhāḥiz, al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1311, i. 60).

2. On the words "*lā fatā illā 'Alī wa-lā saifa illā dhu 'l-faḳār*", uttered by the Prophet (cf. *E. I.*, ii. 130—132), by an unnamed man at the battle of Uhud (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, Cairo 1346, ii. 89), or by the archangel Gabriel at the encounter at Badr (Ibn Taimiya, *Minhādī*, iii. 16 who denies the authenticity of these words as a *ḥadīth*). The author of the *Tāḡī al-ʿArūs* sees in the term *fatā* in this saying a combination of devotion and nobility of soul (x. 276). *Fatā*, however, is not in principle a term of eulogy (cf. Ibn Taimiya, *op. cit.*; one even finds it preceded by *bī'sa*: *Ḥamāsāt Abī Tammām* [cf. above], ii. 153). *Fatā* here no way recalls the knight as Hammer-Purgstall takes it; it much rather means the fearless man (cf. particularly *Djamhara*, p. 88, l. 7 and p. 143, l. 3—7; also B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islām*, Paris 1932, p. 26—30). It was only long after Muḥammad's time that the *fatā* acquired a large number of excellent qualities.

3. The different meanings of futuwwa.

There was a *futuwwa* which served as a standard of conduct for highwaymen who had a horror of debauchery and falsehood and used to put to death those of their sisters and daughters who gave way to licentious conduct (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbis Iblis*, Cairo 1340, p. 421). There were *fityān* in the Umayyad period, generous and given to pleasures (*Aghānī*, ii. 245—246).

The mystic futuwwa: on the legendary origin of the mystic futuwwa, cf. Paris MS., ar. N<sup>o</sup>. 1331, fol. 177<sup>a</sup>—178<sup>a</sup> (probably a popular Shīʿī tradition). Cf. for the definition: Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, Būlak 1270, p. 257—261; and for the dress of the *fityān* (a motley and patched woollen robe): Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islām*, p. 119, the two first lines. On one of the essential qualities of the mystical futuwwa cf. al-Baklī, commentary on the Qurʾān, Cawnpore 1301, p. 103.

Sometimes futuwwa is identified with a *virtus* in which qualities of a religious nature play an important part (Ar. MS., Berlin, Landberg N<sup>o</sup>. 287, fol. 3<sup>b</sup>—5<sup>a</sup>).

On the part played by Salmān al-Fārisī in the *shadd al-futuwwa* and the importance of his *isnād* in the brotherhoods cf. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*..., Paris 1933, p. 28, 29.

Futuwwa in the meaning of chivalry: refutation of the existence of chivalry in the period of Muḥammad and ʿAlī (Ibn Taimiya, *Masā'il fi 'l-Futuwwa* in the library of Père Anastase le Carme and B. Farès, *op. cit.*, p. 22, 30, and *Addenda*, note ii., on the anecdote reported by Kāshī, *Ma'rifaat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, p. 82). If, however, chivalry as a regular social institution did not exist at that time, the "chivalrous" manners and customs which definitely formed the elements of the *'ird* (= honour), were largely diffused before and after Islām (on the analogies and opposites between chivalry, futuwwa and *'ird* cf. B. Farès, *op. cit.*, p. 22—26, 98, 212).

As to the futuwwa of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, cf. *al-Djāmi' al-mukhtaṣar fī 'Unwān al-Tawārīkh wa-'Uyūn al-Siyar* of Tāḡī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Andjab known as Ibn al-Sāʿī (vol. ix., chap... *al-Futuwwa*; Père Anastase le Carme is now engaged in publishing this volume at Baghdād). On the privilege of *ramy al-bunduq* cf. MS. Paris, ar. N<sup>o</sup>. 4639: *Kitāb al-Mukṭarāḥ fī Ta'līm Ramy al-Bunduq* of ʿAbd al-Madḡīd (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>—4<sup>a</sup>); *Kitāb al-Mukṭarāḥ fī 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl surnamed Ibn Wadāʿa and Ibn al-Bakāl (fol. 4<sup>a</sup>—38<sup>a</sup>); *Kitāb al-Fatwā fī 'l-Bunduq* (fol. 38<sup>a</sup>—61<sup>a</sup>); a collection of poems of different authors on *ramy al-bunduq* and the birds (fol. 61<sup>a</sup>—84<sup>a</sup>) and finally *Kitāb al-Funduq fī Aḥwāl al-Bunduq* of Ṣalawāt b. Ghāzī (fol. 89<sup>a</sup>—112<sup>a</sup>).

Cf. on the exploits of various *fityān*: Muṣṭafā Djawād, art. *al-Futuwwa wa 'l-Fityān ḥadīman*, in the review *Lughat al-ʿArab*, April 1930.

4. In the Egyptian dialect of to-day *fetewwa* or *fiuwwa* (plur. *fetewwāt* and *futuwwāt*) means "hefty"; *fatwana*, a dialectal form of the noun of action, is used there for futuwwa rather in a pejorative sense corresponding to the slang expression "to swank".

*Bibliography*: In his article *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde (Das Problem ihrer Entstehung und die Grundlinien ihrer Geschichte)*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1933, F. Taeschner investigates the origin and evolution of the futuwwa (the primitive futuwwa, the futuwwa of the court, the middle-class futuwwa, the *akhs*, the brotherhoods and the corporations) and its relation to Ṣūfism (the portion dealing with the pre-Muḥammadan period should be compared with what is said at the beginning of this article). Taeschner's work contains a detailed bibliography which should be consulted. (BICHR FARÈS)

## G

AL-GHARĪD, the nickname of Abū Yazīd (or Abū Marwān) ʿAbd al-Malik, was a famous musician of Mecca and one of "the four great singers" of Islām. He was the son of a Barbary slave and a *mawlā* of the famous sisters called the ʿAbalāt. He may have received his nickname on account of his Berber complexion and hair rather than by reason of his good voice (cf. Farmer, *History*, p. 80). Passing into the family of Sukaina bint al-Ḥusain [q. v.] he was

trained as a *nāʿih* (elegaist) by Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], although he had already learned that art among the ʿAbalāt. Later he took up the calling of a proper *mughannī* and began to rival the fame of his teacher. He sang at the Damascus court of al-Walid I [q. v.]. When Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlkama became governor of Mecca, and made an edict against wine and music, al-Gharīd sought refuge in al-Yaman where he is said to have died about the year 98 (716—717) although another account shows

him at the court of Yazīd II [q.v.]. According to the *ʿIqd al-farīd*, he died at the hands of the *djinn* at a festive gathering in the bosom of his family. Like other musicians (Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili and Ziryāb), al-Gharīd was said to have received his inspiration from the *djinn*. Ibn Suraidj, the leading exponent of the grandiose *ṭhaḳīl* rhythms (*ikḳāʿāt*), was compelled, by the success of Ibn Gharīd in the same genre, to adopt the lighter *ramāl* and *ḥarādī* rhythms. It seems to have been a certain tenderness in al-Gharīd's voice, due possibly to his early training as a *nāʾih*, that brought him fame, especially with the women of Mecca. Pilgrims to the Holy City clamoured for him. He took part in the famous concerts of Djamīla so elaborately described in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Besides being an excellent singer he played the lute (*ūd*), the tambourine (*duff*), and the rhythmic wand (*ḳaḏīb*). The famous Ishāk al-Mawṣili [q.v.] wrote a *Kitāb Akhbār al-Gharīd*, whilst Abū Aiyūb al-Madīnī also wrote a *Kitāb al-Gharīd*, whose titles alone are sufficient proof of the high estimation in which the famous singer was held in the early days of Islām.

*Bibliography*: Abu 'l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo 1927 sq.), ii. 359; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (Cairo 1887-1888), iii. 187; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (Leipzig 1871-1872), p. 141, 148; *J. A.*, Nov.-Dec., 1873, p. 457; Kosegarten, *Lib. Cantilenarum* (Greifswald 1840), p. 44, where he is called Abū Zaid; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music* (London 1929), p. 80; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥadjjādī, *al-Mūsikā al-sharḳīya* (Alexandria 1924), p. 20.

(FARMER)

**GHINĀ'**, song, singing. This is the specific meaning of the word although it stands for music in its generic sense, an interpretation accepted as early as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (x<sup>th</sup> century) who say (Bombay ed., i. 87): "*Mūsikī* is *ghinā'*, and the *mūsikār* is the *mughannī*, and the *mūsikāriya* is the instrument of music (*ghinā'*)" (cf. also R. Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, 977, s.v. "hedhrula"). In this article however, only the specific meaning of the word is considered. For the general application see TARAB.

As elsewhere, the origin and development of *ghinā'* must be traced through the folk. From a strictly musical point of view there is no difference between the simple chant of the *faḳīr* and the artless song of the *saḳḳā'*, or between the elaborate cantillation of the *mu'adhdhin* and the highly festooned vocal work of the professional *mughannī*. In some lands *ghinā'* is classified according to the structure of the music whether popular or classical, whilst in other lands it is grouped according to the class of verse used. In Morocco the song is divided into the folk song or popular song called *karīḥa* = "natural talent" and the art song called *āla* = "classical" or *ṣan'a* = "art work". In Algeria it is grouped under *kalām al-haṣl* = "profane song" and *kalām al-djidd* = "serious song".

The *Djāhiliya*. Just as we see the double meaning of the Latin *carmen* = "charm, song", so the Arabic *laḥana* and *shā'ara* (from which we get *lahn* = "melody" and *shi'r* = "poetry") have, in their pristine significance, the meaning of "he understood" in the cryptic sense. Perhaps the *ḥudā'* was, at first, a "charm" against the *djinn* of the desert.

The *ḥudā'* or caravan song was not confined

to the camel driver. The toil or industrial song was to be found on every hand. That dominating factor of "repetition" not only relieved the monotony of toil but it regulated and disciplined it. The water carrier, the boatman, the weaver, the gleaner, and even the women of the tent or household, sang at work, just as they do to-day. Al-Mas'ūdī avers that the first development of the *ḥudā'* was made through the *bikā'* or funeral lamentation of the women. Out of this arose the *nawḥ* or elegy and the *naṣb* or secular song. The latter found expression on occasions of joy. One might call this class the domestic song as distinct from the toil song. It includes lullabies, children's songs, wedding songs etc.

We know nothing of the verse or music of these folk songs of early days and we can only judge of their character by present day examples (cf. *Numbers*, xxi. 17; *Exodus*, xv. 21). That the verse was in the colloquial may be taken for granted. Indeed, the use of the word *lahn* to connote the colloquial seems to show that it is folk song that is partly responsible for perpetuating corruptions in speech. Melody and measure are sovereign perpetrators (cf. the *malḥūn* of Morocco: vol. iii. 603). The melody of folk song is quite simple. A solitary melodic phrase is the general rule, and this is repeated with each verse (*bait*) or even each hemistich (*miṣrā'*). The scale compass is generally restricted to the tetrachordal or pentachordal limit, although sometimes two notes alone suffice to carry the melody. Adornments of the melody by means of grace notes, so sedulously practised in the art song of the professional singer, are rarely introduced by the folk.

Three types of *ghinā'* are to be found among the folk, viz. the solo, chorus, and the antiphon. The song can also be measured or unmeasured. The former was called the *naṣḥīd* (*inshād*, *unshūda*, *anṣhada*) and the latter the *tarṭil*. Further the melody may be designed or improvised. The former is based on traditional motives, the latter, as its name (*mur-tadjal*) implies, is impromptu (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii. 188; *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1900, p. 104). For examples of modern toil and domestic songs among the Arabs see Villoteau, i. 710-733; Lane, chap. xvii., xxi., xxiv.; Parisot, Nrs. 270, 282; Littmann, p. 88, 93; Rouanet, p. 2823 sq.; Bartok, 502 sq.; Stumme, *Beduinenlieder*, p. 4 sq.

In pre-Islamic days there also existed the art song. This was developed by a female professional singer called the *ḳaina*, although the terms *dādīna*, *muddīna* and *ḳarina* were also used for this professional singing-girl (*al-Aghānī*, viii. 2, 79; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, lxxi; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, viii. 419; *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, iii. 186; al-Tibrizī, p. 83). The name *musmī'a* found in al-A'shā Maimūn [q.v.] seems to point to a post-Islamic period [cf. SAMĀ']. Legend takes these singing-girls back to the shadowy days of the Banū 'Amālik (al-Ṭabarī, i. 231; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 296), but cf. the Assyrian *ḳinitu*. That they played an important part in social life is evident from the life of Muḥammad himself. The statement of Lyall (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, xxvi. 87) that these *ḳaināt* were "all foreigners" and that they sung "probably to foreign airs" has no evidence, whilst the opinion of Von Kremer that they did not even sing in Arabic but in their own language is similarly devoid of any basis of fact. That some of these *ḳaināt* came from Persia (or rather al-Hīra) and Byzantine lands, that some sang in their own tongue, may be ad-



mitted (*al-Aghānī*, xvi. 15), but we also read of those who came from Mecca. One recalls the story of the *kaina* who made al-Nābigha [q.v.] realize that he had made faulty rhymes (*ikwā'*). She could scarcely have been a "foreigner" (*al-Aghānī*, ix. 164). For the importance of correct pronunciation when singing see *al-Aghānī*, v. 57.

We know very little about the pre-Islāmic *naṣb* or secular song of the professional singing-girls. According to al-Djawharī and Ibn Sida, the *naṣb* was peculiar to the Arabs and that it was like the *hudā'* but was more delicate and refined than the latter. Although the *naṣb*, like the *hudā'*, was made up of measured melodies (*alḥān mawwāna*) as al-Ghazālī tells us (*Iḥyā'*), the measure (*wasn*) seems to have been based on the prosody ('*arūd*') of the verse. It was, therefore, quite different from the measure determined by rhythm (*īkā'*).

It is highly probable that much of the pre-Islāmic poetry was sung (see vol. i. 403). Only by this means could full justice be done to the poetic language. Indeed one ought to give serious consideration to the views of St. Guyard and Landberg that Arabic prosody is based on musical principles (see vol. i. 467).

Islām. The opening days of Islām showed opposition to singing, and the question as to whether it was lawful to listen to singing and music became a subject of debate among the legists of Islām. An attempt was even made to impose a legal fiction that the cantillation (*taghbīr*) of the Qur'ān was not the same as singing (*ghinā'*) in secular music (Ibn Khaldūn, in *N.E.*, xvii. 359; cf. Macdonald, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 210). Yet, as Ibn Kutaiba [q.v.] pointed out (p. 265), the rule and practice of cantillation and singing were identical. In fact it was openly stated that if the artistic song was unlawful so was the chanting of the Qur'ān (*al-ʿIkd al-farīd*, iii. 178). The opposition of the purists of Islām to *al-ghinā'* was of small avail and in the early days there appeared, in addition to the *kaina* or singing-girl, the professional male musician or *mughannī*, the first, in the days of Islām, being Ṭuwais [q.v.]. He, and a *mughannīya* named 'Azzat al-Mailā' [q.v.], are credited with having introduced a new type of song into al-Madīna called the *ghinā' al-mutḥan* (artistic song) or *ghinā' al-raḥīk* (graceful song) as recorded in the *Aghānī* (iv. 38; vii. 188; xvi. 13; *al-ʿIkd al-farīd*, iii. 187). According to Ibn al-Kalbī [q.v.], "the *ghinā'* is of three kinds (*awḍjuh*) viz., the *naṣb*, the *sinād*, and the *hazaḍj*. The *naṣb* is the song of the riders (*ghinā' al-rukbān*) and the singing-girls (*kaināt*). The *sinād* has a slow (*ṭhaḳīl*) refrain (*tardjī'*), full of notes (*naghamāt*). The *hazaḍj* is quick (*khafīf*), all of it" (*al-ʿIkd al-farīd*, iii. 186). For a different classification see al-Mas'ūdī, viii. 93; cf. al-Ibshīhī, ii. 134. The *naṣb* has already been described. As for the *sinād* and *hazaḍj*, they appear to have contained a new element, known as rhythm (*īkā'*), which was independent of the prosodical structure. We know nothing of the circumstances of the origin of *īkā'* but it seems to have been an indigenous production. Ṭuwais is said to have been the first to use the *hazaḍj* rhythm and Sa'ib Khāthir [q.v.] the first to use the *ṭhaḳīl* *awwal* rhythm which was a species of the *sinād*. For particulars see *īkā'*. It was the introduction of rhythm into Arabian music that constituted, with other elements, the *ghinā' al-mutḥan* or artistic song.

Foreign influences soon made themselves felt in al-Ḥijāz and al-ʿIrāk. Singers like Ibn Misḍjah [q.v.] and Ibn Muḥriz had travelled in Persian and Byzantine lands and brought back new ideas in melody which became incorporated into Arabian music (*al-Aghānī*, i. 150; iii. 84). For particulars see MÜSİKĪ [iii. 750]. From this period Arabian song became a highly developed art, the technical nomenclature of which fills the pages of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. At the same time, the simpler forms of the art, such as the *hudā'* and *naṣb*, were not ignored (*al-Aghānī*, iii. 84, 87; v. 161). Many of the celebrated singers began their careers as a *nā'ih* or singer of the *nawh* or elegy (*al-Aghānī*, i. 97; ii. 128), and we read of a *mawwāl* being sung in the days of Dja'far al-Barmakī.

All the *aṣwāt* (poems that were sung) in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* are in the *qaṣida* or *ḥifa* forms. This great work embraces earlier song collections made by Yūnus al-Katib [q.v.], Yaḥyā al-Makkī, his son Aḥmad (d. 864), Ishāk al-Mawṣilī [q.v.], and 'Amr b. Bāna (d. 891). There were other compilations (*al-Fihrist*, p. 144, 145). After these came the collections of Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Maghribī [q.v.], al-Musabbihī (d. 1029), and Yaḥyā b. al-Khududjī al-Mursī (xii<sup>th</sup> century). Then we know of many poets who wrote for singers, or whose verses were adopted by them. By this time, popular and folk verse of the *muwashshah*, *zadjal*, *mawwāl*, *billik*, and *kānkān* type had become favoured forms to be set to music. Perhaps it was due to this popularity that the erstwhile *muwashshah* in the vernacular came to be lifted into the language of *belles-lettres*.

Whilst the verses have been spared us from the earliest days of Islām, very little has survived in actual notation of the melodies which accompanied them. From the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, all that we know of the music is the name of the melody (*aṣba'*) and the rhythm (*īkā'*). Later collections (British Museum MS. Or. 136, fol. 40; Berlin MS. N<sup>o</sup> 5534, fol. 172 sq.; British Museum MS. Or. 1535 and various MSS. bearing the name of al-Ḥā'ik) are similar in this respect. There are two exceptions. In the *Kitāb al-Adwār* of Sa'fī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min [q.v.] and the *Djāmī' al-Aḥān* of 'Abd al-Kādir b. Ḡhaibī [q.v.] we have songs in notation. From the xviii<sup>th</sup> century there are Turkish MSS. in European notation (British Museum, Sloane, N<sup>o</sup> 3114).

It is from these meagre sources and the theorists from al-Kindī [q.v.] onwards [see MÜSİKĪ], plus the practical art of modern times, that we have to draw for our knowledge of the music of the songs of Islāmic lands. In the xiv<sup>th</sup>—xv<sup>th</sup> centuries (Bodleian Library MS., Marsh, N<sup>o</sup> 282; British Museum MS. Or. 2361, fol. 215) there were three recognized forms of the vocal art, viz. the *nashīd*, the *basīf*, and the *nawba*. The last named, a sort of vocal and instrumental *suite des pièces*, was the most important [see NAWBA]. The *nashīd* comprised two parts, the first an unrhythmical setting of two verses called the *naṣhr al-naghamāt*, the second a rhythmical setting called the *naẓm al-naghamāt*. The *basīf* was a *ḥifa* which was set in one of the *ṭhaḳīl* rhythms.

All *ghinā'* in the Islāmic East is basically uniphonic, i. e. purely melodic. Harmony, in our connotation of the term, is unknown. The greater part of the Islāmic East views music horizontally. The Christian West conceives it vertically. The melody is modal and is built up of short traditional

phrases or motives [see NAGHMA]. Some are opening motives whilst others are closing motives. Between these are joining or separating motives, according to the plan of the composer. Every motive belongs to a particular mode (*naghma, maḳām, ṭabʿ*). Many of the modes and motives are of ancient origin whilst others are comparatively modern. In Arabic poetry a verse is complete in itself, i.e. it contains a compact thought. As a result, each verse was set to a complete melodic phrase or thought which was repeated with each verse. From the time of Ibn Muhriz (d. ca. 715) however, we find a second verse being given a different melody (*al-Aghānī*, i. 150). Since then all sorts of different devices have crept in. Being so closely allied to the verse, the melody and form of the song is conditioned by the former, although no two countries adopt the same formulae in these matters.

The second element in Islāmic song is the adornment of the melody by means of grace notes (*zawwāʿid, taḥāsīn* or *zuwwāḳ*). It is with this adornment that a singer shows his ability in extemporisation, although he is bound by certain definite rules; see the story of Iṣḥāk al-Mawṣilī [q.v.] in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (v. 74) where we see how difficult it was to grasp these ornaments. These were, of course, merely an extension of the *zaghrada* of folk song, and special syllables (*ah, yā, lā*) are used for this purpose when the more conventional *Yā laili* or *Tiri fār* do not suffice. They occur in various places viz. in the bosom of a word, at the end of a phrase, and the close of a hemistich, verse or song. In the later position is it called *shughl* = "work". There are, of course, types of songs which are not only devoid of ornament but have long and short notes which agree precisely with the long and short syllables of the verse. Possibly the metric melodies (*naghāmāt al-buhur*), which are still used in the scansion of verse, are actual survivals of many of these old simple types of songs, such as both Ibn Misdjah and Ibn Muhriz sang in the viii<sup>th</sup> century.

The third element is rhythm [see IḲĀ'] which is usually supplied by an instrument of percussion (*duff, tabl, ṣunnūdī*). When this is wanting, mere handclapping (*ṣafḳ*) takes its place. There is generally an accompaniment by a string or wind instrument or instruments of music (*ūd, kāmūn, nāy* or *kaṣaba, ṭunbūr, rabāb*, etc.), which also furnishes the prelude (*kursī*), interlude (*djawāb*), and finale (*khurūdī*) to the song. As already mentioned there is also the unrhymical song.

Phonograms and published music are now so plentiful, that one can study *ghinā'* in almost every phase.

Discography. Morocco: Mawwāl: *Pathé*, x. 38.076; Ṣan'a: *Odéon*, 156.108; Baitain: *Pathé-Saphir*, 10.865; Kaṣīda: *Gramophone*, K, 3.630. — Tunisia: Ṣan'a: *Parlophon*, B, 37.037—1; Dervish Chorus: *Parlophon*, B, 37.037—11. — Egypt: Kaṣīda: *H.M.V.*, 72—8; Tuḳṭūka: *H.M.V.*, FX, 119; Mawwāl: *H.M.V.*, 91—3. — Persia: Folk Song: *Odéon*, O, 5168. — Turkey: *H.M.V.*, 80—6. — Berbers: Kaṣīda: *Odéon*, 205.033. — Published Music. Morocco: Chottin, *Corpus de musique Marocaine*, i., "Nouba de Ochchāk", Paris 1931. — Algeria: Yafl and Rouanet, *Répertoire de musique arabe et Maure*, Algiers 1904. — Egypt: Kuṣṭandī Mansī, *Dalīl al-Ḥubb*, Cairo; do., *Khadnī al-Hawā*, Cairo; Maṣṣūr 'Awād, *Badrī Adar*, Cairo; Aḥmad Shawḳī

and Muṣṭafā Ridā, *Nashīd al-Kashshāfa*, Cairo.

The Religious Song. Three distinct types of the religious song may be found in the Islāmic East, viz. the recitative as exemplified in the *adhān* or call to prayer [see *ADHĀN*], the measured (*mawwāl*) cantillation of the *Qur'an*, and the rhythmic (*mawḳī*) chant of the *faḳīr, darwish, ṣūfī*, or professional *maddāḥ*. For the *adhān* see Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, and *H.M.V.* Gramophone record FX, 7 for Egypt; Hastings, *Enc. of Religion*, ix. 54 for al-Yaman and al-ʿIrāk; Parisot, *Rapport...*, p. 203—204 and Dalman, *Pal. Diwan*, p. 360 for Syria; Rouanet, in Lavignac, *Enc. de la musique*, v. 2818—2820 for Algeria and Tunisia. For the cantillation of the *Qur'an* see Villoteau, *op. cit.*, i. 720 and *H.M.V.* Gramophone record 47—1. For the rhythmic chant see Villoteau, i. 707 sq.; *Türk Musikisi Klasiklerinden, İlahiler*, Constantinople 1931; Rouanet, *op. cit.*, v. 2823; Ritter, *Der Reigen der tanzenden Derwische*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, 1933 and *Parlophon* Gramophone record, B, 37037—11.

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## H

HADJR. [See WILĀYA.]

HĀFA<sup>2</sup>. [See KIRṬĀS.]

\*AL-HAMDĀNĪ. A critical edition of the eighth book of the *Iklīl* was prepared by Anastās Mārī al-Karmālī (*al-Iklīl, al-Djwā' al-thāmin*, Baghdād, 1931). The first and second books of the same work were found by O. Löfgren in a manuscript (MS. Or. Cat. 968) in the Prussian State Library (see O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, in *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1935). — To al-Hamdānī's works is to be added *Kitāb al-Djawharatāin al-ʿatīkatāin* etc. (Griffini, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti arabi di nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*

di Milano, 152, N<sup>o</sup>. 268, ii.; Zetterstéen, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, in *M.O.*, xxii., 1928, N<sup>o</sup>. 204). (C. VAN ARENDONK)

ḤASANAK, ABŪ 'ALĪ ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABBĀS, commonly known as Ḥasanak, was the third wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ḡhazna. He entered the service of the Sulṭān as a young man, and gradually rose to be the governor of the province of Khurāsān. In 414 (1023), Ḥasanak went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned by way of Cairo where he received a *khiṭ'a* from the Faṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir. This offended al-Qādir

bi'llah, the 'Abbāsid Caliph of Baghdād, who denounced Ḥasanak as a Ḳarmāṭian [cf. *ḲARMAṬ*] and ordered Sultān Maḥmūd to put him to death as such. The Sultān however appeased the Caliph by sending the offending *khi'l'a* to Baghdād where it was burnt publicly. In 415 (1024), the Sultān appointed Ḥasanak his wazīr in place of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maimandī. Ḥasanak had great influence over the Sultān, but he so offended prince Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, that on his accession to throne, Mas'ūd had him tried and executed in 422 (1031) on the old charge of being a Ḳarmāṭian.

*Bibliography: Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, ed. Lahore, p. 329—333; Baihaḳī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Morley, p. 207—220; *Aḥḳār al-Wuzarā'*, India Office MS., p. 88a—89b. (M. NAZIM)

**HASHISH** is the Arabic name for an oriental narcotic procured from "Indian" hemp, the use of which is very common, particularly among Muslim peoples. Hemp (*cannabis sativa* L.) was known from very early times to the Egyptians, Indians and Greeks. As a narcotic it is first mentioned by Herodotos (iv. 75) as in use among the Scythians, who used to inhale the smoke of the heated seed in a hot bath and thus procure a pleasant exhilaration. The *gelotophyllis* of Pliny (xxiv. 164), a plant drunk in wine among the Bactrians, which produced immoderate laughter, may very well be identical with hemp, which still grows wild in the country round the Caspian and Aral Seas. The original home of the hemp plant should perhaps be sought in Central Asia. Dioscurides (iii. 148—149) mentions cultivated hemp (κάνναβις ἡμερος) as a medicine and says that excessive indulgence produces sterility. All Arab and Persian medical authors have simply reproduced what Dioscurides says and give hemp, especially the seed, the Greek-Syriac loan-name *ḳinnab* or the arabicised Persian name *shāh-dānadj* "royal seed". Not till the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century was Ibn al-Baitār [q. v.] the first physician to describe the intoxicating effect of *cannabis indica* (*ḳinnab hindī*) which grew in Egypt; he mentions that it was cultivated in the gardens of Egypt and there known as *al-ḥashīsha* ("the herb"). The mendicant dervishes (*fuḳarā'*) were particularly given to the use of this drug and lengthy indulgence in it caused madness. *Ḥashish* was prepared from the leaves of the plant in the form of paste and tablets. Ibn al-Baitār does not yet mention the smoking of *hashish*, which was practised in the east before the use of tobacco. In the xiv<sup>th</sup> century al-Maḳrīzī [q. v.] mentions the widespread use of *hashishat al-fuḳarā'* in Egypt, especially in some suburbs of Cairo where the lower classes were much given to indulgence in hemp. Much *hashish* was also eaten in Syria, Anatolia and in the 'Irāk. The custom is recorded in Persia for earlier centuries by the historians who say that the Ismā'īlīs [q. v.] were given to the use of *hashish* as early as the third (ninth) century. Of the fifth (eleventh) century we know from the Crusaders that an Ismā'īlī society, the Assassins, used *hashish* to stimulate a readiness to kill and a contempt for death in the service of their political aims, hence the name *Ḥashshīūn* [vulgar] which is the original of the word "assassin", transmitted through the Romance languages. Al-Maḳrīzī records that, according to a Persian authority, the use of *hashish* was introduced into eastern Persia in the vi<sup>th</sup> (xii<sup>th</sup>) century by an Ismā'īlī, Shaikh Ḥaidar, while another authority

says that the use of intoxicating drugs was already known in pre-Muḥammadan times under Khusrāw Parwēz, having been brought from India to Persia and the 'Irāk and even to the Yaman. This is really much more probable, as the intoxicating effect of a preparation of hemp was apparently well known in India in ancient times. Al-Maḳrīzī further says for his own time that the emir Sūdūn al-Shaikhūnī endeavoured about 780 (1378) by severe penalties to check the abuse of *hashish* among the lower classes in Egypt. But he also tells us on the other hand that the custom of eating *hashish* was introduced among the better classes of Cairo and Damascus about 795 (1393) by refugees of rank who had fled from Baghdād before Timurlenk, so that the epithet *hashishi* was no longer regarded as a term of abuse and the moral corruption had rapidly progressed. In particular a Persian Ismā'īlī prepared "elegant" electuaries made of honey with *hashish* and stimulating spices and sold them to members of the upper classes under the name of *uḳḍa* (i. e. "mixture"). From the shadow comedy by the poet-physician Ibn Dāniyāl edited by Jacob it is clear that about this time in Egypt *hashish* was taken with or in the beer of millet (*miz* or *būza*) prepared by the Sūdānese in order to increase the intoxicating effect of this drink. Since that date countless European travellers in the east have described the use of *hashish* in various lands and sometimes tested it themselves. Here we shall only mention a few physicians who write with particularly expert knowledge on the taking of *hashish*. First may be mentioned Prospero Alpino who worked from 1581 to 1584 as physician to the Venetian consulate in Cairo. He describes "assis" very well and its effect as an herb, electuary, and in beer; he saw the adepts "in ecstasi diu manentes". For India the first to describe the "bange"-plant (*bhang*, from the Sanskrit *bhaṅga*) and its intoxicating effect was the Portuguese Garcia da Orta (1563), and the Spaniard Christoval Acosta illustrated it in 1576. The use of narcotic drugs by dervishes and faḳīrs was widely disseminated but it was also not uncommon among princes and nobles. Among the Persians the Indian name in the form *bang* became the general term for narcotic and was given to the henbane [cf. *BANDJ*]. In Southern Persia in the xvii<sup>th</sup> century, the German physician and naturalist Engelbert Kämpfer about 1685 had already ascertained that "Indian" hemp was as like the European, as regards the structure of the male and female plant, "as one egg to another". He also sowed in the high-lying and cooler Ispahān hemp-seed which had had intoxicating effects in hot Bandar 'Abbās and found that the resulting plant was harmless. This has been confirmed in modern times: the *cannabis indica* is only a physiological variety found in warm climates of the *cannabis sativa* L., the female plants of which are characterised by a much richer development of the gland hairs and therefore by a stronger content of resin. The active element of the *hashish* is contained in the resin, namely cannabinin (L. Siebold and Bradbury 1881), a yellowish green alkaloid, and the resin-like dark brown cannabinol (H. F. Smith 1891) which is particularly effective. The effect consists, as in the case of other intoxicating poisons, in the production of a pleasing state of exhilaration with excessive laughter, followed by ecstasy and delirium with delusions, which are very characteristic, and also fits of rage (especially



if there is an admixture of any preparation of henbane). Then follows (what does not seem to be generally known) a stage of increased sexual excitability, which ends in a drugged sleep with erotic dreams. A moderate regular use of hashish seems to have no undue unfavourable effects on the organisms. The habitual taker of hashish (called *hashshāsh* in Egypt) is often a cheery companion with flashes of wit — usually of an obscene kind — highly esteemed in certain circles of orientals. If large doses are regularly taken, however, depression sets in, with loss of will-power, catalepsy (this is particularly noticeable among dervishes) and complete imbecility. In Egypt the number of inmates of asylums who were hashish smokers used to be about 30% (Moreau). Since the prohibition of the growing and importation of "Indian" hemp in Egypt (1868) and the strict administration of the law by the English police since 1884 the proportion has gone down to 8% and is probably now less. At the present day nevertheless, everywhere in the provincial towns and villages of Egypt there are still to be found "mad saints" and dervishes and "shaikhs" whose wits have been destroyed by hashish; there are revered by the lower classes as *magzūb* (*maḍḍūb*; q. v.). The authorities at the Egyptian frontiers have for decades been waging a bitter war against the smugglers of hashish, which is brought by sea from the Balkan countries and by land from Arabia and Tripolitania through the deserts. There is nevertheless quite enough of the deadly drug brought into the country and as in the time of al-Makrizī, it is still taken secretly in electuaries (*manzūl* or *maḍḍūn*); sometimes to increase the intoxicating effect it is mixed with the seeds of the henbane (*hyocyamus muticus*, *sēkarān*) or stramonium (*iātūra*). The strong soporific effect which is thus produced is sometimes taken advantage of by evil-doers for criminal purposes. But since 1600 hashish has usually been smoked with tobacco in water-pipes.

The consumption of hashish has recently begun to diminish but only to be replaced by far more dangerous drugs, opium, heroin and cocaine. In Persia and India the number of preparations of hashish is much greater. The Dutch physician Schlimmer 60 years ago described the process of procuring the resin from the hemp plant by rubbing the leaves and the young female shoots on any rough material. The best resin was called hashish or *esrār* ("secrets"); that which was left on the cloth of less value *čars*. The leaves themselves (Pers. *bāng-i būng*, Arab. *warāk al-khayāl*) were cooked and worked into a paste which is called by other authors *sābzā* ("green herb"). It gives also a juice used as *bāngāb* for healing purposes. An exceedingly intoxicating oil of hemp (*rōghan-i būng*) was made by cooking the shoots in butter or almond-oil. In India the dried paste made with the leaves is sold as *bāng* or *sidhi*, the brownish green paste of the female shoots as *gandja*, in Anglo-Indian jargon *gunja*, in commercial language *guaza*; the resin mixed with hairs of the plant is called *čars* (Anglo-Indian *churrus*). In North Africa hashish, usually called *kif* ("elation"), is smoked by the lower classes and taken in the form of electuaries by the upper classes. Hashish has been introduced to the negroes of the Sūdān and even of South Africa by Arab and Hausa traders and in places its use is very common.

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Baitār, *Djāmi' al-*

*Mufradāt*, Cairo 1291, iv. 39; L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par Ibn al-Beithar*, Paris 1883, iii. 119; De Sacy, *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins*, Paris 1809; De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1826, i. 210 sqq.; G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*<sup>2</sup>, Hanover 1925, p. 63; Prosper Alpinus, *De medicina Aegyptiorum*, Venice 1591, p. 120 sq.; Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas*, Goa 1563, col. viii.; Christoval Acosta, *Trata de las drogas y medicinas*, Burgos 1578; Engelb. Kämpfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* etc., Lemberg 1712, vol. i.; A. Tschirch, *Handbuch der Pharmakognosie*, Leipzig 1910, i. 1042 sqq.; M. Meyerhof, *Der Hanf als Genussmittel der Orientalen*, in *Österr. Monatsschr. f. d. Orient*, 1917, part. 6-12; Moreau, *Du Hachich et d'aliénation mentale*, Tours 1845; Millant, *L'opium et le hachich*, in *La Géographie*, xxvii, 1912, p. 132 sqq.; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii. 244 sqq.; J. L. Schlimmer, *Terminologie médico-pharmaceutique . . . persane*, Teheran 1874, p. 101 sqq.; Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, London 1874, p. 491 sqq.; Dymock etc., *Pharmacographia Indica*, vi., Calcutta 1893, p. 318 sqq.; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*<sup>2</sup>, London 1903, p. 59; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1928, i. 255 sqq.; Renaud and Colin, *Tuhfat al-Ahbāb*, Paris 1934, p. 189.

(MAX MEYERHOF)

**HAWḌ**, the basin at which on the day of the resurrection Muḥammad will meet his community. This idea is not found in the Qur'ān, but in Tradition, which supplies a great variety of details of which the following are the more important.

Muḥammad is called the precursor (*farāq*) of his community. On the day of the resurrection the latter, the poor in the first place, who have not known the pleasures of life will join him near the basin. So far as one can judge, the question is one of admittance: Muḥammad pleads with God for his Companions, but he is told: Thou dost not know what they have done since thy death. Some have gone back on their steps (Bukhārī, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 73; *Musūkhāt*, bāb 10; *Rikāḥ*, bāb 52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 132; al-Ṭayālīsī, No. 995).

The descriptions of the basin raise questions of cosmological topography. Its dimensions equal the distance between Djarbā' and Adhruḥ (variants: Aila-Šan'ā'; 'Aden-ʿOmān; al-Madīna-Šan'ā' etc.) and its jars are numberless as the stars. Its waters are white as milk and sweet as honey. It is filled by two spouts from Paradise, one gold, the other silver. Some traditions connect the basin with the river of Paradise, al-Kawthar [q. v.], but these associations are secondary, Kawthar only having become a proper name of a river of Paradise at a later date. The representation of the throne of Muḥammad as being above the basin is also part of the topography of Paradise ("a garden of Paradise"). Details taken from the Bible are fairly numerous, like the very common tradition that he who drinks of the waters of the reservoir will never thirst (cf. St. John's Gospel, iv. 14).

It is hardly possible to assign a definite place to the reservoir among the eschatological sites. According to a canonical tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḳiyyāma*, bāb 9; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 178), Muḥammad said that if he is not found near the *širāṭ* he should be sought near the *miṣṣan* or rather

near the basin. In the creed known as *Fikḥ Akbar II* the basin comes immediately after the balance (art. 21). — Neither *Ḡhazālī*, in *al-Durra al-fākhira*, nor the author of the *Kitāb Akhwāl al-Kiyāma* mention the basin. In the *Iḥyāʾ* it comes between the intercession and the descriptions of Hell and Paradise, without there being any connection with the one or the other. This uncertainty which connects the basin sometimes with Paradise, sometimes with the trials at the last judgment, has given rise to the idea of two basins.

*Bibliography*: The statements in the collections of canonical tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. Basin; Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xxx. 176 sqq.; the articles of the creeds in Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, index, s. v. Basin; al-*Ḡhazālī*, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1302, iv. 478. (A. J. WENSINCK)

**HĀWĪ**, snake-charmer or itinerant mountebank, from *ḥaiya*, snake. The plural is *ḥawwā* (so Lane) or more generally *ḥawwiyūn*. In Egypt certain members of the Gypsy tribes [cf. *NURĪ*] act in this capacity. The *fellāḥīn* often have recourse to them, particularly when afflicted with various forms of skin-disease (*kurfa*) or eczema (*kūba*). The general procedure of these quacks is to recite some rigmarole over a glass containing olive-oil and the white of an egg, and then to spit into it. The slimy mixture is thereafter applied as an ointment. Certain members of the derwish fraternities, such as the *Rifaʿīya* and the *Saʿdaniya* also play their part in the folk-medicine of the Nile Valley as snake-charmers and viper-enchanters. The reason why their services are requisitioned is because of the popular belief that skin-diseases are due to the viper blowing its poison into the body, and these men claim to possess the necessary authority to counteract the poisonous infection.

*Bibliography*: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl, *Tibb al-Rukka*, Cairo 1310—1312, i. 80 sq.; ii. 31; English transl. by J. Walker, *Folk-Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London 1935; *M. W.*, July 1933, p. 289. (J. WALKER)

**HIDJĀʾ** (A.), satire, epigram. The *hidjāʾ* was the poetical form in which insults were conveyed. According to Ibn Rashīq, the *hidjāʾ* varies between insinuation and frank assertion. It is sometimes hesitating, sometimes bantering and perhaps insulting, not to say obscene. According to Goldziher, the successive forms of the *hidjāʾ* were the *sadjʿ*, the *radjas* and lastly the *ḥaṣida* in general. As to the *ḥaṣīya* (with end rhymes) it was the technical term for the *hidjāʾ*.

In any case the *hidjāʾ* made a butt of *ʿird* and *ʿird* [q. v.] was simply honour. The *hidjāʾ* then dishonoured; besides, it humiliated and humbled (*al-hidjāʾ yaḍaʿ*). This is why it had such influence. The Arabs understood this and humoured the poets, especially those with biting wit. The reaction provoked by the *hidjāʾ* was a violent one. When satirised the Arab sometimes thrashed his adversary and sometimes cut out his tongue. The Prophet who lauded magnanimity and commended it to his disciples, did not hesitate to curse those that satirised him and to kill others or authorise their assassination.

It is because it humiliated that the *hidjāʾ* was directed against the enemy just like a weapon (Goldziher has already pointed out that the *hidjāʾ* was an essential element in warfare). The poet was therefore called *midrah al-ḥarbi al-ʿawānī*;

the poet debased the enemy clan by holding up to shame incidents which did not reflect credit upon it and upon its defeats. And when he found it profitable to run down individuals, families and sects in his satires or to aggrandise them by his praises instead of sheltering the whole group under his wing against the enemy group, he lost favour.

It is in the struggles between Muslims and polytheists that we see exactly the great part played by the *hidjāʾ*. Muḥammad said of the verses launched by his poets against the polytheists that they were more dangerous than the arrows with which they were riddled.

If the *hidjāʾ* had not had such great weight in Arabia Muḥammad would never have gone so far as to stir up his poets to reply to the *Kuraish* although he disowned the *hidjāʾ*, to which Muslim teaching objected.

In any case in the time of the early caliphs the *hidjāʾ* was disapproved of. But after this time it did not cease to be on the one hand feared and on the other used and even encouraged for religious, political, and racial reasons (for these two latter reasons diatribes were fabricated and attributed to the pre-Islamic period). Besides, the poets (especially Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid) could not abandon a genre which had been so flourishing in the old literature and to which they were naturally inclined. By their lampoons and their invectives, Ḥuṭaiʿa, the gnawer (*miḡrād*) of *aʿrād*, al-Akḥṭal, Farazdaq, Djarir, then Bashshār, Diʿbil, Ibn al-Rūmī (a past master in the art of insult) and many others, perpetuated this form of literature so dear to the old poets by amplifying old themes and sometimes creating new ones. Yet, in course of time the *hidjāʾ* lost its social as well as its scandalous character.

Goldziher notes that in the ʿAbbāsid period the *hidjāʾ* loses its verve. At this period it is jealousy and covetousness that sets the poets against one another (we may add that *tahādji* [or *muhādji*] goes back to the *Djāhiliya*). On the other hand, the *hidjāʾ* enlarged its scope with Islam: the Anṣār poets stigmatised idolatry, Djarir attacks the Christian al-Akḥṭal; then comes the turn of the sects at enmity with one another. Lastly the Shuʿūbī movement exploited the *hidjāʾ* with the object of combatting the pride of the Arabs and pouring scorn on their claims to noble descent (cf. in particular all the literature inspired by hatred which relates to the *Mathālib al-ʿArab*). At the present day the classical *hidjāʾ* is almost extinct, social conditions having been so largely transformed. Nevertheless it is interesting to inquire to what extent contemporary political or social pamphlets, usually in dialect, reflect the diatribes of olden days.

In the opinion of Goldziher and the Arabists who follow him, the *hidjāʾ* is an incantation which was originally directed against an enemy. Goldziher bases his thesis on imprecations which he collected in documents relating to the Umayyad period.

Now if we examine theses imprecations, it will be found that they come from the *sadjʿ* of the *kāhin*: *a.* as regards form: they are very short rhymed pieces of a stereotyped character and an enigmatic colouring; *b.* as regards their nature: they presume communication with the invisible world and imply recourse to a transcendent power.

On the contrary the *hidjāʾ* is expressed in an



elastic and lucid form; moreover its themes are tangible and natural facts (the elements of dis-honour; cf. the article 'IRP).

Yet, if the *hidjā'* and the *sadj'* are incompatible as regards form and nature, they agree in their function. The object of the *hidjā'* is to run down its victim. It is by the very violence of the insult that the enemy is humiliated, and in this combination of action and reaction there is certainly something of the nature of magic. It is, to sum up, a charm which is launched and which has effect. From this point of view Goldziher is right. In its turn the *kāhim's sadj'* confounds the enemy through the intermediary of an invisible force and it is in this that the magical character of the imprecation lies.

The social function of the *hidjā'* consists in the pain caused by public opinion (= the poet) to one who has violated the laws imposed by honour.

*Bibliography:* The references for this article as well as a detailed bibliography will be found in Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islām*, Paris 1932, p. 10—11, 36—42, 57, 99 (note), 61, 85, 113, 139, 161, 198 sqq., 207, 214—218. — Cf. also Ahlwardt, *Ueber die Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, Gotha 1856, p. 51—52; Goldziher, *Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hidjā'-Poesie*, in *Abh. z. arab. Phil.*, Leyden 1896, i. 1—105; do., *Der Diwān des Garwal b. Aus Al Hulay'a*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. (1892), p. 1—53; Tāhā Ḥusain, *Fi 'l-Adab al-djāhili*, Cairo 1927, p. 122—140, 171—181; 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-Akḥād, *Ibn al-Rūmī*..., Cairo 1932, p. 217—243. — The poetry of the *hidjā'*, the notes or anecdotes relative to it (very numerous) are found scattered in the collections of poetry and in the dictionaries, the Arabic

works on literature (notably *al-Shu'arā' al-naṣrāniya*, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, *Yatīmat al-Dakr*, *Naḥḥ'id*); sometimes they are collected into one chapter.: *Bāb al-Hidjā'* (e.g. *Ḥamāsa*, *'Iqd*, *Naḥḥid a-Shi'r*, *'Umda*, *Mustatraf*).

(BICHR FARÈS)

\***HİKMA.** The following note may be added to the last section of this article. In the older versions of Greek logic (see NAZAR, p. 889, sect. 3) φιλοσοφία was translated by *hikma*; *falsafa* was also in use or came into use alongside of it. It is often used as a synonym, *falsafa* being preferred by the more or less pure Peripatetics, *hikma* by the followers of eclectic wisdom. To the latter belongs the *hikmat al-ishrāk*. That this was also called *hikma mushrikīya* and that Ibn Sīnā wrote a treatise on it is not correct. C. A. Nallino in his article *Filosofia "orientale" od "illuminativa" d'Avicenna* (*R. S. O.*, x., p. 433—467) has shown on sound philosophical foundations that Ibn Sīnā wrote a general work on oriental philosophy — *Hikma mashrikīya* — one part of which, the Logic, was printed in Cairo 1910 as *Mantiḥ al-Mashrikīyīn* (wrongly in the article IBN SĪNĀ [Bibl.]: *al-Mushrikīyīn*). The book is said to have been distinguished in degree only from his other more peripatetic works. The beginning of the article *AL-ISHRĀKĪYŪN* ought therefore to be corrected. These are the followers of the *Hikmat al-Ishrāk* as it was taught by al-Suhrawardī al-Maḥṭūl. Its subject matter is the syncretism, the sources of which are briefly indicated in my article *Philosophy (Muslim)* in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ix. (1917), p. 879, more particularly the extreme metaphysics of light (*ishrāk* = radiation of light). For further details see the article *AL-SUHRĀWARDĪ*; cf. also the articles *NŪR* and *FAIḌ*. (TJ. DE BOER)

## I

'**IBĀDĀT** (A., pl. of *'ibāda*), the ordinances of divine worship. The term *'ibāda* is already found in the *Qur'ān* in this sense (e.g. *Sūra* x. 30; xviii. 110; xix. 66 and *passim*) but is only very rarely applied to the worship of idols (e.g. *Sūra* xix. 85; xlv. 5). — Under this general head is comprised the first part of the works on law in Islām: *ṣaḥāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ṣawm*, *ḥajj* and sometimes also *djihad*. According to al-'Abbādī (*al-Djawhara al-na'iya*, Constantinople 1323, i. 146) the *mashrū'āt* are divided into five groups: 1. the articles of the creed; 2. the *'ibādāt*; 3. the *mu'āmalāt* which include contracts (*mu'āwaḍāt*) between two parties relating to things (*māl*), the laws regulating marriage (*munākaḥāt*), one-sided contracts (*amānāt*) based on confidence, and inheritances; 4. punishments (*uḥūbāt*); 5. expiations (*kaffārāt*). Instead of the last group however, Ibn Nuḍjaim (*al-Baḥr al-rā'iḥ*, i. 7) and Ibn 'Ābidīn (*Radd al-Mukhtār*, i. 58) have the *ādāb*, prescriptions of a moral or ethical nature, which, like the articles of faith in general, are not dealt with in the *Fīḥ* books but in the works on Tradition.

The arrangement in the lawbooks however does not agree with this theoretical division. The groups *'ibādāt*, *mu'āmalāt*, *munākaḥāt*, *djīnāyāt*, *ḥudūd*, and *ḥukūmāt* are from at latest the fifth century fixed terms for definite parts of the lawbooks which are however differently arranged in the various *madḥabs*. Down to the third century these terms were subject to great variations of meaning. Thus in *Ḥadīth* prayer (*du'a'*) is described as "the best *'ibāda*" or "the" *'ibāda* (Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 1) and in older works *ṣawm* and *ḥajj*, which were later added to them, are inserted among other legal matters (for example in al-Shaibānī, *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr* and in the works on Tradition by Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māḍja). The term *mu'āmalāt* has also a very limited meaning in *Ḥadīth* and refers only to buying and selling (*Nasā'i*, *Aimān*, bāb 46, 47). For all details, especially on the influence of Jewish models on the lawbooks among the Hanafis and Hellenistic conceptions among the Shāfi'is, cf. the writer's *Zum Aufbau der islamischen Rechtswerke*, in *Festschrift P. Kahle*, Leyden, 1935, p. 101—118. (HEFFENING)

IBB, the capital of the ḡadā of the same name in the sanḡjaḡ of Ta'izz in the Yemen. Besides the pronunciation with *i* peculiar to the Yemen we also find Abb (in Niebuhr: Aebb). At an earlier period the walled town with a population estimated at 4,000 belonged to the territory of Dhū Djbila. It stands on a hill on the pilgrims' road which runs from Ḥaḡramawt to the Yemen Tihāma or from 'Aden to Ṣan'ā, in a fertile region where cereals and fruit are grown, also coffee, *ḡāt*, indigo and *wars*. In the vicinity there was at one time a silver mine (photographs in the Islām-Stiftung in Leiden).

*Bibliography:* Yākūt, *Muḡdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 78; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen 1772, p. 239; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- u. Reiserouten des Orients* (Abh. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, iii., No. 3, Leipzig 1864), p. 154; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Z.G.E.*, 1902, p. 605; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i., Wien 1922, p. 165, 213, 216, 223, 225, 230, 251 sq.; ii., Brünn 1933, p. 129. (A. GROHMANN)

IBN DĀWŪD, whose full name was ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN (ABĪ SULAIMĀN) DĀWŪD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, a Ṣāḡhiri jurist and celebrated Baḡhdād anthologist and poet (868–909). He was the son and successor of the founder of the Ṣāḡhiri school of law, Dāwūd b. 'Alī (815–883) whose family came from Isfahān. While quite a youth he showed a great bent for literature and fondness for the society of men of letters; he was, for example, friendly with the poet al-Buḡturi, was considerably influenced by his literary mentor Aḡmad b. Yahyā al-Shaibānī (cf. Margoliouth, *Irshād*, i. 4), and when barely 20 (about 890) wrote his *Kitāb al-Zahra*, which secured him a permanent place in Arabic literature.

Later, in his maturity, Ibn Dāwūd (according to Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, viii. 255) composed legal treatises and works, such as the *Kitāb al-Wuṣū'ilā Ma'rifat al-Uṣūl* (details in *Irshād*, vi. 446), *Kitāb al-Indḡār*, *Kitāb al-Fdḡār wa 'l-Idḡār* and also a book of a polemical character entitled *al-Inḡisār*, directed against Muḡammad b. Djarīr (al-Ṣabari; cf. *Irshād*, vi. 452), 'Abd Allāh b. Sharṡhir and 'Isā b. Ibrāḡim al-Darīr.

Until lately we knew very little about the *Kitāb al-Zahra*. The first mention of this book in European literature seems to be the passage in Pascual de Gayangos' *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (based on al-Maḡḡari, London 1840, i. 185) where he quotes the view of Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.] that the *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq* of AbŪ 'Amr Aḡmad b. Faradj was composed in imitation of the *Kitāb al-Zuhur* (The book of flowers) of AbŪ Muḡammad b. Dāwūd, although the number of chapters and verses in the first named work was doubled (i.e. 200 chapters, each with 200 verses). At a later date we are told of this relationship between these two works in Codera and Ribera's edition of the *Buḡhyat al-Multamis* of al-Dabbī (*Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, vol. iii., Madrid 1885, No. 331; cf. now also *Irshād*, ii. 77).

Until recently we were also not even sure of the exact reading of the title of Ibn Dāwūd's book. Barbier de Meynard (*Murūdj*, viii. 255) and Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, i. 520) read the title *Kitāb al-Zohra* (or *al-Zuhra*). Massignon, who may be said to have discovered the book, the substance of which and at a later date extracts from which

he published, preferred the same reading which would mean *Le livre de la planète Venus* (or *Book of Venus*; cf. *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, p. 187). Nevertheless the reading *al-Zahra* is much much more probable and has finally been adopted by Nykl, the first editor of the Arabic text (see *Bibl.*), and by other authorities.

The title therefore means *Book of Flowers* and it is actually an anthology of love-poetry, which in addition to verses, often very good, of Ibn Dāwūd himself contains poetical fragments and verses by over 250 older and contemporary Arab poets (down to ca. 890). Not only well known poets but also unnamed poets were taken into the anthology: it includes a number of poems not found anywhere else. In other respects also Ibn Dāwūd is quite unrestricted in his choice of poems and sometimes criticises them severely and sometimes heaps praise upon them. As a critic of poetry he really has only one important predecessor, namely Ibn Ḳutaiba.

According to the author's original plan, the anthology was to contain 100 chapters each with 100 verses, but according to the unique Cairo Manuscript it is really only half this size, i.e. 50 chapters with about 100 verses each (to be exact 4,928 verses instead of 5,000). Each chapter has a title in the form of a rhymed proverb relating to love, e.g. (in Nykl's translation): *He whose glances are many, his woes last long* (i.); *Reason is love's captive, and desire is the ruler of both* (ii.) etc. (cf. *The Dove's Neck-ring*, p. cv.).

The *Kitāb al-Zahra* as well as verse contains also prose and rhymed prose, in which the author deals with the nature of love, its causes, forms, rules, varieties, conditions and later phases until death. In these prose passages we are also given the views of Plato, Galen etc. on love in addition to of Ibn Dāwūd himself. It is therefore a regular book on love and the earliest that has come down to us (on the other Arab and Persian works on profane and mystic love see R. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi., 1933, p. 84–109). The book is therefore not entirely subjective in character but gives the views of others besides the author, quite in keeping with an anthology. Ibn Dāwūd's prose is not always clear and intelligible but fortunately by far the greater part of the book is in verse.

Although this book is not so naturally and logically arranged as its poetical counterpart *Tawḡ al-Ḥamāma* ("The Dove's Neckring") of Ibn Ḥazm, it deserves consideration not only because all the verses in it deal with one subject, namely love, but it is also valuable for the knowledge it gives us of the views and feelings of a large number of poets on love for a period of three centuries (down to 890) and especially of the views of literary and educated circles in Baḡhdād of that time as the centre of culture of the eastern caliphate. The book is further interesting on account of the frequent echoes of Platonic ideas on love, which are sometimes ascribed direct to Plato and sometimes quoted in the form of 'udḡrī or ideal love.

That the "Book of Flowers" was in its day greatly esteemed by lovers of literature was natural. We have already mentioned that it was directly imitated in the *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq*, but its real value is still more seen in the fact that even the celebrated Ibn Ḥazm was influenced by it in his book on love. Massignon even describes Ibn Dāwūd as the "authentic predecessor" of Ibn Ḳuzmān, the



famous *Zaḍjāl* poet of Cordova (xiith century), but as a result of a full study of the latter's *Cancionero* (Madrid 1933), Nykl thinks this possibility is completely excluded. In Nykl's critical edition the *Kitāb al-Zahra* will not only arouse a new interest in itself but, along with the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*, will serve as a foundation for the study of the origins of the *minnesang* in the East.

**Bibliography:** (in addition to references in the articles): Almost all the details of the life of Ibn Dāwūd come from the history of Baghdad (*Tārīkh Baghdad*) by Khaṭīb (s. v. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī), extracts from which are given by Massignon in his *Recueil de textes inédits* (Paris 1929, p. 239—240), including the famous story of the death of Ibn Dāwūd, the locus classicus for the Zāhiri teaching on *naẓar mubāh* (H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi. 85). — Further: Maṣ'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. viii., Paris 1874, p. 254—256; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth (*G.M.S.*, vi. 1—7), vol. i., ii. and vi.; Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, p. 167—181; A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-ring about love and lovers* by Ibn Ḥazm, transl., Paris 1931; Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Zahrāh* (*The Book of the Flower*), the first half, ed. by A. R. Nykl (in collaboration with Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān), Chicago 1932 (cf. *O.L.Z.*, 1935, col. 47—49). — See also the article 'UDHRI. (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

\***IBN ḤADJAR** al-'ASKALĀNĪ. On MSS. of *Inbā' al-Ghumr* cf. O. Spies, *Beitr. z. arab. Literaturgeschichte*, in *Abh. K.M.*, xix. 3 (Leipzig 1932), p. 85—87. — Of his printed works there are further to be mentioned: *Lisān al-Mizān* (an adaptation of the *Mizān* of al-Dhahabī), Ḥaidarābād 1329—1331; *al-Durar al-kāmina fī 'A'yān al-Mi'a al-thāmina*, Ḥaidarābād 1348—1350; *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisin al-musammā Tārīf Ahl al-Taḍdis bi-Marātib al-Mawṣūfin bi 'l-Tadlīs*, Cairo 1322; *al-Raḥma al-ghaiṭhiya bi 'l-Tardjama al-Laiṭhiya* (biography of al-Laiṭh b. Sa'd), Bulaḳ 1301.

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(C. VAN ARENDONK)

\***IBN ḤADJAR** al-HAITAMĪ. Of his printed works the following may be mentioned: *al-Djawhar al-munazzam fī Ziyārat al-Kabr al-mukarram*, Bulaḳ 1279; Cairo 1309, 1331; *al-Khairāt al-hisān fī Manāqib al-Imām al-a'qam Abū Hanīfa al-Nu'mān*, Cairo 1305, 1326; *al-Nukhab al-djalila fī 'l-Khuṭab al-djāwila*, Cairo 1290, 1310, 1324; *Hāshiya 'alā Idāh al-Imām al-Nawawī fī Manāṣik al-Ḥadīdj*, Cairo 1323, 1329, 1344; *Sharḥ 'alā Mukhtaṣar al-Faḳīh 'Abd Allāh Bā Faḍl al-Ḥaḍramī*, Cairo 1301, 1303, 1349; Bulaḳ 1309.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaikh al-'Aidarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir 'an Akhbār al-Karn al-'ashir*, Cairo 1353, p. 287—292; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo 1350—1351, viii. 370—372; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tālī bi-Maḥāsin man ba'd al-Karn al-sābi'*, Cairo 1348, i. 109; Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-Maṭbū'at*, Cairo 1346, col. 81—84.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

\***IBN ḤAZM**. A very full study of Ibn Ḥazm, his place in his period, his development, his theological and philosophical principles, his works and his school was given by Asín Palacios in the first volume of his analysis and partial translation of the *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī 'l-Milāl wa 'l-Aḥwā'* wa 'l-Niḥāl (*Abenḥázam de Córdoba y su Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*); so far [1935] 5 vols. have appeared, Madrid 1927—1932; cf. do., *El Cordobés Abenḥázam, primer historiador de las ideas religiosas, Discurso de recepción en la Academia de la Historia*, Madrid 1924; *La indiferencia religiosa en la España musulmana*, Spanish transl. of the *Kitāb al-Faṣl*, v. 119—124, in *Cultura Española*, 1907. A chapter from the *Kitāb al-Faṣl* (Cairo 1321, v. 136—140) was translated by E. Bergdolt (*Ibn Ḥazm's Abhandlung über die Farben*, in *Z.S.*, ix., 1933, p. 139—146). A reprint of the *Kitāb al-Faṣl* appeared in Cairo in 1929.

An English translation of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* was made by A. R. Nykl (*A Book containing the Risala known as The Dove's Neckring about Love and Lovers*, Paris 1931), who in the third chapter of his *Introduction* discusses the author and dates the work 1022 (412—413) (p. lvii sq.; cf. Asín Palacios, *Abenḥázam*, i. 77 sq., note 92). The *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* was translated into Russian by M. A. Sallier (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ožerežje Golubki, perewod s arabskogo* M. A. Salje [Sallier] pod redakciej I. Ju. Kračkovskogo, Moscow 1933). On the textual criticism of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* cf. in addition to Goldziher's work mentioned in the article: Brockelmann, in *Lit. Zentralbl.*, 1915, col. 1276, and his *Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung von Ibn Ḥazm's Tauq al-Ḥamāma*, in *Islamica*, v. (1932), p. 462—474; where references are given to the quotations from the work in Ibn Kaiyim al-Djauziya's *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbin wa-Nuḥat al-Mushrikīn*, Damascus 1349; W. Marçais, *Observations sur le texte du "Tauq al-Ḥamāma"*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris 1928, ii. 59—88; Nykl's *Notes* to his transl. (p. 222 sqq.). An edition of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* also appeared in Damascus (1349). Cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften XLII. Zwei naturwissenschaftliche Stellen aus dem Werk von Ibn Ḥazm über die Liebe, über das Sehen und den Magneten*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erlg.*, xlvii. (1915), 93—97.

Two other MSS. of the *Djamharat al-Nasab* (cf. *supra*, ii. 384<sup>b</sup>) are preserved in Bankipore and Rāmpūr (*Cat. of the Arabic and Persian Mss. in the Or. Public Library at Bankipore*, xv. 195—197, N<sup>o</sup>. 1101). Extracts from the Bankipore MS. by S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, Calcutta 1905, p. i.—xxxv; 2nd ed., 1929, p. 319—356.

The ethical treatise *al-Aḥklāk wa 'l-Siyar fī Mudāwāt al-Nufūs* which exists in three divergent printed texts (see also Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-Maṭbū'at*, Cairo 1346 [1928], col. 86) was studied by Asín Palacios and translated into Spanish

(*Los caracteres y la conducta. Tratado de moral práctica por Abenházam de Córdoba*, Madrid 1916; do., *Abenházam*, i. 232 sqq.; do., in *al-Andalus*, ii., 1934, p. 18; do., *La moral gnómica de Abenházam*, in *Cultura Española*, 1909). Cf. on this pamphlet also A. R. Nykl, *Ibn Ḥazm's Treatise on Ethics*, in *A. J. S. L.*, xl. (1923—1924), p. 30—36.

An edition begun in 1345 (1926) (*Maktabat al-Khāndjī*, Cairo) of the *Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* does not seem to have been completed as yet.

The *Masā'il Uṣūl al-Fiḥh* (cf. *supra*, ii. 385<sup>a</sup>, l. 24; l. 27, read: al-Ṣan'ānī, instead of al-Ṣaghānī) consists of a series of passages on the *uṣūl al-fiḥh*, which Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī selected from Ibn Ḥazm's introduction to his *Muḥallā*, providing them with explanations. This writing is also to be found in *Madjmu' Rasā'il fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr wa-Uṣūl al-Fiḥh*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāsimī, Damascus 1331, p. 27—52, and in *Madjmu'at al-Rasā'il al-muniriya* (Cairo 1343—1446), i. 77—99.

An edition of the *Kitāb al-Muḥallā* (cf. vol. ii., p. 384<sup>a</sup>, l. 27) is being published now (1935) in Cairo. See on this work also Asín, *Abenházam* i. 261 sq.

The author of the *Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa'l-Mansūkh*, printed on the margin of some editions of the *Tafsīr al-Djālalain* (cf. ii., p. 385<sup>b</sup>, l. 58), was obviously Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥazm.

To the surviving works of Ibn Ḥazm is to be added a collection of 16 essays of very varying length, which was discovered by H. Ritter in the Arabic ms. N<sup>o</sup>. 2704 of the Fātiḥ Mosque Library (Istanbul). A full account of these writings which consist to some extent of replies and refutations is given by Asín Palacios in his paper *Un códice inexplorado del Cordobés Ibn Ḥazm*, in *al-Andalus*, ii. (1934), p. 1—56. The *Risālat al-Durra fī Taḥkik al-Kalām fī mā yalzamu 'l-Insān fī ṭiḡāduhu* included in these essays (N<sup>o</sup>. 4) might be the *Risālat al-Durra* against which the Qāḍī Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ishbīlī (cf. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam*, i. 303 sq.) later wrote a *Risālat al-Ḥurra*.

Preserved is further *Marātib al-Iḍmā*, cf. the catalogue of Bankipore, xix., N<sup>o</sup>. 1892; cf. Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 485, N<sup>o</sup>. 11747 and *J. A.*, ser. 4, xviii. (1851), p. 500 sqq.

*Bibliography*: Additions: Ṣā'id b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabakāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikh, Bairūt 1912, p. 75—77; Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ishbīlī, *al-'Awāsim min al-Ḳawāsim*, Algiers 1346, i. 85; ii. 67 sqq.; al-Nuwairī, *Historia de los Musulmanes de España y Africa* por en-Nugairī, Texto árabe y trad. española por M. Gaspar Remiro, i., Granada 1917, text, p. 95 sq.; transl. p. 94 sq.; al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-Diānān wa-Ibrat al-Yaḳẓān*, Haidarābād 1337—1340, iii. 79—81; Ing. di Matteo, *Le pretese contraddizioni della S. Scrittura secondo Ibn Ḥazm*, Rome 1923; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábiga-española*, Barcelona 1928, p. 140—157 and *passim*; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed. rev. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden 1932, ii. 326—332 and *passim*. (C. VAN ARENDONK)

\*IBN KHALDŪN. Additions to the *Bibliography*: S. van den Bergh, *Umriss der muḥam-medanischen Wissenschaften nach Ibn Ḥaldūn*, Diss. Freiburg i. B. 1912, Leyden 1912; T. Hussein, *Etude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris (Diss.) 1917; G. Bouthoul,

*Ibn Khaldoun. Sa philosophie sociale*, Paris 1930; N. Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, historian, sociologist and philosopher*, New York 1930; Kamil Ayad, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Ḥaldūns*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1930 (*Forschungen zur Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre*, ed. by Kurt Breysig, Heft 2); E. Rosenthal, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken über den Staat*, Munich and Berlin 1932 (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 25); Sohbi Mahmassani, *Les idées économiques d'Ibn Khaldoun. Essai historique, analytique et critique*, Lyon 1932; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory*, in *B. S. O. S.*, vii. (1933) p. 23—31; Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, *Ibn Khaldūn. Ḥayātuhu wa-Turāthuhu al-fikrī*, Cairo 1352 (1933). (C. VAN ARENDONK)

\*IBN ḲUZMĀN, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD, the celebrated wandering singer of Cordova about whom C. F. Seybold has already collected all the available information (1918) (cf. above ii. 399); he concluded with the hope that his *Dīwān* or *Cancionero* would soon be made accessible in a scholarly edition with translation and notes. This task was undertaken by A. R. Nykl and from his edition of the *Cancionero* and the prologue to it in prose by the author we are able to supplement the biography and to obtain a clear idea of his poetic art and of the possibility in general of a connection between the Muslim poetry of Andalus and the Christian poetry of Provence.

To begin with the life of Ibn Ḳuzmān, it may be asserted with some certainty that he was born between 1078—1080. It does not seem very probable that the last Aftasid of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, who was overthrown by the Almoravids in 1094—1095, could really have employed him as vizier even if we assume that this title then meant no more than councillor, for the poet at this time was at most 14—16 years of age. From his poems however it is evident that he gave himself the title, as was said to be often the custom at this time. In reality from 1095 he was leading the life of a wandering singer in a number of towns in Spain (nevertheless it is said that he never saw the sea) and returning again and again to his beloved Cordova and his friends. With these friends, whom he mentions in his prologue or celebrates as highly educated and critics of poetry, he led a very free, even immoral, life (adultery and pederasty); he was also accused of being a hypocrite in matters of religion, arrested, ill-treated and would have perhaps even been put to death if the judge Seir Aben Muḥammad had not taken his part (N<sup>o</sup>. xli.). Isolated historical references in the poems suggest that the poet led a life of pleasure in the reigns of the three Almoravid rulers under the protection of the wealthy family of the Banū Ḥamdīn and only became a penitent in his 70's and took the post of imām in a mosque (N<sup>o</sup>. cxlvii.). Nevertheless there is in his poems no lack of laments over want of money, hunger, cold, lack of clothes etc. or he praises those who have provided him with these necessities, particularly a certain al-Washkī, to whom he could apply for assistance at any time and to whom he dedicated his book (cf. p. 1<sup>o</sup> of the prologue and p. 342). The other biographical material contained in the manuscripts mentioned by Seybold is to be published in the periodical



*al-Andalus* but enough has been said to make it clear that the life of Ibn Kuzmān in many respects recalls that of Abū Nuwās.

The whole of Ibn Kuzmān's songs have not come down to us but only about three-quarters of them (74 folios of the original 98), in all 149 pieces and fragments. In his prologue the poet gives his book of songs the title *Iṣābat al-Aghrād fī Dhikr al-A'rād* ("The Attainment of Aims in the Mention of the Virtues"). In contrast to the prologue which is written in classical Arabic the surviving poems are in the colloquial Arabic of Spain, although the poet, for metrical reasons, is forced sometimes to use the classical forms. The vernacular of the *Diwān*, interspersed here and there with Romance and Berber words, as well as the unreliability of the text, superficially and arbitrarily vocalised by a Syrian copyist, present many difficulties to its comprehension and translation. Gunzburg's edition (1896) which is only a phototype of the unique Petrograd MS. without any translation or explanatory matter (except the seven pages of preface), simply paid no attention to these difficulties and Nykl was the first to tackle them and did so with great success. He has accurately reproduced the Arabic text of the *Diwān* in a Latin transcription and translated a third (50) of the pieces completely into Spanish and given brief summaries of the substance of the other 99.

As to the matter of these songs the most striking and characteristic feature of them is the almost constant association of at least two themes. Many poems for example begin with a kind of erotic introduction, the so-called *tagħazzul*, which strongly recalls the *naṣīb* of the old Arab *ḥaṣida* and then proceed to the main theme, the panegyric (*madḥ*) of the different personalities. The panegyrics number about 100 (i.e. two thirds of the whole *Diwān*), and fully a fourth of them are devoted to his benefactors al-Waṣḥki and Ibn Ḥamdīn. There are of course, quite in the style of the old Arab *ḥasidas*, also passages in which the poet praises himself (e.g. N<sup>o</sup>. xv.) but particularly his *zādīyals* (N<sup>o</sup>. lxi., lxx., lxxi., cxxxiv.) beyond all measure. What is specially striking in his praise of his patrons is the fact that he usually celebrates their liberality in passionate style and in tones of a boundless sensual love. As this form of paying tribute to a member of a higher social circle was also cultivated in Southern France at the same time, Hell (see *Bibl.*) thinks this is the fundamental fact for the further investigation of the contact between east and west. — Love-poems proper or at least those in which love is the predominant motive are comparatively few in Ibn Kuzmān (barely 30) of which only a third are addressed to women and the others to males. These poems are very far from glorifying ideal love, in one (N<sup>o</sup>. cxliii.) adulterous love is definitely preferred to the love of Dījamīl and 'Urwa b. Ḥizām. — The poet only celebrates wine in a dozen poems, but in one (N<sup>o</sup>. xc.) he expresses the wish to be buried in "a vineyard among the vines" which recalls Abū Miḥdjan (cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 26). Several are devoted to the description of festival and feast days and only one (N<sup>o</sup>. cxlvii.) speaks of the penitence of the now aged poet.

The form of Ibn Kuzmān's poems is the popular *zādīyāl*, a form which unlike classical Arabic poetry prosody does not depend on the principle of quantity but on that of accent and shows a

knowledge of the structure of strophes. These strophes which consist of 4 to 12 lines have different metres in different poems, but in one and the same poem have the same number of lines and are formed symmetrically in each poem with the exception of the so-called *markaz* ("estribillo" or "estrofilla"), a kind of short strophe (usually of 2, in longer strophes of 3 or 4 lines) which introduces all the *zādīyals* and indicates the theme, the metre and the common rhyme (more rarely common rhymes) of each *zādīyāl*. This common rhyme (or rhymes) recurs at the end of each strophe, e.g. in the most frequent quatrains in the difficult rhyme scheme *a a a b, c c c b, d d d b*, etc.; in the longer strophes the play on rhymes is even more complicated. Most of the songs of the Cordovan singer are made up of 5 to 9 of these strophes.

Ibn Kuzmān as the main representative of the *zādīyāl*, which he was the first to raise to a literary level, has a considerable place in Arabic literature and is of importance in the general history of literature in as much as the supporters of the so-called "Arab thesis" (first Ribera and now Nykl) see in his poems examples of the Spanish lyric which either orally or, as Appel holds (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, 1932, p. 788), through their strangely attractive rhythm and melody, influenced in several details especially of form (system of rhyme, number and structure of the strophes) early Provençal and through this European poetry.

*Bibliography*: (in so far as not given in the original article): W. Mulerit's notice of Ribera's *El cancionero de Abencuzman, discurso leído en la Real Academia española*, Madrid 1912, in *Isl.*, xiii. (1923), 170—175; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires 1928, p. 105—112 and 329—336; Ign. Kračkovskij, *Polvčka ispanskoj aravistiki*, in *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov*, iv. (1929), 17—20 and 23—25 (on Ribera's conclusions from the *Diwān* of Ibn Kuzmān); H. A. R. Gibb, in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, p. 189—191 (suggests among other things the possibility of the influence of Spanish Arab poetry on the poetry of the troubadours and regards the popular *zādīyāl*, of which valuable examples are preserved in Ibn Kuzmān's *Diwān*, or the Romance *villancico* which arose out of the *zādīyāl* as the intermediary in the transmission); A. R. Nykl, *El Cancionero del Šeḥ, nobilísimo visir, maravilla del tiempo, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd-al-Malik Aben Guzmān [Ibn Kuzmān]*, Madrid 1933; G. S. Colin's article in *Hesperis*, xvi. (1933), 161—170 (gives some new readings and corrections to Nykl's book); J. Hell's notice of Nykl's edition in *O.L.Z.*, 1935, col. 237—241 (in spite of his admiration for Nykl's achievements, he cannot agree with all his conclusions).

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

**IBN MASARRA.** His life. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra b. Nadījīh was born in Cordova. His biographers tell us little about his teachers and the schools at which he was educated. They confine themselves to showing him in Cordova, his native city, in the year 300 (912) surrounded by a number of disciples; the most intimate lived with him in a hermitage situated on the borders of the Sierra of Cordova of which he was the owner. He led a very retired life there. A very strict rule enjoining secrecy, meticulously observed,

prevented the doctrines professed in this intimate circle from becoming known to the generality. The piety, rigorous asceticism, and the moral virtues of the master and his disciples constituted all that was known outside. Very soon however, people began to form vague ideas of what might be concealed beneath these appearances of religion and orthodoxy. It was said that Ibn Masarra taught the Mu'tazili heresy, which maintained the freedom of the will and saw in this the cause of all our actions: the unlettered mob, unacquainted with these philosophical subtleties, was scandalised to learn that for Ibn Masarra the punishments of hell had no reality; more educated people said that he was only teaching his pupils the pantheistic, indeed almost atheist, philosophy of an old Greek philosopher, Empedocles. This story gained ground and soon the charge of atheism was formulated against him, the consequences of which were serious for the young school. All these rumours led Ibn Masarra to leave Cordova. He made a journey to Africa, visited the native land of the Prophet and the schools he found on his route. The news of the pacification of the country as a result of the accession of 'Abd al-Rahmān III decided him to return home. He resumed teaching but only for a few years. Intense brain work, meditation, study, polemics, and the austerity of his religious life had exhausted his strength and accelerated his death. One Wednesday, after the afternoon *ṣalāt*, he passed away, surrounded by his pupils. He died in the hermitage of the Sierra of Cordova on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Shawwāl 319 (Oct. 20, 931).

Teaching. It is only indirectly that we are able to gather something about his views for not even a fragment of his works exists. Nor do we have the works of those who tried to refute him. Fortunately the Cordovan Ibn Ḥazm and the Toledan Šāfi'd, both very learned and conscientious authors, have preserved in their works the origin and general characteristics of the "Masarri" system. The former tells us what were its philosophical theses and the latter assures us that Ibn Masarra was a passionate defender of the philosophy of Empedocles; not the real Empedocles but the Empedocles of legend, who had been created among the Muslim philosophers of the east. By making use of all the fragments of the apocryphal literature attributed to the philosopher of Agrigentum and preserved by various Arab authors we can reconstruct this system in a fairly complete and coherent form.

I. The metaphysics of the pseudo-Empedocles makes use of several elements of the mechanist physics and of the metaphysics of the true Empedocles, so that this philosopher should give the prestige of his name and of his age to the neo-Platonist pantheism of the *Enneads* associated with the ideas of the Qabbala, gnosticism and the Muslim religion.

II. It follows that these metaphysics have no claim to originality beyond forming a more or less coherent synthesis of teachings of very different origins.

III. In spite of that, this system presents quite a considerable interest for the history of philosophy. It succeeded in producing a theorem of secondary interest to the *Enneads*: the existence of a "spiritual matter" in which every creature participates with the exception of God, and regarded as the first hypostasis of the intelligible world of the

"five substances", viz.: spiritual matter, intellect, the soul, nature and second matter or universal body.

Let us now examine how Ibn Masarra interpreted the metaphysics of the "Pseudo-Empedocles" from the point of view of Muslim theology. Like the former, he admits the Plotinian conception of the One, very simple and unknowable. The successive emanations from this fundamental unity serve to explain the origin and constitution of the universe, according to the following hierarchic order: God is the absolute unity, without attributes or relations, incommunicable and "imparticipable". This God without communication with the created, relies upon prime or spiritual matter through which he manifests himself. From this matter arises the intellect to which God reveals all his knowledge so that in its turn it can communicate it to the universal soul which produces nature; the universal soul and nature produce the universal body. Thus the prime matter, intellect, the universal soul, nature and the universal body constitute the five substances which explain and compose the universe.

In agreement with this cosmological conception, the knowledge and power of God are two temporary and created attributes. God possesses perfect knowledge of universal things. But he only knows particular and contingent things in proportion as they are realised in time; the result of all this is that free will is not subject to divine foreknowledge and that human actions are not the work of divine power but of that of man. For reasons of the same order and under Plotinian influence the "Masarrians" believed that after death souls are not punished with irremediable unhappiness nor rewarded with eternal bliss but they pass through different stages of purification in this material (corporeal) world until they have succeeded in getting rid of their impurities and have returned to the spiritual and supersensible world from which they came. One of the means which Ibn Masarra recommends very specially to attain this purity is the daily special examination of the conscience, an examination which takes the soul to the mystical stations of sincerity and purity of intention in the practice of good works. Lastly Ibn Masarra thought so much of human effort as a means to advance on the way to perfection that he believed man capable of rising alone to the level of the divine and of acquiring as the reward of his own merits, the gift of prophecy and all the graces associated with it.

It will easily be understood that all this teaching forced him to interpret symbolically all the passages in the Qur'ān which, taken literally, would be absolutely contradictory of them.

Ibn Masarra's school. The influence of Ibn Masarra's ideas was so great and the prestige of his personal teaching so far-reaching that his first disciples were easily able to spread them successfully and continually increase the number of his followers in spite of the great authority of their opponents who fought and condemned the teaching of Ibn Masarra in the name of orthodoxy. In spite of the scarcity of documents and information we have indubitable evidence that ardent followers of Ibn Masarra lived in Cordova, Almeria, Jaén, Algarve, etc. They courageously faced the persecutions of the theologians backed by the authority of Almanzor and applauded by the fanatical mob of the old school. In all these towns the works of the master were read and expounded. In some



of them, Almeria for example, a schism arose regarding the interpretation of Ibn Masarra's thought. There was the case of Ismā'il al-Ru'āinī for example, who while following the master's ideas in the metaphysical and theological part of his teaching, departed from it in the moral part by proclaiming the illegality of all ownership and defending free love. These ideas were so contrary to the teaching of the master that many of his pupils left him.

Lastly with Ibn Masarra Sūfism in Spain begins to show signs of collective organization. Following the example of the little community which he organised on the Sierra of Cordova, schools and mystic societies were soon founded under the direction of teachers who were distinguished not only by their austerity and by the innovations which they introduced into pious practices but also by their very extensive knowledge which enabled them to attract the general public as much by the spoken word as by their writings. It was in one of these mystic schools in which "Masarri" theology still predominated that the great theosophist of Murcia, Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, was educated.

(M. ASÍN PALACIOS)

**IBN MISDJAḤ** ABU ʿUTHMĀN SAʿĪD, the greatest musician of the Umayyad period, was a negro *mawlā* of the Banū Djamah born at Mecca about the middle of the viith century and died there ca. 715. During the reign of Muʿāwīya I (661—680) his master, hearing him singing Arabic verses to Persian melodies, set him free. Ibn Misdjah had picked up these tunes from the Persian builders who were at that time working in Mecca. Wishing to learn more of music he went to Syria (Rūm) and received instruction from barbiton players (*barbaṭīya*; cf. Cairo ed. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 276) and theorists (*ustūkhūsiya*). From there he went to Persia where he learned the music (*ghināʾ*) and the art of accompaniment (*qarb*) of that country. Returning to the Hīdžāz he introduced much of what he had learned abroad into Arabian music. His popularity as a musician soon spread, a circumstance which led the stricter Muslims to charge him before Dahmān al-Ashkar, the governor of Mecca, with seducing the faithful by means of music. The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (684—705) ordered Ibn Misdjah to be sent to him at Damascus. Before the caliph he sang a *ḥudāʾ* (caravan song), a *ghināʾ al-rukbān* and a *ghināʾ al-mutkan* (artistic song) which brought him the pardon of, and a present from the "Commander of the Faithful".

Ibn Misdjah is considered to be "the first in the art of music (*ghināʾ*)" among the musicians of the early days, and is classed among the "four great singers". It is also said that he was the first to sing Persian melodies to Arabic verse. Among his pupils were Ibn Muḥriz, Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], al-Gharidj [q. v.] and Yūnus al-Kātib [q. v.]. With Ibn Muḥriz he may be claimed as one of the founders of the Old Arabian School [see MŪSĪKĪ].

*Bibliography*: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāq, iii. 84—88; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques sur les principaux musiciens arabes*, in *J.A.*, 1873, p. 569; Kosegarten, *Liber cantilenarum* . . . ., p. 9; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥaḍjdjādī, *al-Mūsīkī al-sharḳīya*, Cairo 1924, p. 18; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 69—71, 77—78; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London 1930, see index;

Land, *Remarks on the Earliest Development of Arabic Music*, in *Trans. ixth Congress of Orientalists*, London 1893; do., *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, in *Actes du Sixième Congrès Inter. des Orientalistes*, Leyden 1883, p. 45.

(H. G. FARMER)

**IBN AL-NAFIS**, ʿALĀʾ AL-DIN ABU ʿL-ʿALĀʾ ʿALĪ B. ABI ʿL-ḤAZM AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-DIMASHQĪ (al-Ḥaram and al-Ḳarshī are misreadings), an Arab physician of the viith (xiiiith) century. Except the date of his death, very few facts of his life have been recorded, as Ibn Abi Uṣaibʿa, although his contemporary, does not mention Ibn al-Nafis in his history of physicians. Born about 607 (1210) in Damascus, Ibn al-Nafis studied medicine there in the hospital founded by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zankī [q. v.] in the viith (xiiith) century (al-Bimāristān al-Nūrī). His first teacher was Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahīm b. ʿAlī known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628 = 1230) who came from the school of Ibn al-Tilmīdh which had been transplanted from Baghdād to Syria and had trained a large number of students. Besides medicine, Ibn al-Nafis studied grammar, logic and jurisprudence. He became a well known authority on Shāfiʿi law. Later he moved to Cairo where he was given the post of chief of the physicians of Egypt (*raʾīs aṭibbāʾ Miṣr*), probably worked at the Nāṣirī hospital and trained a number of pupils. The best known among them was Ibn al-Ḳuff, author of a work on surgery [see AL-DJARRĀḤ]. He lectured on law at the Masrūrīya school in Cairo. He was a distinguished authority on the Arabic language, highly esteemed by his contemporary Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Nahḥās. He died in Cairo on the 21st Dhu ʿl-Ḳaʿda 687 (Dec. 18, 1288) at the age of about 80 (lunar years) and bequeathed his house and his library to the Maṣṣūrī hospital founded by Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn, only recently finished (683 = 1284).

The literary activity of Ibn al-Nafis was very important. He was mainly a commentator but one of independent mind and very extensive knowledge. He is said to have written down most of his works out of his head without reference to books. His largest medical work, the *Kitāb al-Shāmīl fī ʿl-Ṭibb*, which was to fill 300 volumes, remained unfinished. Nothing of it has survived. A very important work on diseases of the eye (*Kitāb al-Muḥadhdhab fī ʿl-Kuḥl*) is in the Vatican (Arabo, N<sup>o</sup>. 307). The most widely disseminated of his works is however his version (*mudjiz*) of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] abbreviated for practical purposes (first printed 1828). Numerous commentaries and super-commentaries on this book were composed in the course of centuries (see *Bibl.* under Sarton) and were eagerly studied by Indian physicians until quite recently. Among his commentaries first mention must be made of a commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates much used in the east and widely disseminated in MSS., printed in Persia in 1298 (1881). There is a commentary on the Epidemics of Hippocrates in Istanbul (Aya Sofya, N<sup>o</sup>. 3642<sup>a</sup>). A whole series of large commentaries on the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā are preserved (chiefly in the British Museum). A commentary on the *Masʿūl fī ʿl-Ṭibb* of Ḥunain b. Ishāḳ [q. v.] exists in the Leyden MS., N<sup>o</sup>. 1296. Of the theological works of Ibn al-Nafis there survives a biography of the Prophet (*al-Risāla al-kāmiliya fī ʿl-Sira al-nabawiya*) in the Cairo Library as well as a work on the methodology of

tradition (*Mukhtaṣar fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Hadīth*). A theological pamphlet *Faḍīl Ibn Nāṭiq* directed against Ibn Sīnā's *Ḥayī Ibn Yaqṣān* is preserved in Istanbul (communicated by H. Ritter). In law Ibn Nafis wrote a commentary on the *Tanbīh* of Shīrāzī [q. v.]; this work does not seem to have survived. In philosophy Ibn al-Nafis is said to have written a commentary on the *Ishārāt* and another on the *Hidāya fī 'l-Hikma* of Ibn Sīnā but neither of these has come down to us.

Recently a young Egyptian physician has discovered that Ibn al-Nafis in his commentary on the *Anatomy* of Ibn Sīnā (*Sharḥ Tashrīḥ Ibn Sīnā*, existing only in MSS.), in striking contrast to Ibn Sīnā and Galen, described the lesser or pulmonary circulation almost correctly nearly three centuries before the European discoverers of it, Miguel Serveto (1556) and Realdo Colombo (1559). Ibn al-Nafis' discovery was however not known in Europe as only a single commentary by him seems to have been translated into Latin.

**Bibliography:** al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (MS. Cairo, *Ta'rikh*, No. 42, vol. 22); al-'Umari, *Masālik al-Abyār* (MS. Cairo, *Mim Ta'rikh*, No. 99, vol. 7); al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wafī bi 'l-Wafayāt* (MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 6587, fol. 20v-21v); al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īya*, Cairo 1324, vol. v., p. 129; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, p. 146; L. Leclerc, *Hist. de la médec. arabe*, Paris 1876, ii. 207-209; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 493; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, Baltimore 1931, ii. 1099-1101 (considerable bibliography!); Mohyī el Din el Tatawī, *Der Lungenkreislauf nach el-Korāschī*, Freiburg i. B. (Diss.) 1924 (only reproduced in five MS. copies!); M. Meyerhof, *Ibn an-Nafis und seine Theorie des Lungenkreislaufs, in Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Med.*, iv., Berlin 1933, p. 37-88; do., *Ibn al-Nafis and his Theory of the Lesser Circulation, in Isis*, xxii., Brügge 1935. (MAX MEYERHOF)

**IBN AL-RĀWANDĪ** or AL-RĒWENDĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAIN B. YAḤYĀ B. IṢḤĀK, ex-Mu'tazilī and heretic, born at the beginning of the third century A. H. The date of his death is variously given in the sources. According to some (notably Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii. 237) he died in the middle of the third century, aged 36 or 40; according to others he lived to the end of the century. The first statement seems to be the more probable.

At the beginning of his literary career, Ibn al-Rāwandī was a follower of the Mu'tazilī school. Several fragments of his Mu'tazilī writings preserved in the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmīyīn* of Aṣḥ'arī reveal the vigour and originality of his thought. This school was however too narrow for the ambitious young man. Excluded from it he never ceased to attack his former colleagues. At first he took up the Shī'a and became one of its leading theologians. Later under the influence of the heretic Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk [q. v.], he became a free thinker and wrote his heretical works in which he attacked Islām and all revealed religions.

Of his works we possess: 1. the *Kitāb faḍīḥat al-Mu'tazila* which is preserved almost in its entirety in the *Kitāb al-intiṣār* of Khayyāt. It is a reply to a defence of the school (*Faḍīlat al-Mu'tazila*) by Djāḥiḡ. In it Ibn al-Rāwandī passes in review all the past teachers of the Mu'tazila, calls attention to contradictions in their views and

taxes them with heresy. The second part of the book is an *apologia* for the Shī'a. 2. Many fragments of the *Kitāb al-Dāmīgh*, preserved in the *Muntaḡam fī 'l-ta'rikh* of Ibn al-Djāwzī. In it, Ibn Rāwandī attacks various passages in the Qur'ān. 3. The *Kitāb al-Zumurrudh*, fragments of which survive in the *Maḳālīs* of the Ismā'īlī al-Mu'ayyad fī 'l-Dīn [q. v.]. In this book Ibn al-Rāwandī submits to a mordant criticism the idea of prophecy in general and the prophecy of Muḥammad in particular. According to him, religious dogmas cannot be accepted by the reason and ought therefore to be rejected. The miracles attributed to the prophets are pure inventions. The Qur'ān is not a revealed book at all and does not possess either lucidity or inimitable beauty. The prophets may be likened to sorcerers and magicians. To conceal his irreligion, Ibn al-Rāwandī puts all his theses in the mouths of Brahmans. The majority of later writers nevertheless thought the *Kitāb al-Zumurrudh* an important source for the authentic teaching of the Brahmans.

A whole generation of Muslim theologians set themselves to refute the grave charges of Ibn al-Rāwandī, among them Khayyāt, Djubbā'ī, Abū Ḥāshim, Aṣḥ'arī, Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī and others.

**Bibliography:** H. S. Nyberg, Introduction to the edition of the *Kitāb al-intiṣār* of Khayyāt, Cairo 1925; I. Krakovskij, *Un document oublié sur les œuvres d'Ibn ar-Rawandī*, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences de U. R. S. S.*, 1926 B, p. 71-74; H. Ritter, *Philologika VI*, *Isl.* xix., 1 sqq.; P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, *R. S. O.*, xiv. 93-129, 335-379, where are mentioned (notably p. 371 sqq.) other sources and works on Ibn al-Rāwandī. Cf. also M. Guidi, *R. S. O.*, xiv. 315 sqq. (P. KRAUS)

**IBN AL-TILMĪDH**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABI 'L-'ALĀ 'S-ḤADĪD B. IBRĀHĪM, with the titles of honour Muwaffiq al-Mulk and Amīn al-Dawla, widely known under the last name, a Christian Arab physician of Baghdād, where he was born in the second half of the fifth (xith) century, the son of a prominent physician. He completed his education in several branches of knowledge on long sojourns in Persia and then settled in Baghdād as successor to his father. He must have been highly gifted, with a remarkable knowledge of the Arabic language, as well as of Syriac and Persian, a poet and a musician and also a calligrapher. He was also learned in Christian theology and obviously also in the Muslim religion, as he wrote upon medicine in the *Aḥādīth*: he is said to have been a priest and was leader of the Christian community in Baghdād. As a physician he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and successors e.g. 'Abd al-Laṭīf [q. v.]. He enjoyed the favour of the caliphs al-Muḳtafi, al-Mustandjīd and al-Mustaḍī [q. v.] and till his death was Christian supervisor (*sā'ūr*, a Syriac title) of the famous great hospital founded in the capital by 'Aḳud al-Dawla. Al-Mustaḍī appointed him dean of the medical faculty and as such he was entrusted with the examination of the physicians of Baghdād and vicinity. Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a relates an amusing scene from one of these examinations (i. 261). Ibn al-Tilmīdh died on Rabī' I 28 560 (Febr. 12, 1165) at the age of 95 lunar years (= 92 solar years) and left his son a considerable fortune and a large library, the latter of which passed to the city on his death. As is clear from several references in the Arab historians, Ibn al-Tilmīdh had studied



the works of the Greek physicians and also the great *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] and made them the foundations of his instruction in the theory of medicine. He trained a number of important pupils (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḳhair al-Masīḥī, Raḡī al-Dīn al-Raḡbī, Muwaffīḳ al-Dīn b. al-Maṭrān, etc.) most of whom later migrated from the 'Irāḳ to Syria and Egypt and founded new schools there, from which the revival of the study of medicine in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century in these lands dates [see the article IBN AL-NAFĪS]. Ibn al-Tilmīdh left a number of medical works but these have little originality. They are mainly commentaries on and synopses of writings belonging to the Hippocratic *Corpus* and of Galen, as well as works of Ibn Sīnā, Rāzī, Ḥunain and other Christian physicians. His pharmacological works were however much quoted in later times, especially an *Aḳrābādḥīn* (Pharmacopœia) and two abbreviated versions of it for use in hospitals. They replaced in the 'Aḡdī hospital the pharmacopœia of Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255 = 869) hitherto used there. These writings and a few others (a treatise on bleeding and a practical handbook of medicine) have survived in manuscript (cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*). So far none of them have been printed.

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 340; Ibn Abi Usaib'a, i. 259—267; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte*, p. 97; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (1876), ii. 24—7; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 487; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore 1931, ii. 234.

(MAX MEYERHOF)

'ILLA. [See SABAB.]

'IRD, a term, from the very first ambiguous and vague, like so many other Arabic terms [cf. MURŪ'A]. Ibn Kutaiba thought to see in it a synonym of "body". Al-Ḳālī rightly challenged this view (*Amālī*, Cairo 1323, i. 118). Setting aside its material meanings ("strong army, valley covered with palm-trees" etc.: especially *T.A.*, v. 45), 'ird would mean the distinction of one's ancestors (*ḥasab*), good character (*al-ḳhalīḳa al-maḥmūda*) or the soul (*nafs*). Now the expression "to insult a man's 'ird" (*shatama* and its synonyms) is very frequent. But one can insult neither the soul considered as a metaphysical entity nor good character: the latter claiming exclusively praise *ipso facto* and the former being outside the world of phenomena. As to identifying *ḥasab* with 'ird nothing seems more accurate. Nevertheless 'ird is more than *ḥasab*, the latter being only one of its manifestations (*Lisān al-'Arab*, ix. 32, 629).

'IRD, if we take texts of the pre-Islāmic period and the first century A. H., corresponds to the idea of honour as generally understood. If we consider the etymology of the word this view gains conviction: 'arḍ means breadth. The majority of the derivatives from the root, like the verbs *i'taraḍa* and *ta'arraḍa* (*lahū*), clearly imply the idea of something laid across; and there are others which convey the idea of barrier like the word *'arḍ* (a cloud which obstructs the horizon). 'IRD from its etymology seems to be a partition which separates its possessor from the rest of mankind. This partition is certainly fragile since it is easily destroyed. The very common expression *hataka 'irḍahu* is evidence of this: the *hatak* consists in tearing a veil to reveal what is behind it. Moreover the derivative *ḥaṭṭa* signifies dishonour (*T.A.*, vii. 193). From this it follows that 'ird is a kind of barrier which

shelters the individual or the group from attacks from outside; if lowered, this barrier opens the way to anything that might cause dishonour; i. e. insult (and especially the *hiḍā'* [q. v.]).

Indeed when the Arabs said: "So and so's 'ird is safe" they meant by this that he was safe from any insult (*L.A.*; *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*; *T.A.*, art. 'irḍ; *Amālī*, i. 118); and when they wished to attack some one's honour they heaped abuse upon him (*L.A.*; *al-Miṣbāḥ*, art. 'ar). This is why 'ird and insult were closely connected.

The elements of 'ird may be classed under three heads: the group, the family and the individual. Under the head of the group come the number, the poet and the orator, the victories and independence; under the head of the family: the sons; of the individual: the group. Other elements like rebellion, courage, liberty, vendetta, chastity of the wife, liberality, faithfulness to one's word, the non-captivity of the free woman, *ḥasab*, protection, hospitality, invulnerability of the abode belong sometimes to the group and the individual, sometimes to the family and the individual, sometimes to the group, family and individual.

We find the explanation of 'ird in the warlike life led by the ancient Arabs. Indeed any sign of failure in fighting or of loss of independence humiliated the Arab and dishonoured him. Now humiliation (*dhilla*) is the opposite of power (*'izza*) simply because it implies weakness; hence weakness is the condition of dishonour, while power is the foundation of honour or 'ird. In other words, everything that contributes to power is an element of honour while all that causes weakness is an element of dishonour. It is evident then that 'ird was in its origin associated with fighting.

'IRD moreover has an important social function; the religion of the ancient Arabs was weak, ineffective and in no way of universal application. On the other hand, 'ird was intense and of momentous importance; besides, it was the guiding motive in the acts and deeds of all the Arabs except those of the Yaman. This is how 'ird took the place of religion at the gatherings held for contests of honour called *mufāḳḳharāt* and *munāḳarāt*, to keep alive among the Arabs that state of intense social life in which their feelings underwent a transfiguration [cf. MUFĀḲHARA]. 'IRD, on account of its sacred nature, was entitled to take the place of religion; the Arab put it in the highest place and defended it arms in hand.

The consequences to be drawn from the above are the following: Being subjected in their everyday life to the controlling influence of an ethical principle, namely honour ('ird), the Arabs were not an anarchical or primitive people nor one at heart materialist; on the contrary, 'ird, regarded as an ethical principle was found to be at the root of various aspects of the moral life, of manners and even of social institutions. It was at the basis of the social hierarchy; the poet, the orator, and, in a certain sense, the *saiyid*, were considered with a special respect. Man was superior to woman, the *sharīf* to the *waḍī'* etc.

The 'ird which we have analysed refers to the *ḍjāhiliya*. Islām however maintained many of its elements which found a place in it in the form of obligations; protection, largesse, courage etc. form part of Muslim practice. These elements lost their original character: they are no longer capable of being the cause of boastfulness (Islām opposing

*taḳwā* to *ḥamīya*); they are rather connected with religion or with a moral principle emanating from religion. Other elements have been rejected by Islām (like *ḥasab* and *sharaf*) because they were incompatible with its spirit. Some of them, on the other hand, still survive and sometimes are intensified. Among the modern Beduins we still find ‘ird with all its pre-Islāmic force (the *ḥuḳūḳ* of the Arabs of Transjordan and Moab).

At a later date these elements underwent more than one transformation or even became extinct, especially in the cities. Yet the use of the term ‘ird in its traditional sense, though less rich in meaning, has continued, keeping its sacred character and its relation with insult (cf. *Djamhara*, Būlāk, p. 166; *Aghānī*, xi. 49; Ibn al-Muḳaffa’, *al-Adab al-Kabīr*, ed. Aḥmād Zakī Paṣḥa, Alexandrie 1912, p. 42; Ibn Kūtaiba, *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925, i. 293; al-Tha‘alibī, *Min‘āt al-Murū‘āt*, Cairo 1898, p. 22, 31; *Dirwān* of Abū Tammām, Cairo 1875, p. 93; of al-Buḥturī, Bairūt 1911, p. 441, 442, 449, 652; of al-Mutanabbī, ed. Dieterici, 416; of Miḥyār al-Dailāmī, Cairo 1929, ii. 4). It may be observed that its place has been partly taken by the term *sharaf* [cf. SHARIF], which has received the simple meaning of honour, without the complicated shades the *‘ajābiliya* attached to this idea (Ya‘kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 314; *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār*, i. 246; al-Mutanabbī, *Dirwān*, p. 342; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Bairūt 1900, p. 396; cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, ed. Zakī Muḥārak, i. 135 and the lexicons).

At the present day, the meaning of the word ‘ird has become restricted; in Transjordan it is associated with the virtue of a woman or even with her beauty (Salmān, *Cinq ans en Transjordanie*, [Arabic text] Ḥarīṣa [Lebanon] 1929, p. 144). In Egypt the ‘ird of a man depends on his wife’s reputation and that of all his female relatives. In Syria the reputation of every member of a tribe reflects on a man’s ‘ird (Daghestānī, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932, p. 63 sqq.).

It is the word *sharaf* that is now used in Transjordan (Salmān, p. 107), Naḡd (Rihānī, *Mulūḳ al-‘Arab*, p. 41, 60), in Egypt and in Syria, to mean honour. In Algeria the word *nif* or *ḥurma* is used (Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie*, Paris 1929, p. 21 sq.).

*Bibliography*: cf. B. Farès, *L’honneur chez les Arabes avant l’Islām*, Paris 1932.

(BICHR FARÈS)

**ISHĀK AL-MAWṢILĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ISHĀK B. IBRĀHĪM B. MAHĀN (MAIMŪN) B. BAHMĀN, the greatest musician of the early ‘Ab-bāsīd period, was the son of a celebrated musician [see IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ]. He was born at al-Raiy in 150 (767) and died at Baghdād in Ramaḍān 235 (850; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 78, 84). He was of aristocratic Persian descent, although his father was born and educated at al-Kufa among the Banū Tamīm (or Banū Dārim; cf. *Fihrist*). Ishāk was given a splendid education, studying the traditions under Hushaim b. Bushair, the Qur’ān under al-Kisā’ī [q. v.] and al-Farrā’, *belles-lettres* under al-Aṣma’ī [q. v.] and Abū ‘Ubaida al-Muḥannā [q. v.], and music under his uncle Zalzal [q. v.], ‘Atika bint Shuhda, and his father. Ishāk’s first patrons were Hārūn al-Rashīd [q. v.] and Yahyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī and his sons. The latter bought the young *virtuoso* a house and presented him with 100,000 *dirham* to furnish it.

When Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī was appointed governor of Khurāsān (794–795) he gave Ishāk a thousand *dīnār* for a verse which the latter had composed on the occasion. The bounty of the caliphs and the aristocracy continued to be showered on Ishāk who, like his father, soon became extremely rich. Yet he was liberal with his wealth and among his pensioners was Ibn al-‘Arabī, the lexicographer [q. v.]. When his father died he came to be looked upon as the first musician of the day, and the caliphs, al-Amīn, al-Ma’mūn, al-Mu’taṣim, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, conferred manifold praises and honours upon him. Al-Ma’mūn said that if Ishāk had not been so well known as a musician he would have appointed him a *ḫāḍī*. At the court receptions Ishāk was permitted to take his stand among the savants and literary men, and was allowed to wear the robes reserved for legists. Al-Wāthiq said that whenever Ishāk sang to him he felt that his possessions had been increased. When this great musician died al-Mutawakkil cried: “With the death of Ishāk my Empire is deprived of an ornament and a glory”.

As an all-round musician, Ishāk stands pre-eminent in the annals of Arabian music. Although his voice, by general consent, was not so good in quality as one or two of his contemporaries, yet his superb artistry carried all before it. One critic placed him, in rank of merit, between Ibn Suraidj [q. v.] and Ma’bad [q. v.]. He is said to have been the first to use the *falsestto* (*takhnith*). As a performer on the ‘ūd (lute) he stood unrivalled, and many a *tour de force* as a lutenist is told in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. In composition he was original. In all his music he began on a high and forte note. As a result he was nicknamed *al-Malsūn* (“stung by a scorpion”). In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* we have this tribute to his genius: “Ishāk was the most learned of the people of his time in music and the most accomplished of them in all its branches”. Although he was not a scientific theorist in music like al-Kindī [q. v.] and others who had the benefit of the translations from Greek writers, yet he was able to reduce the Old Arabian School of music theory and practice [see MŪ-ḲI], which was in danger of becoming lost, into a definite system. This was perhaps his greatest contribution to the art.

Ishāk also won appreciation for his work as a poet, philologist, jurisconsult, and author, whilst his name has become popular through the *Alf Laila wa-Laila*. The *Fihrist* enumerates nearly forty works from his pen. Most of these are on music or musicians, notably his *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* (Grand Book of Songs), but others, such as the *Kitāb Akhḥār Dhi ‘l-Rumma* (Stories of Dhu ‘l-Rumma), the *Kitāb Diawāhir al-Kalām* (The Pearls of Speech), the *Kitāb Tafḍīl al-Shīr* (The Pre-eminence of Poetry), and the *Kitāb Ma-wārith al-Ḥikma* (The Inheritance of the Wise), reveal his wide interests. The *Fihrist* describes Ishāk as “a recorder of poetry and antiquities... a poet, and versatile in the sciences”. His library, one of the largest in Baghdād, was especially rich in Arabic lexicography. Among his pupils were Ibn Khurdādhbih [q. v.], Ziryāb [q. v.] and ‘Amr b. Bāna. His biography was written by his son Ḥammād, himself a learned traditionist and author (*Fihrist*, p. 142–143).

*Bibliography*: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāk, v.



52-131; *al-Fihrist*, Leipzig 1871-1872, p. 141-143; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ikd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, iii. 188; al-Nuwairī, *Nihayat al-Arab*, v. 1-9; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques sur les principaux musiciens arabes*, in *J. A.*, 1873, p. 569; Ahlwardt, *Abū Nowās*, p. 13-19; Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrahim, fils de Mehdī*, in *J. A.*, 1869, p. 201 sqq.; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥadjdādī, *al-Musīkī al-sharīkiya*, Cairo 1924, p. 25 sqq.; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 124 sqq.; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London 1930, p. 247 sqq. and index. (H. G. FARMER)

\*ISHRĀKĪYŪN. In his article *Filosofia "orientale" od "illuminativa" d'Avicenna* (*R. S. O.*, x, 1925, p. 433-467) C. A. Nallino has shown that Ibn Sīnā wrote a general work of a philosophical nature on the wisdom of the east — *Hikma mashrikiya* — of which one portion, the *Logic*, was printed in Cairo 1910 as *Mantiq al-Mashrikiyin* (wrongly given in the article IBN SĪNĀ in the *Bibl.*, as *al-Mushrikiyin*). The work is said to differ in degree from his other more peripatetic works. The so-called *Hikma mushrikiya* = *Hikmat al-Ishrāk* therefore does not exist [see \*HIKMA]. The beginning of the article AL-ISHRĀKĪYŪN ought therefore to be emended as follows: i. e. the followers of the *Hikmat al-Ishrāk*, as it was taught by Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). The matter is the syncretic wisdom of Hellenism (especially the extreme metaphysics of the radiation of light, *ishrāk*) who . . . etc. — Cf. also the articles AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, NŪR and FAID.

(T. DE BOER)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. SUBUKTIGĪN. Ismā'īl was a younger son of Subuktigīn, Amīr of Ghazna, by a daughter of Alptigīn. On his death-bed in Sha'bān 387 (August 997), Subuktigīn nominated him as his successor and made all his nobles swear allegiance to him. Ismā'īl ascended the throne at Balkh. His elder brother Maḥmūd [q. v.] who was *ṣāhib-i dīsh-i Khurāsān* (Commander of the troops of Khurāsān) on behalf of the Sāmānid ruler of Bukhārā, tried to come to an understanding with him, and offered to deliver to him the province of Balkh or Khurāsān in exchange for Ghazna, but on the refusal of Ismā'īl, he marched to Ghazna. Ismā'īl met him on the plain of Ghazna in Rabī' I, 388 (March 998), but was defeated and forced to surrender. His rule had lasted only 7 months. Maḥmūd treated him with great indulgence. Shortly after this, Ismā'īl formed a plot against the life of Maḥmūd. The plot was discovered and Ismā'īl was sent for safe custody to Džūzdjānān where he ended his days in peace. Ismā'īl was a weak-minded person, with a literary bent of mind. He was the author of several short treatises and poems in Arabic and Persian. He was a devout Muslim and during the short period of his rule, he is said to have followed the practice of the Orthodox Caliphs in leading the Friday prayer.

*Bibliography*: al-Uṭbī, *Tārikh-i Yamīnī*, Lahore, p. 110-118; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 103-105; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*G. M. S.*), *Tārikh-i Guzīda*, p. 393, and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'*, (Nawal Kishore Press), iv., p. 733-734.

(MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

ISMĀ'ĪLIYA. The Ismā'ilīs form a sect of Islām, a branch of the Shī'ites [q. v.], and are subdivided into several subsets, some of which differ widely one from the other in their tenets.

In historical works of different periods they are referred to under different names: the earliest (iii<sup>th</sup>-v<sup>th</sup> = ix<sup>th</sup>-x<sup>th</sup> century) is the Ḳarāmiṭa (wrongly); Bāṭiniya (iv<sup>th</sup> = x<sup>th</sup> century and later, in Arab works); Sab'iya; Ta'limiya; Malāhida (abusive term, Persian works, with = xi<sup>th</sup> century and later), etc. Nowadays in Persia — Murīdān-i Āghā Khān-i Maḥallātī; in Central Asia — Mullā'i or Mawlā'i; in India — Khōdjas (Nizāris), and Bohoras or Bohras (Mustā'lians), etc.

1. History of the movement. Officially the Ismā'iliya came into existence as a separate branch of the Shī'ites on the death of Ismā'il, son of Imām Dja'far al-Sādiq [q. v.], not long before 148 (765). They refused to recognise the new nominee, the brother of Ismā'il, Mūsā Kāzim, but transferred their allegiance the son and heir of the former, Muḥammad, with his successors. Nothing authentic is known about the history of the sect for about 150 years, till the end of the iii<sup>rd</sup> (ix<sup>th</sup>) century. Even the names of the Imāms, successors of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, and their sequence, are doubtful. The Fātimid version is: 'Abd Allāh, Aḥmad, Ḥusain. Persian Nizāri version: Aḥmad, Muḥammad, Aḥmad. Indian Nizāri version: Aḥmad, Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh. Druze version: Ismā'il II, Muḥammad, Aḥmad, 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad, Ḥusain, and Aḥmad (thus seven instead of three).

Before the Ismā'ilīs come openly upon the historical stage, there appears, in the second half of the iii<sup>rd</sup> (ix<sup>th</sup>) century, in southern Mesopotamia, the sect of the Ḳarāmiṭa or Ḳarmatians [q. v.], who were often, intentionally or not, confounded with the Ismā'ilīs. As the former by their depredations made themselves hateful to all Islāmic nations, such confusion greatly prejudiced the cause of the Fātimids. The real tenets of the religion of the Ḳarmatians, and the nature of their relations with the Ismā'ili Imāms still remain quite obscure. It is an indisputable fact, however, that during the whole course of their short history they preserve a hostile attitude towards the Ismā'ilīs; the latter also regard them as their bitter enemies.

Usually the organisation both of the Ḳarmatians, and of the Ismā'ilīs who are confounded with the former, is attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn al-Qaddāh. The original Ismā'ili literature and tradition preserves almost no memory of him. Only the late *Zahr al-Ma'āni* (ix<sup>th</sup> = xv<sup>th</sup> century) regards him as a descendant of Salmān Fārist [q. v.], and an associate of two (earlier) concealed Imāms. None of his works, even if they existed, are preserved or referred to in the classic Ismā'ili literature, as I was told by some learned Ismā'ilīs. Such silence may have different explanations, indeed, but scarcely bears out the assertion that he was the real founder of the sect, as the legend states.

In any case the sect of the Ismā'ilīs was already well organised towards the end of the iii<sup>rd</sup> (ix<sup>th</sup>) century, and had strong roots in Persia, the Yaman and Syria, rapidly spreading in Northern Africa. The history of al-Mahdī, and of other Fātimid caliphs (see under their names) is well known. Intense propaganda was carried on through the iv<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century, and by the middle of the v<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century Ismā'ilism was strong from the Atlantic to the remote Eastern corners of the Islāmic world, Transoxiana, Badakhshān and India. It was especially strong in Persia: Caspian provinces, Ādharbāidjān, Raiy, Kūmis, Iṣfahān, Fārs, Khuzistān,

Kirmān, Kurdistān, Khurāsān, with Ṭabas and Turshiz, Kūhistān, Ghazna, Badakhshān, and Transoxiana had important centres of propaganda. Persia produced the leading Ismāʿīlī philosophers, the real founders of their doctrine, such as Abu Yaʿqūb Siḍjistānī (d. ca. 331 = 942), Abū Ḥātim Rāzī (d. about the same time), Ḥamid al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. ca. 410 = 1019), and al-Muʿaiyad Shīrāzī (d. 470 = 1077). Nāṣir-i Khusrāw and Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ may also be added to this group.

Everywhere Ismāʿīlism was persecuted as a dangerous political movement, but the causes of its rapid decline after an astounding success did not lie in this. Most dangerous were the schisms which took place in the sacerdotal class, and even in the families of the Imāms themselves. The first serious split, which had only local importance, was that of the Ḥākimiya, i. e. Druzes [q. v.], who did not believe in the death of al-Ḥākim (411 = 1021), but expected his return. The next split, of Nizāris, was a catastrophe. On the death of al-Mustansir [q. v.], on the 18th Dhu 'l-Hijja 487 (Dec. 29, 1094), his elder son Nizār was dispossessed of the throne by his brother al-Mustaʿlī [q. v.], with the help of the Commander-in-Chief. The attitude of the Ismāʿīlī circles of Egypt was rather apathetic, Nizār could not find sufficient support, was captured, and murdered (together with his son) in the prison by the orders of his brother. The news created enormous indignation in Syria and all over the East, and a great majority seceded, preserving their allegiance to the first naṣṣ.

Similar indifference reigned amongst the Egyptian Ismāʿīlis, the Mustaʿlians, when the line of the Fātimid Imāms of Egypt became extinct. When al-ʿAmir was assassinated in 524 (1130) (the Ismāʿīlī sources give the date as 526 = 1132), his infant son and heir, al-Ṭaiyib (whose existence is much doubted by historians), was taken into "concealment". The last four Fātimid caliphs of Egypt were not regarded as Imāms even by themselves, and the *khuyfa* was read in the name of al-Kāʾim, the promised Imām who will come on the Last Day. The followers of the Fātimid tradition, the Mustaʿlians, still believe that the Imāms, successors of al-Ṭaiyib, are living in great secrecy somewhere, and are going to manifest themselves when the time comes.

The administrative centre of the Mustaʿlians was transferred to the Yaman, where their community was directed by "popes" (*al-dāʿi 'l-muṭlaq*). Ismāʿīlism in Egypt and in Northern Africa disappeared with astonishing rapidity. In the Yaman it remained insignificant for about 500 years, but matters took quite a different turn in India, where the early colony had increased very greatly by the beginning of the xith (xvith) century. Its importance greatly exceeded that of the original community, and necessitated the transfer of the residence of the *dāʿis* to India. This transfer was accompanied by another split caused by priestly rivalries. After the death of the 26th *dāʿi*, Dāʿūd b. ʿAdjab-Shāh (999 = 1591), in Aḥmadābād, the majority (Dāʿūdīs) followed Dāʿūd b. Kuṭb-Shāh, whom they regarded as their 27th *dāʿi*, while the Yamanite party stuck to Sulaimān b. Ḥasan (= Sulaimānīs). The present Sulaimānī *dāʿi*, residing in the Yaman, is the 45th, — ʿAlī b. Muḥsin; and the Dāʿūdī *dāʿi*, residing in Bombay — the 51st, Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad. (For the names of the *dāʿis* of both branches see: Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *A Chronological List of the Imams and Daʿis of*

*the Mustaʿlian Ismailis*, in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1934, p. 45—56). There also were many smaller splits, but they are of no importance. It must be noted that there are no real dogmatic differences between the Dāʿūdīs and the Sulaimānīs.

Nizāris. According to the Ismāʿīlī tradition, which seems to have a considerable element of truth in it, the son of Nizār, al-Ḥādī, was murdered together with his father in prison. But his infant son and heir, al-Muhtadī, was brought by trusted servants to Persia, Alamūt, and was there brought up by Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ in great secrecy. When he died in 557 (1162), his son, al-Kāhir bi-Aḥkām Allāh Ḥasan (the traditional genealogy of Nizāris at present gives instead of him two Imāms, Kāhir and Ḥasan), openly ascended the throne, and on the 17th Ramaḍān 559 (Aug. 8, 1164) proclaimed the great Resurrection, the *Qiyāmat al-Qiyāmat*. He prescribed to his followers spiritual worship, reducing the importance of the *zāhir*, as is suitable to those who are saved, and have entered the spiritual Paradise. This Paradisaal state of the faithful most probably is the real basis of the well-known legend about the garden planted by Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ on the barren rocks of Alamūt to imitate Paradise, and to dupe his followers.

The history of other four *khudāwands* of Alamūt, i. e. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (or *Ḍiyāʾ* al-Dīn), Ḍjalāl al-Dīn, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II and Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, is to some extent known (the best summary is found in E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 453—460). In Syria the Nizāris were numerous, and under their talented leader, Kāshid al-Dīn Sinān (557—588 = 1162—1192), played a considerable rôle in the wars against the Crusaders on the side of Saladin (cf. Stan. Guyard, *Un Grand Maître des Assassins*, in *J.A.*, 1877, p. 324—489).

The son of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, was carefully hidden when still a child. He and his successors had either to live in complete concealment, or, probably, pose as Sūfī *shāikhs*, of whom at that time there was a great number. Many of them, according to the tradition, occupied a prominent position, were governors of some provinces, intermarried with the Šafawī *shāhs*, etc. Unfortunately very few details and dates are so far available.

Some sources mention, as immediate successors of Shams al-Dīn, — Muʿmin Shāh, and his son Kāsim Shāh, but the official genealogy omits them. Then there were: Kāsim Shāh II, Islām Shāh I, Islām Shāh II, Mustansir bi-ʾllāh II, ʿAbd al-Salām, Ḡharib Mirzā, Bu Ḍharr ʿAlī, Murād ʿAlī (probably at the end of the xth = xvth century), Dhu 'l-Fakār ʿAlī (beginning of the xith = xvith century), Nūr al-Dahr ʿAlī (about 1056 = 1646), Khalil Allāh I, ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Nizār, Saiyid ʿAlī, Ḥasan Beg (= Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī), a contemporary of Nādir; Kāsim ʿAlī Shāh; Saiyid Ḥasan ʿAlī (= Bakir ʿAlī) died at the beginning of the xliith (end of the xviiith) century. He was succeeded by his son Khalil Allāh II, who was murdered in Yazd in 1232 (1817). His son, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, married to a daughter of Fāth ʿAlī Shāh Kādjar, was appointed governor of Kirmān, but later on, owing to court intrigues, had to flee to India, where he died in 1298 (1881). ʿAlī Shāh, who succeeded the preceding Imām, lived in Bombay, and died in 1303 (1885). His son, the present Imām of the Nizāris, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, is well known to the public as the Aga Khan.



The Nizāris of India, or *Khōdjas* [q. v.], were converted from Hinduism about the viii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) century. Their religious literature is in Sindhi and Guḍjrātī. It follows to some extent the Hinduistic standards in form, rather than Persian, and also retains some of the Hinduistic religious and philosophical terminology.

2. The present distribution of the Ismā'ilīs. The Nizāris are found in Syria, near Ḥamā; in Persia, — in the provinces of *Khurāsān* and *Kirmān*; in *Afghānistān*, — North of *Djalālābād* and in *Badakhshān*; in Russian and Chinese Turkestan — Upper Oxus districts, Yarkand, etc.; in Northern India — *Chitral*, *Gilgit*, *Hunza*, etc.; and in Western India — *Sindh*, *Guḍjrāt*, *Bombay*, etc. Their colonies are found all over India, in Eastern Africa, etc. The total number of Nizāris may be about 250,000.

The Bohoras, or Indian Musta'lians, live chiefly in Guḍjrāt, Central India, and Bombay. According to the last Census of India there are 212,000 of them. There are many colonies of them in Eastern Africa. Only a few hundreds are *Sulaimānis*, all others are *Dā'ūdīs*. In the Yaman there are still a few thousands of Ismā'ilīs, the majority being *Sulaimānis*.

3. Doctrine. The information which has so far been the basis of our knowledge about the doctrine of the Ismā'ilīs, derived from different works by the orthodox historians and heresiologists, appears to be of very little value when compared with the original genuine Ismā'ilī works. The facts appear to be so confused, distorted and perverted, either intentionally or not, that it will take a long time before the truth can be sifted from the untruth. The best appears to be to leave it for the present, and to give here the most salient facts derived from the original works, and from the sectarian tradition.

Nothing authentic is known about the initial phase of the Ismā'ilī beliefs, just as generally very little is known about the earliest period of Shi'ism. We may imagine that except in the question of the line of the Imāms which this or that sect followed, all early Shi'ite sects differed little one from the other (and from the Sunnite sects, too). Dogmatic peculiarities most probably appeared later on. It is a remarkable fact that the standard work on the Ismā'ilī system of *fiqh*, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* by *Qāḍī Nu'mān* (d. 363 = 973; q. v.), is so close to the *Ithnā-āsharī* tradition that many learned theologians of that school regarded it as a work belonging to their sect.

Very few pre-Fātimid Ismā'ilī works are now preserved, and the earliest known date from the beginning of the iv<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century. The doctrine, both exoteric and esoteric, appears already quite developed and fairly stabilised in them. At present it is impossible to find out who laid the foundation of it and when. We have seen above that the usual story about the doctrine's being invented by the "diabolical malice" of 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn al-Qaddāh seems highly improbable. Perhaps we shall be nearer to the truth if we think that the process of its formation was gradual and spontaneous. The period at which the Ismā'ilī doctrine was developing, the iind—iiird (viii<sup>th</sup>—ix<sup>th</sup>) centuries, was precisely a period in which intense interest in the Greek science and philosophy was universal amongst the educated classes of Muslims of all sects, and especially amongst the Shi'ites. We

may remember also that exactly at this period the foundation of the whole Muslim system of science, medicine, and philosophic doctrine was laid under the patronship of the 'Abbāsid caliphs who encouraged translations of the Greek learned works. A little later on we find exactly the same elements as in Ismā'ilism universally accepted by the most pious Muslims, in the Ṣūfī system, or high theology. The reason why the Ismā'ilī doctrine received such a wide reputation for hereticism and anti-Islāmic tendencies should most probably be sought in two different circumstances: attaining high cultural level under the Fātimids, the Ismā'ilīs, in their attempts to reconcile the principles of Islām with the up-to-date science of their time, were going too fast for other less cultured parts of the Islāmic world. And, secondly, political conflict and rivalry often deliberately perverted and misrepresented their doctrine, as we can see from the works of heresiologists.

The official doctrine of the Fātimids consisted of *zāhir* or *shari'a*, and *bāṭin*. The *zāhir*, or "plain" form of the religion, is a very conservative form of Islām, resembling in many respects the *Ithnā-āsharī* practice, but in some points coinciding with Sunnism. Strict observance of prayers, fasts, and all prescriptions of the *shari'a* was obligatory upon all, even those in possession of the highest esoteric knowledge: "there is no *bāṭin* without the *zāhir*". It is remarkable that all heresiologists completely disregard this aspect of Ismā'ilism, preferring their own fictions.

The *bāṭin*, which was incumbent upon every Ismā'ilī, consisted of allegorical interpretations (*ta'wīl*) of verses from the *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīths*, and religious prescriptions intended to prove the divine origin of the institution of the Imāmate and the exclusive rights of the Fātimids to it. It may be noted that the ideal of Ismā'ilism always was the form of religion which is adapted to the level of education and the intelligence of the believer.

The esoteric doctrine. The student impressed by the usual stories about the great impiety and the anti-Islāmic tendencies of the secret Ismā'ilī doctrine, will be bitterly disappointed on reading the most secret amongst the Ismā'ilī books, such as, for instance, the *Riḥat al-'Ahl* by *Ḥamid al-Dīn Kirmānī*, some esoteric *Madjālis* of al-Mu'ayyad *Shirāzī*, the *Kanz al-Walad* by *Ibrāhīm al-Hāmidī*, the *Dhakhira* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, the *Zahr al-Ma'ānī* by 'Imād al-Dīn *Idris*, etc. These works prove beyond any doubt that the fundamental principles of the highest esoteric doctrine were the basic points of Islām, the unshakeable belief in the Unity of God, the divine mission of Muḥammad, the divine revelation of the *Qur'ān*, etc. There is also no doubt that the only aim of the authors was to develop and to refine the primitive principles of Islām, making them acceptable and attractive to the critical and sophisticated mind of a cultured man, who has gone a long way from the crude mentality of the Arabs of the vi<sup>th</sup> century.

The esoteric doctrine consists of two main parts. One is the *ta'wīl* of the *Qur'ān* and of the *shari'a*, in which *Qāḍī Nu'mān* and *Djā'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman* excelled. The second, by far more interesting, are the *ḥakā'ik* (plur. of *ḥakika*, the truth), or the Ismā'ilī system of philosophy and science, coordinated with the religion and serving as a revelation of its inner contents.

The system is a typical production of the Muslim mind of the ivth (xth) or vth (xith) century, and in many points resembles the philosophy of al-Fārābī [q. v.].

The most prominent element of this system is Neo-Platonic philosophy, derived not directly from the Enneads of Plotinus, or his early commentators but from some later versions, considerably adulterated, and mixed up with heterogeneous matters. Ismā'ilism (just like some Christian and Jewish systems) tried to find in the Plotinian philosophy the solution between the monotheistic idea and the plurality of the visible world. The system of ancient Greek science, on which Plotinus could build his system, had changed greatly by the xth century. Many theories were forgotten, many Greek works remained unknown to Muslims, and many forgeries were in general use. Thus the natural philosophy of Ismā'ilism, with its ideas of the organic and inorganic world, psychology, biology, etc., is to some extent based on Aristotle, and partly on Neo-Pythagorean and other early speculations. There are, however, no references to these original Greek works, and only a vague mention of "Greek philosophers", *al-Hukamā' al-Yūnāniyya*, may be found, very rarely. Much is added from the debased science of the later periods, in the form of crude astrological, alchemical and cabalistic beliefs, speculations about the mystical and magical force of numbers, letters, etc. All this, indeed, is familiar to every student of early mediaeval culture. Traces of Manichaeism are very faint. Christianity is more strongly felt; Ismā'ilī authors, when citing Christian Scriptures, usually are remarkably accurate, showing that they consulted the real books, and not simply their own fantasy, like the majority of the orthodox authors.

Anyone who wishes to form a first hand idea of the *ḥaḳā'ik*, can with great advantage peruse the well-known Encyclopaedia of the *Iḥḳwān al-Ṣafā'*, many times printed, and partly studied and translated by the late Dieterici. The work is regarded by the Mustā'lians as a compilation by the second of the concealed Imāms, Aḥmad; quotations from it are common in the *ḥaḳā'ik* books.

Thus, as we can see, there is very little original or unknown in this system. The only original thing about it is the way in which all this heterogeneous material was combined and amalgamated with Islām. But even in this respect the *ḥaḳā'ik* completely resemble the Ṣūfī speculations, which differ from them only in terminology and in the fact that Ṣūfism emphatically accepts the Plotinian doctrine of ecstasy while Ismā'ilism completely ignores it.

We may note that the Mustā'lians firmly believe that all this was revealed by their Imāms, that nobody except themselves possesses this knowledge, and even that it would be unintelligible to outsiders. Even now the Bohoras intentionally keep aloof from modern science which they regard as heretical.

Outlines of the system. The *ḥaḳā'ik* emphasize very strongly the parallelism between the Macrocosmos and Microcosmos. The Islamic *tawḥīd* is here carried to the last limit, and no attributes derived from the experience of the senses are given to God (*al-Ghaib ta'ālā*). By an act of pre-eternal volition the One produces the first (*sābiq*) emanation (*mubdā'ath*); in accordance with the Plotinian system, it is the *'aql al-kull*, or the all-pervading conscious formative principle, the *de*

*facto* first "Initiator" of the world (*mubdā'*). The second emanation, which appears from the preceding, is the conscious life-giving principle, *naḥs al-kull*, the third member of the original Plotinian triad. Here appears a new development, obviously produced by an effort to reconcile this idea with the system of Ptolemy. A few more *'aqls* are inserted. They are "logical" moving principles of the different spheres, *falak*, i. e. of the sphere of fixed stars and Zodiacal constellations, of the five planets, the sun and the moon. The latter is the *'aql* in charge of the earth, *al-'aql al-fa'āl*, the actual creator of the "forms" (*ṣūra*), and called the "Second *mubdā'*". To him are transferred all functions which in the Plotinian system belong to the *naḥs al-kull*. The forms which, by working upon the substratum of matter, the *Haiyūlā* (ὕλη), produce the visible world, have their perfect prototypes, after which they are created. This is obviously a version of Plato's theory of ideas, which is wrongly understood. Here it forms the bridge between philosophy and religion. If there is to be a perfect prototype of humanity, Perfect Man, it must exist here, in this world, as otherwise humanity could not exist. But who can this Perfect Man be except the Chosen one, the last and the greatest Messenger of God, His Prophet Muḥammad? As man is the crown of creation, and the Perfect Man is the crown of humanity he, the Prophet, corresponds with what in the cosmic world is *'aql al-kull*. The hypostasis of the *naḥs al-kull* cannot be any one else than the *Waṣī*, or the executor of the Prophet's will, 'Alī. The Imāms, who are permanently in charge of this world, are the hypostasis of the final *'aql*. The soul, being the "form" of the human being, belongs to the higher, spiritual world, but is entangled in the impure world of "becoming and decaying" (*kaun wa-fasād*). By associating itself with the nearest higher substance, the Imām, the soul can "ascend", and return to the Original Source, attaining to ultimate salvation. The method of this association is *al-'ibāda al-'ilmīya*, i. e. acquisition of the knowledge revealed by the Imāms, and obedience to their command. "Who dies without having recognised the Imām of his time, dies as a *kāfir*".

This system remains fossilized in the Mustā'lian tradition, but the Nizārīs have slightly altered it. The Fāṭimids did not encourage extremist ideas, and in the early literature *imām* was almost the same as *khalīfa*, caliph. The Fāṭimids claimed to be the lieutenants of the Founder of the religion, the Prophet. The Nizārīs, probably under the strong influence of Ṣūfī ideas, emphasized the spiritual life, reduced the *zāhir*, and made the "light" of the Imāmate the Supreme Principle. They regard the principle of Imāmate, or divine guidance, as eternal, starting before the creation. The world never is without an Imām, otherwise it will perish instantly. The Imām is the hypostasis of the Primal Volition, *amr*, or "word", *logos*, *kalima*, the Qur'anic "be". This substance rests in the Imām, who otherwise is a mortal man, and is transferred from the father to the son only, by *naṣṣ*. There are no smaller and no greater Imāms (contrary to Fāṭimid belief), all are one and the same substance. The Imām is not "incarnated", there is no *ḥulūl* or *tanāsukh* in Ismā'ilism. The first Imām at the beginning of the period (*dawr*) of Muḥammad was 'Alī, and his progeny, *dhurriya*, are his successors. Ḥasan, who is regarded as the first Imām by the



Musta'lians, is struck off the list, as he was merely acting on behalf of his brother. The Prophet remains the *'aḳl al-kull*, but the *nafs al-kull* is hypostasized by the *ḥudǧǧa* (in the Fātimid time one of the twelve or twenty-four "bishops"). He is usually a close relative of the Imām, sometimes even a woman, or a child. The *Ḥudǧǧa* possesses an innate miraculous knowledge of the Imām, and teaches the faithful.

There are no traces in the genuine Ismā'ili literature or tradition of any "degrees of initiation", similar to masonic degrees in which each one has its own "secret". The revelation of the esoteric system obviously depended merely on educational level and intelligence. The hierarchy of dignitaries, *ḥudūd al-dīn*, corresponded with "initiation" probably only at the earliest period when learning was exclusively confined to the priestly class. Later on the *ḥudūd* were changed, or replaced by another scheme. The *mustadǧīb*, "initiated", *ma'adhūn*, "licensed to teach", *dā'i*, "preacher", and *ḥudǧǧa*, "commissioner of a see" (*ǧazīra*), are the fundamental ranks. The number seven belongs to the mystic numbers: there are cycles of seven Imāms, the seven millennial cycles of great prophets (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, each with his *Waṣī*; the seventh is the expected *Kā'im*), etc.

The system of *fiḥḥ*, founded by Kāǧī Nu'mān [q.v.], and preserved by the Musta'lians, never received further development. The calendar of the Musta'lians differs from the general Muḥammadan, being ahead of it by a day or two, because the beginning of the lunar month is calculated astronomically, and does not depend on the visibility of the moon.

**Bibliography:** Much has been written about Ismā'ilism, but very little is based on genuine sources. The best bibliography up to 1922 is given by L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate*, 1922 (*Or. Studies presented to Prof. E. G. Browne*). — A summary of historical information only: O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, London 1923. — About Ismā'ili works referred to in this note see W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933. — On Nizārī doctrine: W. Ivanow, *An Ismailitic Work by Nasirū 'd-dīn Tusi*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1931, p. 527—564. — On Ismā'ili *fiḥḥ*: Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, Bombay 1933. (W. IVANOW)

**ISTIḤSĀN** and **ISTIṢLĀḤ**, two methods of reasoning much discussed in the books on the *Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ* [q.v.] in connection with the doctrine of *ḵiyās* [q.v.]. The two conceptions as a result of their close relationship are sometimes confused (cf. *Shāṭibi*, iv. 116—118; Ibn Taimiyya, v. 22). But no one ever seems to have reached a clear and lucid definition of their mutual relationship.

I. The authorities for istiḥsān which the followers of this method quote from the Qur'ān (xxxix. 19, 56), *Ḥadiṭh* (*mā ra'āhu 'l-muslimūn ḥasanan fa-huwa 'inda 'llāhi ḥasanun*) and *idǧmā'* (going to the bath without previous arrangement about payment etc.), are easily deprived of weight by the opposition, and therefore need not be further discussed. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that istiḥsān already leaves its literary impress in *ḥadiṭh*, thus going back to the first half of the viii<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 59). For example we already

find in Bukḥārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 8) the expression *istaḥsana* in the meaning of "to make a decision for a particular interpretation of the law as a result of one's own deliberation". Half a century later, Mālik (d. 775) uses the expression in connection with legal decisions for which he cannot find authority in tradition (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, xvi. 217; similarly xiv. 134: "This is a matter on which I have received no instruction from my predecessors. It is rather something that we have decided according to opinion" [*wa-innamā huwa ṣaḥ'unn istaḥsannahu*]). About the same time Abū Yūsuf (d. 798, Ḥanafī) says: *al-ḵiyās kāna an... illā annī istaḥsantu...* ("according to the *ḵiyās* this and that would be prescribed but I have decided according to my opinion" [*Kitāb al-Kharādǧ*, Būlāḳ 1302, p. 117]). Istiḥsān is thus contrasted even more distinctly with the usual method of deducing legislation (*ḵiyās*). The term, in later centuries also, means a method of finding the law which for any reason is contradictory to the usual *ḵiyās*.

It is noteworthy that Shāfi'ī (d. 820), the founder of the science of the *Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ*, fundamentally rejected istiḥsān, because he feared that in this way by going beyond the methodically secure and generally recognised principles of legal interpretation, a loophole would be made for arbitrary decision. "God has not permitted any man since his Messenger to present views (*ḥawā'*) unless from knowledge that was complete before him" (*Risāla*, p. 70). If any one in spite of this uses istiḥsān he is botching the work of God, the highest legislator (*man istaḥsana fa-ḳad ṣharā'a* [quoted in Ghazālī, i. 274 and *pass.*]). Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Baiḍāwī (1282 or later, also a Shāfi'ī) continued the discussion begun by Shāfi'ī in a more comprehensive and systematic fashion. Istiḥsān in their view can only be approved in so far as it can be traced to the principle of *takḥḥiṣ* (the preference of a particular to a general legal prescription). But as *takḥḥiṣ* is already contained in the doctrine of *ḵiyās*, istiḥsān has really no special part to play. Later Shāfi'ī authorities like Subkī (d. 1370) and Maḥallī (1460) express similar views.

The supporters of the doctrine of istiḥsān — they belong for the most part to the Ḥanafī *madḥhab* (Pazdawī [d. 1089], Sarāḫsī [d. 1090], Naṣafī [1310] etc. down to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1810]) — make every effort to deprive these objections of their force. To the assertion that the arbitrary opinion of the individual legist is given too much scope, they reply by defining and systematising istiḥsān more accurately. Their principle of diverging in certain cases from *ḵiyās* and using istiḥsān is — they say — not decided by personal inclinations or by a lack of methodical thinking but on the contrary by purely material considerations provided for in the law. It is a "concealed *ḵiyās*" (*ḵiyās khafī*), a divergence from an externally obvious *ḵiyās* to an inner and self-conditioned decision. The reason for the preference of istiḥsān might be given in the Qur'ān, in the Sunna, in the *idǧmā'* or in the principle of *ḍarūra*, but in any case it is sanctioned by generally recognised methods of proof. Nor is it true that istiḥsān can be traced back to the principle of *takḥḥiṣ* and thus be brought within the sphere of *ḵiyās* proper. It really lies outside of this narrow sphere and must therefore be recognized as a special form of deduction. For the rest, if we in-

investigate more carefully, we can assert that the form of istiḥsān represented by the Hanafis is also used by representatives of other *madhabs*. It is in practice the common property of all legists.

If we consider the very minute work of systematisation which the later Hanafis (e.g. Ibn al-Humām [d. 1457] — Ibn Amir al-Ḥāḍijī [1474] and Bihārī [1708] — Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1810]) have done on istiḥsān, we may actually agree with this last deduction. This method of reasoning, which originally aroused such misgiving because it was undefined, is given a place in the casuistic stepladder of the *ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ*, and its possibility of application thus limited to a few accurately definable cases. If nevertheless discussion continued on whether it is justified or not this can only be explained by the fact that the followers of the Shāfiʿī school felt themselves bound from a certain traditional principle not to drop the polemic against istiḥsān which had long ago been originated by their master — under different conditions and with more justice.

II. Istiṣlāḥ is, as regards its negative side, closely connected with istiḥsān; here we have again a question of a principle by which the otherwise usual method of deduction is to be excluded in the preparation of legal decisions. The difference from istiḥsān is seen only when we enquire into the guiding ideas which forms the positive foundation for this principle which is negative in its effects. We then see that istiṣlāḥ is more limited and more closely defined in content than istiḥsān in so far as it replaces the, in itself only formal, "finding-good" of the latter by the material principle of *maṣlaḥa*. It argues with the demands of human welfare in the widest sense. It might therefore be contrasted with the more comprehensive and more indefinite general conception of istiḥsān as a more exactly defined or subordinated species, as indeed al-Iṣḥbīlī (Mālikī, d. 1151) already pointed out (Shāṭibī, p. 117). It is just through this greater definiteness that istiṣlāḥ gains in force compared with istiḥsān. For it is evident that such an illuminating idea as that of anxiety for human welfare carries much more conviction in the derivation of legal principles and can be more readily established than the formal and empty criterion of istiḥsān. In this way is probably to be explained why the principle of istiṣlāḥ was on the whole not so strongly disputed as that of istiḥsān and why it occasionally, going beyond the denial of the usual *ḥiyās*, even questioned the validity of legal principles emanating directly from the Qurʾān, Sunna and *idmāʿ* (see below).

Relying on the ḥadīth *lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra fi ʿl-islām* (in Islām there is no injury or malicious damage and on other testimony from the Qurʾān, Sunna and *idmāʿ*, later representatives of the *ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ* championed the principle that the whole Shariʿa furthers or is intended to further the welfare of man (*riʾāyat al-maṣāliḥ*). This however does not yet admit the principle of istiṣlāḥ but only a basis for it. Istiṣlāḥ is not yet found in operation in the normal deduction of the thesis of *riʾāyat al-maṣāliḥ*, but first occurs in the exceptional case only, namely when the legal principles of the Shariʿa afford no direct basis for it. It is therefore called more accurately *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, i.e. the doctrine of those cases of the *riʾāyat al-maṣlaḥa* in which the chain of deduction

does not run smoothly and free from gaps back to the starting point of legislation (cf. the use of the expression *mursal* in the science of Tradition). Istiṣlāḥ, like istiḥsān, is therefore as a kind of *ḥiyās khafi* (see above) always in contrast to the more obvious method of deducing legal decisions. It is intended to eliminate or at least to correct deductions which take no note of the idea of *maṣlaḥa* in the sense of the latter. If for example — to take a frequently quoted example — the enemies of Islām attack the Muslims and to protect themselves drive Muslim prisoners in front of them, the Muslim ought properly not to fire upon them in view of the prohibition to kill innocent co-religionists. If nevertheless it is decided to do so and this latter prohibition is disobeyed, this is done with the support of the istiṣlāḥ: it is believed to be more in keeping with the spirit of the law if a few Muslims are sacrificed than if the whole community is handed over to destruction.

The history of the origin and development of istiṣlāḥ cannot be traced so far back as that of istiḥsān. It is true that it is asserted by different authorities that Mālik (d. 775) was the first to use istiṣlāḥ, and indeed there is some ground for this, as for example when he declares it permitted in special cases to sell fresh dates not yet pulled for ripened dates — against the usual regulation that fresh fruits cannot be sold for dried (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, x. 90 sqq.: *Kitāb al-ʿArāyā*). But in the first place it is not quite certain whether this opinion goes back to Mālik (see p. 94), and secondly an authority for this decision comparable to istiṣlāḥ (*li-mā yuḥkaf min iddikḥāl al-maḍarra ʿalā ṣāhib al-ʿarāyā*: p. 93 sq., cf. p. 95) quite obviously comes not from him but — according to Sahnūn (d. 854) — from the circle of his pupils. It should further be remembered that the term *maṣlaḥa* or istiṣlāḥ is not mentioned at all in this connection; and finally it should also be noted that Shāfiʿī (d. 820) in his famous *Risāla* confines the discussion to istiḥsān. From this it is probably safe to deduce that the problem of istiṣlāḥ was not yet ripe for discussion in his time — unless it was then still regarded as a subdivision of istiḥsān and therefore not particularly emphasised.

The assertion that Mālik was the first to use istiṣlāḥ is therefore in all probability a later ante-dating of the fact that the Mālikis made the most frequent use of this principle. Nor in the period following Mālik and his generation is it possible yet to demonstrate clearly the development of istiṣlāḥ. The names which are quoted as authorities in the later works in discussion of the principle — apart from Mālik and Shāfiʿī (!) — belong at earliest to the 11th century. Perhaps the gap could be filled to some extent if the old and still unpublished *uṣūl* works were systematically studied. In any case the fact that the principle of istiṣlāḥ, according to the present state of our knowledge of the sources, is first found at a comparatively late date, does not yet allow us to deduce with certainty an outside influence (e.g. of the *ratio utilitatis* in Roman law). It is equally unjustifiable, in view of the lack of the necessary preliminary work, to assert the quite natural hypothesis that istiṣlāḥ is ultimately to be derived from the Muʿtazili principle of *ʿadl*.

Imām al-Ḥaramain al-Djuwainī (d. 1085, Shāfiʿī) is the first of those who are mentioned as followers



of the principle of istiṣlāh. Unfortunately he does not discuss it in his brief *uṣūl* work *al-Waraḥāt* (but see the quotations from his *Mughīth al-Khalk* in Goldziher, in *W.Z.K.M.*, i. 229, note 5). On the other hand, we possess authentic expressions of opinion by the imām Ghazālī (d. 1111), also quoted as an authority, which take us into the heart of the discussion (*Mustasfā*, i. 284—315). Ghazālī defines the legal term *maṣlaḥa* as "consideration for what is aimed at for mankind in the law" (*al-muḥāfaẓa 'alā maḥsūd al-shar'... min al-khalk*: p. 286 sq.). By this he means five things: maintenance of religion, of life, of reason, of descendants and property. The consideration of *maṣlaḥa* and its counterpart, the averting of corruption (*daf' al-mafsada*), is, according to Ghazālī, generally given by the legal text and therefore coincides with the usual *ḥiyās*. In the cases in which it cannot be deduced by the usual process (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) it is only decisive when there are cogent, and unequivocally defined considerations affecting the whole community (*darūri, ḥaṣ'i, kullī*), for example in the case of defence against an attack made upon the community of Muslims under cover of Muslim prisoners (see above). Otherwise it is not allowed to use istiṣlāh. If nevertheless a man uses it, he is bungling the work of the divine legislator (p. 311: *wa-man šara ilaiḥa fa-ḥad shara'a*: with reference to Shāfi's above-quoted remark on istiḥsān). For the rest Ghazālī refuses to include istiṣlāh, which he recognises in this limited form, as a special "root" with the other *Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ*, as in his view it depends on a combination of proofs from the Qur'an, Ḥadīth etc. and therefore does not constitute an integral base.

After Ghazālī, other Shāfi legal theorists express themselves on the problem of istiṣlāh, e.g. Baiḍāwī (d. 1282 or later) — Isnawī (1370) and Subkī (1370) — Maḥallī (1460) — Bannānī (1784). They discuss at considerable length the views of their predecessors, especially Ghazālī, but contribute very little that is new. On the other hand, the tendency to systematization of the different cases of istiṣlāh increases. This tendency to systematization however only reaches its height in the later Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* by Ṣadr al-Shari'a Maḥbūbī (d. 1346) — Taftāzānī (1390 or later) — Fanarī (c. 1500) and especially Ibn al-Humām (1457) — Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādīdī (1474) and Bihārī (1708) — Baḥr al-Ulūm (1810). Here we cannot go into the details of their explanations which are often difficult to follow.

Among the pronounced opponents of istiṣlāh are mentioned al-Āmidī (d. 1233, originally Ḥanbalī, later Shāfi) and Ibn al-Ḥādīb (1249, Mālikī) (Baiḍāwī-Isnawī, iii. 135). At a somewhat later period we may probably include under this heading the celebrated Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1328). In one of his epistles he gives his views on *maṣāliḥ mursala*. His exposition is rather obscure but it is at least clear that the whole question caused him much misgiving. He laments that many rulers and also ordinary mortals have used the principle of *maṣāliḥ* contrary to the law or in ignorance of it and so — just as with istiḥsān — have acted illegally as law-makers. The Shari'a — he thinks — has not neglected *maṣlaḥa*. If the human understanding thinks it may assume a *maṣlaḥa* which is not represented in the law there are only two possibilities: either the

law has already indicated it without his knowledge or it is a question only of an imaginary and not a real *maṣlaḥa*.

In the foregoing it has already been mentioned that the Mālikīs are regarded as the principal champions of istiṣlāh. But too much stress should not be laid on this general opinion. It is of course true that Mālikī legal theorists like Shāṭibī (d. 1194) and Qarāfī (1285) took up the discussion of *maṣāliḥ mursala* and carried it further. But on the other hand Ibn al-Ḥādīb who was also a Mālikī is reckoned one of the opponents of the principle (see above). On the other hand, the circle of those who recognise the principle of istiṣlāh in practice extends far beyond the limits of the Mālikī school. Qarāfī even points out that "if one looks more carefully, it is in general use in the *madhḥabs*" (p. 170). Shāfi's and Ḥanafis — although with certain limitations and in part under other names — have adopted it and developed it further. The most radical upholder of istiṣlāh is however a certain Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī (d. 1316). He is considered a Ḥanbalī but in reality may be claimed as an independent student of law (*mudītahid*) — precisely on account of his attitude to the question of istiṣlāh.

Ṭawfī in his *Risāla fī 'l-Maṣāliḥ al-mursala* puts the ticklish question: What is to be done if the text of the law (*naṣṣ*) and *idjma'* cannot be reconciled with regard for the general welfare (*rī'āyat al-maṣlaḥa*)? His answer is unambiguous: The *rī'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* is decisive, in so far as the legal aspects of every day life are in question (*mu'āmalāt*) (the sphere of duties relating to worship, *'ibādāt*, is not affected thereby as they relate to something fundamentally different from the preservation of the welfare of humanity). *Naṣṣ* and *idjma'* are however not simply to be excluded. They are rather to be reconciled subsequently with the demands of the *maṣlaḥa* by the help of exegesis (*bayān*) or specification (*takhṣiṣ*, i.e. by separating a subdivision from the general and the principles applicable to it). In any case however, the *rī'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* represents the highest court of appeal.

In order to strengthen the principle of *rī'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* and justify placing it above *naṣṣ* and *idjma'* Ṭawfī quotes evidence from Qur'an, Sunna, *idjma'* and *naṣar* (intelligent consideration), of course giving first place to the saying attributed to Muḥammad: "there is no injury or malicious damage (*lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra*). He further points out that the legal texts are of different kinds and contradictory while the idea of *maṣlaḥa* is an integral base, and thus gives a better clue to the solution of legal problems (reference to Qur'an iii. 98: "Hold fast together to the cord of Allāh and do not split into parties!"). He takes this opportunity to combat the assertion that the variety of legal interpretation is a special advantage of the Muslim religion (cf. the ḥadīth: *ikhṭilāfu ummati raḥmatun*). The disadvantages which result are greater than the advantages: simply because there are such different interpretations, it is sometimes possible to find a lax interpretation to suit one's own wishes and to neglect the more rigorous injunctions. Many non-Muslims, who would readily adopt Islām, are prevented from taking the final step by the multitude of opinions held by jurists and the resulting lack of uniformity in the legal system of Islām.

The author is well aware that his views go beyond the istiṣlāḥ of the Mālikīs (p. 60 sq.). He is reproached with abandoning by his thesis the path that has been taken by the bulk of the Muslim community (*al-sawād al-a'ḡam*) and attention is called to the words of Prophet: "Follow the majority! He who takes his own way will go his own way to Hell also" (*ittabi'ū al-sawād al-a'ḡam fa-inna man shadhḡha shadhḡha fi 'l-nār*). But this would mean rejecting every new view and every new method *ad absurdum*. The majority which has to be followed according to the words of Muḥammad is rather the path to clear demonstration. And the latter condition is fulfilled in his (Ṭawfī's) method of *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḡa*.

Ibn Taimiyya in his already mentioned *Risāla* points out emphatically that the mind of man easily makes mistakes in using *maṣlaḡa*, especially if the text of the law does not agree with it. Ṭawfī, his contemporary and for a time pupil, on the other hand, concludes his *Risāla* fi 'l-Maṣāliḡ al-mursala with the following words: "As to *maṣlaḡa* with regard to the legal relationships of man to man, it is known to those whom these legal relationships concern by reason of custom and intelligence. If we now see that the deduction given by the law (*maṣlaḡa*) does not comply with it, we know that to obtain it we must let it speak for itself (*fa-'idḡa ra'ainā dalīl al-shar' mutaḡḡidan 'an if'adatihā 'alimnā annā uḡilnā fi taḡṣīlihā 'alā ri'āyatihā*)... And God knows best what is correct".

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(R. PARET)

**IYAR**, the eighth month of the Syriac calendar. There is no uniform opinion regarding its vocalization. Al-Bīrūnī (see *Bibl.*) says that the name was originally written without an *alif* as the third letter. The initial vowel also varies between *a* and *i* and the doubling of the *yā* also is not regular. The usual modern form is *aiyyār*. It corresponds to May of the Roman year and like it has 31 days. On the 6<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of this month, according to al-Bīrūnī, the third and fourth lunar stations rise and the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> set. In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A.D.) according to al-Bīrūnī on the 5<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of this month the stars of the 2<sup>nd</sup>—4<sup>th</sup> lunar stations rise and those of the 16<sup>th</sup>—18<sup>th</sup> set [see NISĀN].

**Bibliography:** al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṡḡār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70, 347—349; cf. also the works quoted under TAMMŪZ. (M. PLESSNER)

## K

**KĀBİD**, a Turkish Sunni theologian, founder of the sect of *Ḳḡubmasiḡis* (popularly called *Chupmessiḡis*); brought by orders of Selim before a special tribunal, he was condemned to death on Ṣafar 8, 934 = Nov. 3, 1527 and executed

the next day as a *zindīḡ* [q. v.]. He held that Jesus was (morally) superior to Muḡammad (*af'ḡaliyyat 'Isā 'alā Muḡammad*). Ibn Kamāl Paṡḡa wrote his treatise on Zindīḡism on the occasion of his trial.



*Bibliography:* von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 99; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, i. 153; Pečewi, *Ta'rikh*, Stambol 1283, i. 124; cf. Huart, in *XIème Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897, p. 69 sqq.; cf. also Paul Ricaut, *Hist. of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, book ii., chap. 12, fifth ed., 1682, p. 244 sqq. (L. MASSIGNON)

**KĀDĪ NU'MĀN.** [See NU'MĀN.]

**KAİKĀ'ŪS** B. ISKANDAR B. KĀBŪS B. WASHMĠR, 'UNŠUR AL-MA'ĀLĪ, prince of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān, a member of the Ziyārid family [q. v.] reigned 441—462 (1049—1069), as a contemporary and vassal of the two first great Saljuks Tughlilbeg and Alp Arslān. As he gives his age as 63 at the end of his *Kābūs-nāma* to which he owes his fame and says he began the work in 475 (1082—1083) he must have been born about 410 (1019—1020) and have been about 30 when he came to the throne and he must have ceased reigning a considerable time before his death. The reasons which led to his leaving the throne are not known to us; they explain the mature wisdom and no doubt also the considerable bitterness which marks his work.

The *Kābūs-nāma* is one of the most important mirrors for princes that have survived in the Persian language, written by the author for his son Gilān Shāh and called after his grandfather Kābūs b. Washmġr [q. v.] celebrated alike as ruler and author. It is a compendium of practical philosophy arranged in 44 chapters, the bulk of which deals with ethics and economics including the discussion of a number of important professions, while politics are only dealt with in a few chapters at the end.

A general description of the book is given in E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. (1900), p. 276—287. That the author in his arrangement of his matter shows a certain dependence on Hellenistic ethics from which he has taken central conceptions like that of *μεσότης* is undoubted. The arrangement and examples in the book on the other hand are almost entirely of Persian origin.

There is not yet available a critical edition of the text. The two Ṭeherān lithographs of 1275 and 1285 require to be compared with the manuscripts. The three Turkish translations of the work, two of which are still extant, are not sufficient for textual criticism as they contain the numerous additions and alterations. The date of the first of these three translations can no longer be ascertained. The second was finished by Marǧjumak Aḥmad b. Ilyās in 835 (1432) for Murād II; its 35<sup>th</sup> chapter (Poetics) has been edited by Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser zum Verständniss der türkischen Sprache* (1853), p. 262—265 and translated p. 287—290. The third was finished by Naẓmizāde Murtadā for Ḥasan Pasha, governor of Baghdād, in 1117 (1705—1706). From Nrs. 2 and 3, H. F. v. Diez prepared from three manuscripts a German translation with a full introduction (see *Bibl.*). A defective edition of the Persian original of the first 22 chapters was printed in Bombay in 1916 entirely from the Ṭeherān printed text of 1285 (*Quabūs Nameh by Ansur Ma'ali, with a copious Glossary by Munshi Khalil-ul-Rahman*). The whole Persian text was translated into French in 1882 by Querry.

*Bibliography:* v. Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, p. 210 with the literature mentioned

on p. 211; the works quoted in the article; Geiger-Kuhn, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 347—349; *Buch des Kabus* by Heinr. Friedr. v. Diez, Berlin 1811; Plessner, *Der οἰκονομικός des Neupythagoreers 'Bryson'* (1928), p. 55—58 and 260—262 (criticism of the text). (M. PLESSNER)

**KĀLĪ**, a term for carpet, especially for a knotted pile carpet. This expression is used, for instance, in an inscription on a large xvii<sup>th</sup> century carpet in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Leipzig. According to Yāqūt, the word *kālī* is derived from *Kālīkalā* (Erzerum) where large carpets were made, but on account of this long name, they were referred to by the shorter *nisba* (*Mu'djam*, iv. 20, 3—4). There are many other terms for carpet, but they have no specific meaning, so that often one could be interchanged for another. In most cases these terms do not clearly convey which weaving technique is intended, or whether carpet in the modern sense is meant, after all. According to Worrel, *bisāṭ* and *zūliya* mean a large carpet; *ṭinfasa*, a knotted carpet; *zarbiya*, a striped, multicoloured carpet, probably a finely knotted one; *maḥfūra*, a carpet with real or apparent relief (Yāqūt says that *maḥfūra* and *zūliya* replaced the older word *kaṭīfa*); *sadiǧāda*, a prayer carpet; *khumra*, a small prayer carpet; *namaṭ*, a sur-carpet; *farsh*, *firāsh* and *farsha*, meaning something that is spread out, are also used to refer to carpets; and *kaṭīfa* and *kaṭafa* mean a knotted textile (W. H. Worrel, *On Certain Arabic Terms for "Rug"*, in *Ars Islamica*, i., 1934, p. 219—222; ii., 1935, p. 65—68). Persian terms are: *zilu*, *djādīm*, *nakh*, *palās* and *gilim*, the last being a special term for tapestry-woven carpets.

One must distinguish between tapestry woven carpets, that is, carpets with a flat surface, and knotted carpets, in which wool or silk threads are knotted around one, two, or more warps, to produce a pile surface. The most frequent, though probably not the oldest, technique of knotting is that in which the wool thread is knotted around two warps, a process which can be performed in two different ways. One method, known as the Senna knot, is used mainly in Persia, while the other, known as the Ghiordes knot, is used chiefly in Anatolia. (For technique, see C. E. C. Tattersall, *Notes on Carpet Knotting and Weaving*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1927).

In judging carpets from the artistic point of view, one must bear in mind that they were made for different social classes, and hence, to satisfy varying standards and requirements. They fall into three general groups: 1. for court and nobility; 2. for officials of high rank, wealthy merchants, and for export; 3. *a.* for the simpler people in towns and villages, and *b.* for nomads; then 4., there are also the products of the modern carpet industry.

Only carpets of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century onwards have been preserved in any great number. (The most important public collections are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Vienna; Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; Metropolitan Museum, New York. Smaller collections are to be found in the museums in Munich, Lyons, Milan, Cracow, Istanbul, Budapest, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit; and in the mosques of Kūmm, Ardabil, and Mashhad in Persia). Only in very rare instances are carpets signed and dated. Possibilities for dating are, however, provided by the

representations of Oriental carpets in European paintings, in which, from as early as the xivth century, they were used for decorations of floor, throne, table, or as hanging over the window-sills. Much more difficult is the attribution of the various carpet groups to definite centres of production. It is true that Oriental literary sources and European travellers do occasionally mention the manufacture of carpets in certain place, but rarely do they tell us what these carpets looked like. As a result of the degeneration of carpet weaving in the last centuries, the absence in the centres of production of the carpets that were made there, the migrations of carpet weavers and their transplantation from one centre to another by princes, it is extremely difficult to gather enough information from the East itself on which to base local attributions, and it is doubtful whether the actual carpets preserved from the earlier periods will ever enable us to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

While tapestries are known from as early as 1450 B.C. in Egypt, fragments of knotted carpets, which more especially represent the characteristic product of the Muḥammadan East, are traceable only from the first centuries A.D., in the finds made by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan (in Lou-Lan, Niya, Tun-Huang). The first large fragment of knotted carpet with well preserved decoration comes from Antinoë (Egypt) and is of the vith century A.D. (Metropolitan Museum, New York). This carpet, the field showing a geometrical pattern and the border, a vine scroll, is obviously an imitation of a mosaic pavement. The technique, resembling the later Senna knot, is a development of loop weaving (Noppentechnik) which was commonly practiced in Coptic textiles. Egypt was at that time a province of Byzantium, and it may be that in other parts of this empire knotted carpets were also manufactured, especially since certain passages in the literature could be interpreted as referring to this type, although no actual fragments of such carpets have as yet been found. Knotted carpets of pre-Islāmic Persia have not yet come to light. The most famous carpet of the Sāsānians, known as *Bahār-i Khosrō*, which was destroyed in the looting of Ctesiphon by the Arabs in 637, was made of gold brocade embroidered with jewels, hence it was not a knotted carpet. As Sir Thomas Herbert, an English traveller of the xvith century, testifies, the memory of this carpet remained alive for centuries and must have influenced the subsequent carpet designers. The carpets represented on the Sāsānian rock carvings of Tāḳ-i Bustān and on a silver bowl formerly in the Stroganoff Collection, could, according to Herzfeld, possibly be regarded as knotted carpets. Two fragments of Sāsānian tapestries, showing animals in pearled circles, are preserved (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad and Collection of Mrs. W. H. Moore, New York). From the end of the Sāsānian or beginning of the Islāmic periods, we have only literary references to the carpets of Hīra, described as showing elephants, horses, camels, lions and birds. According to Ibn Rusta, these Hīra designs were imitated in al-Nu'māniya. Another important carpet is a vith-viiiith century fragment found by Lecoq in Kīzīl (Chinese Turkestan), in which the woollen knots are wound around only one warp, a technique found also in the knotted carpet made in Quedlinburg about 1200 and later again in the Spanish carpets of the xivth to xvth centuries.

According to Mas'ūdī, carpets with portraits of a former Sāsānian king and of a caliph and Persian inscriptions were in use in the court of the 'Abbāsids. An episode related in the *Čahār Maḳāla* indicates that some 'Abbāsīd carpets were, like the Sāsānian, embroidered in gold and set with jewels.

During the subsequent centuries carpet weaving developed along different lines in the various countries, but the zenith of its artistic achievement was attained nearly everywhere in the xvth to xviiith centuries. By the xviiith century a general degeneration had set in which grew more marked during the xixth century, due to increasing industrialization of the craft, and has continued down to the present day.

Egypt. Excavations in Fuṣṭāṭ have brought to light fragments with Kūfic inscriptions which can be ascribed to the Fāṭimid period (Musée Arabe, Cairo; Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.). Ya'kūbī speaks of Ḳirmīz carpets from Usyūt, similar to those from Armenia. Maḳrīzī speaks especially of red carpets in the Fāṭimid palaces. Barbaro, an Italian traveller of the xvth century, speaks of Egyptian carpets in Tabriz. In the xvth century the Egyptian products had so high a reputation that Murād III, in the year 1585, ordered to be sent from Egypt to Constantinople, eleven carpet weavers together with an ample supply of wool. De Thèvenot in 1665 reported that fine carpets, known as *tapis de Turquie*, were still being manufactured in Cairo and exported to Constantinople and Europe. Ewliyā Čelebī likewise mentions Egyptian carpets. Sarre was the first to connect a group, formerly called "Damascus carpets", which seem to imitate Mamlūk pavements, with these Cairene products of the xvth-xviiith century. They are woven of red, blue, and greenish-yellow lustrous wool, and show a geometrical design, a central octagon surrounded by smaller polygons. The type appears for the first time on Italian paintings of the late xvth century, and later, again, on paintings of the middle of the xvth century. The most famous carpet of this group was for centuries in the possession of the former Austrian Imperial family and is now in the Vienna state museum. The inventory of the Yeñi Wālide Džāmi' in Istanbul (of the year 1674) speaks of Egyptian prayer carpets with rows of *mihṛāb*-shaped compartments, of which the largest contained 132, and the smallest, ten.

Asia Minor and the Caucasus. The first group of carpets to arouse general appreciation in the Islāmic world came from Armenia; they are cited repeatedly from Umayyad times as very precious objects. This high regard was due to their fine wool, which Tha'ālībī reckons as second to the Egyptian, and to their characteristic red colour, the *ḳirmīz*. Especially valuable evidence is provided by Marco Polo, who says that the Armenians and Greeks in villages and towns (of which the most important were Ḳonya, Sīwās, and Ḳaisariya) who occupied themselves with trade and crafts, produced the finest and most beautiful carpets in the world. In addition to these, Dwin (Dabīl) is mentioned in the tenth century, and Wān and Ḳālīḳālā (Erzerum) in the xiith-xiiiith century. Yāḳūt connects the term *ḳālī* with Ḳālīḳālā [see above]; Ewliyā Čelebī in the xviiith century also reported carpets manufactured there, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the carpets of Aḳ Sarā,



which were exported far and wide, while Kāzwīnī speaks of Tiflis as a carpet producing centre.

It is of great importance, in view of this established carpet tradition in Asia Minor, that we fortunately possess more actual evidence of the earlier periods from this region than from any other part of the East. In the 'Alā' al-Dīn Mosque in Konya and in the Eshref Oghlu Mosque in Beishēhr, Martin, Agha-Oghlu, and Riefstahl discovered a series of very archaic carpets which, even if they are not of the Seldjūk period, belong at least to the subsequent centuries. Since they show simple geometrical designs, they are probably not the carpets which had so aroused the admiration of Marco Polo and which perhaps more nearly resembled the artistic stone reliefs in Siwās and Amāsia, which often show carpet designs.

A second medieval group occurs on Italian paintings from the end of the xiii<sup>th</sup> until the xv<sup>th</sup> century. On these carpets, which are assumed to have been made in Eastern Asia Minor or more probably in the Caucasus, we find animal figures, first birds, then quadrupeds, and finally groups of animals in small fields, set like a tile pattern. As the type developed, these fields decreased in size and were spread apart as decorative motives on the ground; also, the importance of the border became more pronounced. The earliest preserved original, a fragment which reproduces in a stylized form the coat of arms of the Ming Dynasty, the fight of the dragon and the phoenix, is datable because it is reproduced in a fresco of Domenico di Bartolo in Siena painted between 1440 and 1444. The division of the ground of the carpet into square fields can be explained as being either an imitation of a mosaic or tile pavement (just as in the case of the Coptic carpet fragment in the Metropolitan Museum), or a transformation into rectangles, in these knotted carpets, of the circular fields enclosing animal designs, found on the not yet knotted Byzantine carpets.

The early carpets may have served as the inspiration for those carpets in which the ground is divided into diamond-shaped fields filled with conventional animals and animal groups, often in Chinese style (commonly depicting the fight of the dragon and the phoenix). In the later examples the animals are replaced by large floral patterns. One piece was, according to its Armenian inscription, made by Gōhar in the year 1149 of the Armenian era (1699—1700 A. D.), and an imitated Armenian inscription on a second piece (Staatliche Museen, Berlin) also points to an Armenian provenance. A third, probably a Kurdish copy, bears the name of Hasan Beg and the date 1101 (1689) (Textile Museum, Washington, D. C.). The whole group, referred to in the literature as "Dragon" carpets, was apparently made by Armenians in Eastern Asia Minor or in the Caucasus. Later examples were certainly made in the Caucasus.

A third group, contemporary with the early animal carpets and like these, often represented in European paintings, shows a geometrical design in square fields. As similar decoration is to be found in a group which can be traced from the xv<sup>th</sup> century and of which later pieces were made in Bergama, we may presume that they earlier were made there. They are commonly called "large patterned Holbein carpets", after the German artist in whose paintings they appear. Another

group, datable from the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> until the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, showing the combination of star and cross patterns, is also, and even more frequently, referred to as "small patterned Holbein carpets". This latter group, somewhat related to the carpets made by the Turkoman tribes in Central Asia, has certain relations also to those found on the miniatures of the Herāt school of the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century.

Another group, known as "Anatolian arabesque carpets", on account of the characteristic pattern of yellow, angular arabesques on a red ground, can be dated from the beginning of the xv<sup>th</sup> to the end of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century.

Another important group has rows of large stars or medallions in brilliant colours, especially red, light and dark blue. In composition and details of pattern this group manifests Persian influence. They are connected with 'Ushāk, which was one of the chief centres for carpet production in the xviii<sup>th</sup>—xviii<sup>th</sup> century. The Turkish carpets in the inventory of Yeñi Wālide Dījāmī, Istanbul, of 1674 are thus called 'Ushāks. One "Star 'Ushāk", whether it be regarded as an original or as an English copy, is decorated in the border with the coat of arms of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton (d. 1602) and the date 1584, and a second bearing the same coat of arms, carries the date 1585 (both in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch). The different types of star and medallion 'ushāks occur in European paintings from the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> until the end of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century. From the latter century on, the 'Ushāk carpets are referred to by the name of the port from where they were exported, Smyrna. Smaller carpets, with two confronted prayer niches, which were made from about the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century over a period of about one hundred years, can be connected with these 'Ushāk carpets.

Very similar to these double prayer carpets is a somewhat later group, datable, with the help of European paintings, from the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> until the middle of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, simpler in design and often called "Transylvanian" ("Siebenbürger") carpets because many of them have been found in Transylvanian churches.

Other groups of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century show two characteristic patterns: one, which looks like a double bird but is actually only the combination of floral motives, and the other, an arrangement of three balls above two horizontal wavy bands.

Persia. Up to the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century we must rely almost entirely on the information of Arab geographers. From the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, representations of carpets in Persian miniatures are of some help, and from the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century on, we have original carpets themselves, and the reports of European travellers. In the years 718—719 carpets were exported from Māimargh and Bukhārā to China. Narshakhī reports carpet workshops in Bukhārā in the x<sup>th</sup> century. From the ix<sup>th</sup> century Māzandarān, especially Āmul, was, for centuries, an important centre. From the x<sup>th</sup> century, for a long period, Khūzistān (Başinnā, Tustar), Fars (Dārābdjird, Fasā, Furdj, and especially Djahram and Ghundidjān) and Kūhistān (Nāşir-i Khusrāw reported 400 looms in Tūn) were prominent carpet weaving centres. Of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, when Persia produced her finest carpets, we have in the *Ā'im-i Akbari* a pertinent statement, telling us that India, in spite of the newly established Indian

production, continued to import carpets from Djawshakān, Khuzistān, Kirmān, and Sabzawār. Tabriz and Kāshān, in the xvth century, also produced famous Persian carpets, and as we may conclude from a report about a Persian embassy to Selim II in 1567, Hamadān and Derghezīn were noted for silk, and Dārābdjird, for tapestry-woven carpets. In the xvii<sup>th</sup> century Isfahān became prominent as the Šafawid capital, where the court looms were located. Olearius (about 1635) stresses the carpets of Herāt, which he declared to be the most beautiful in Persia, but, in addition, Djawshakān, Kāshān, Kirmān, and Sistān were also important. And finally, the Turkish character of an inscription on a xvii<sup>th</sup> century carpet in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Leipzig, points to production in Ādharbāidjān.

The earliest carpets in miniatures (if we disregard the simple striped ones) have, in the central field, multicoloured stars and polygons connected by a knot pattern, and in the border, degenerate Kūfic characters. This style came to an end with the close of the xvth century, and was replaced by a style characterized by a central medallion or a series of medallions, or by compartments, and arabesque and floral motives.

With the rise of the Šafawids, Persian carpet weaving reached the zenith of its achievement, which lasted until the middle of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century; the period after 1700 must be regarded as post-classical. The extraordinary carpets of the Šafawid period reinforced and ensured Persia's reputation for carpet production; they were made possible by the interest of the rulers who established Court factories, the products of which they regarded as worthy of presentation, through their ambassadors, to European royalty. It is even known that Shāh Ṭahmāsp himself designed carpets.

Those Persian carpets which have been preserved in great number must still be classified mainly on an iconographical basis, since only very few types can as yet be attributed with any certainty to definite centres of production; thus the literature refers to medallion, hunting, animal, vase, and garden carpets, although it is certain that carpets with similar designs were manufactured in different centres and in different styles.

The basic theme of nearly all carpets of this period, and hence also of all the subsequent periods which depended on them artistically, is the representation of flowers, vines, and trees in the conventional form in which we find them in the early xvth century "medallion carpets" of Northwest Persia, or in the grandiose arrangement of the "vase carpets", or even in the freer grouping of the "Herāt carpets", up to the richest pieces in which whole gardens, woods, or hunting grounds, and a variety of animals are depicted. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp excellent painters were employed to sketch carpet cartoons, and they introduced human figures and genii into the designs, especially of the large "hunting carpets". Actual illustrative motives, are, however, rare, and a carpet with a representation of the "bathing Shīrīn" and of "Lailā visiting Mađjnu'n" (in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs), or of a garden pavilion scene with many personages (in the Baron Hatvany Collection, Budapest) are exceptions. In the classical period Chinese motives, such as the fight of the dragon and the phoenix, the *kilin*, and especially the cloud band (*čē*) in its various forms, are common. Epigraphical decoration is of only secondary importance and usually con-

fined to the border, where we find calligraphically written Persian verses. The only exceptions are the prayer carpets, with their richer Qur'anic inscriptions.

A group of xvii<sup>th</sup> century carpets, knotted of silk, with gold and silver threads interwoven in the design, present a certain adaptation to European taste. As we know from the history of some of these carpets, they were generally destined as gifts from the Shāh to European courts, or for export. They are commonly termed "Polonaise" or "Polish" carpets, because the earliest of the type to become known were in Polish collections and were erroneously connected with an xviii<sup>th</sup> century Polish workshop in Stucz where brocaded girdles in Persian style were made. European influence in another form is also to be found on those rare "Portuguese" carpets of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century in which ships with European personages are depicted.

In the xvii<sup>th</sup> century were also manufactured artistically important tapestry-woven carpets which were either modelled on the older knotted carpets or woven according to their individual decorative schemes. Historically important are three of these carpets with the slightly distorted coat of arms of the Polish Wasa (Residenz-Museum, Munich; Collections of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and D. K. Kelekian, Paris). They appear to have been made in Persia and to have belonged to the dowry of the Polish princess Anna Katherina Konstanze, the daughter of Sigismund III, who married, in 1642, Phillip Wilhelm, who later became Elector of the Palatinate. A piece with the inscription *pādishāh* in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, indicates that they were made in the Persian court manufactory, but three pieces of the same type in the shrine in Ardabil prove that they were made for use in Persia as well.

Several Persian carpets of the classical period are signed and dated: 1. a pair of "medallion carpets" from the tomb mosque of the Šafawids in Ardabil, made (or ordered to be made) by Maḳṣūd Kāshānī in 946 (1539) (Victoria and Albert Museum, and Duveen Brothers, London); 2. a large "hunting carpet" made by Ghīyāth al-Dīn Djāmi in 949 (1542) or perhaps 929 (1522) (Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan); 3. a "floral carpet", a variation of the "vase carpets", made by Ustād Mu'min b. Kuṭb al-Dīn Māhānī in 1067 (1656) (Museum, Sarajevo); 4. one of a group of silk carpets with floral and tree decoration, from the mausoleum of Shāh 'Abbās II in Kumm, made by Ni'mat Allāh Djawshakānī in 1082 (1671). (The last three carpets were first noted by A. U. Pope).

Turkey. A group of magnificent carpets dateable from the beginning of the xvth century to the middle of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century are ascribed to a Turkish court factory, as they are altogether different from the contemporary Anatolian groups. They show the plant motives common to the contemporary Turkish pottery, especially tulips, carnations, hyacinths, and lanceolate, dentate leaves in reddish brown, yellow, yellowish green, and blue. Their manufacture has been connected with those Egyptian carpet weavers who were brought to Istanbul by Murād III [see above]. A carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum (N<sup>o</sup>. 458—1884) with this characteristic plant decoration has the same typical colours which we find in the geometrical Egyptian carpets. Toward 1700 prayer carpets were made which are characterized by the deep



red ground of the *mihrāb* field and the Turkish flower motives in the border. They should be regarded as the models for the large group of Anatolian carpets of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, the so-called "Ghiordes", "Kūla", "Lādik", etc.

India. Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī reports in his *ʿIn-i Akbarī* that Akbar settled carpet weavers in several cities, especially Agra, Faṭhpūr, and Lāhōr, where they created a flourishing industry without, however, making superfluous the importation of Persian carpets. A product of Lāhōr is the carpet belonging to the Girdlers' Company, London, with floral patterns and, in the field, the Company's coat of arms. According to documentary evidence, it was made in Lāhōr and presented to the Company in 1634. The carpets of Herāt and their patterns were imitated with only slight variations in India. In contrast to these latter carpets in the Persian style, are others, which in a much freer composition and a more naturalistic manner, depict, in a rather pictorial fashion, animals, occasionally fantastic creatures of Hindu mythology, and sometimes also hunting scenes, buildings, and personages. The flourishing velvet industry of southern Persia and northern India definitely contributed to the establishment of an outspoken textile style in carpet weaving, marked by a strong pattern repeat, which is characteristic for a group of Indian carpets. The lack of symmetry in some groups, and the strong symmetry in others, a preference for the use of certain reds for the main colour, and the lack of secondary motives, such as powder spray designs or vines to enliven the ground, and finally, a few characteristic floral motives, are details which distinguish the Indian from the Persian carpets, to which they are related.

Spain. Yākūt reports that carpets were manufactured in Algh. The oldest still preserved is one belonging to the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, which is unique, but this, according to Sarre, is due to its decoration, which shows a Jewish Thora shrine; it was therefore a synagogue carpet. In the later groups we often find Occidental features. One group of very long carpets have, in the field, large coats of arms, which make it possible to attribute them to the xv<sup>th</sup> century. Another group, of the late xv<sup>th</sup>—xvii<sup>th</sup> century seem to be imitations of the "large patterned Holbein" carpets [see above]; their designs were finally transformed in accordance with Occidental taste ("Alcaraz carpets"). A third group copies, more or less loyally, contemporary Spanish silks, while others imitate Turkish, East Persian, and other Oriental carpets.

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#### KĀRAKĀNĪDS. [See İLEK-KĀNS.]

AL-KĀSĀNĪ, ABŪ BAKR B. MAŠ'ŪD B. AĤMAD 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN MALIK AL-'ULAMĀ', Ḥanafī jurist, also wrongly called al-Kāshānī; his *nisba* is derived

from Kāsān, "a place beyond al-Shāsh" (Kurashī, Ibn Duḡmāk), i.e. in Ferghāna, north of the Saiḥūn; cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 246; Sam'ānī, fol. 417r; Yāqūt, iv. 227.

He was a pupil of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Aḥmad al-Samarḳandī (d. 539 = 1144) and married his daughter Fāṭima known as Faḳīha, giving his commentary on the *Tuhfa* of his master as a bridal gift. He lived at first at the Saldjūk court but was forced to leave it as he came to blows in a disputation there. After this incident the Saldjūk ruler on the advice of his vizier sent him as ambassador to Aleppo to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī where he was received with great honour (between 541 and 544). Nūr al-Dīn appointed him at the request of the learned men of Aleppo professor at the al-Ḥalāwiya madrasa founded in 543 (cf. above ii. 236) in place of Raḳī al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī (d. 544 = 1149—1150) with whom the scholars were very dissatisfied owing to a defect in his speech. (The statement made by Ibn Kuṭlūbughā and Tashköprüzāde that he only received Sarakhsī's chair after his death is a mistake. Cf. also Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'riḫ Ḥalab*, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, iii. [1895], 519). He was an extremely sound and orthodox scholar who frequently attacked the Mu'tazilis and the innovators (*ahl al-bid'a*). In Damascus he once had a disputation with Shāfi'ī scholars, in which he was able to quote a Ḥanafī authority for each question raised by the Shāfi'īs. He died on Sunday the 10th Raddjāb 587 (Aug. 3, 1191) in Aleppo and was buried in the Maḳām Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl outside Aleppo beside his wife. The Aiyūbid Sulṭān al-Zāhir Ghāzī undertook the education of his son.

His most important work is a legal one, the *Kitāb Bad'ī' al-Ṣanā'ī fī Tartīb al-Sharā'ī'* (7 vols., Cairo 1317—1318) which according to his biographers is a commentary on the *Tuhfa*, based on Kudūri, of his teacher 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī (so also Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ii. 235). The work however is not of the usual character of a commentary and indeed itself professes to be an "imitation" of Samarḳandī. It is the first and probably also the only Ḥanafī law-book that is systematically arranged down to the smallest detail like the *Waḍ'īn* of al-Ghazālī and the *Bidāya* of Ibn Rushd. The author himself in his preface explains his intention of following a strictly systematic plan (*al-tartīb al-ṣinā'ī*). — He also wrote a book which has not survived, *al-Sulṭān al-mubīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Kurashī; Ibn Kuṭlūbughā; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, No. 7215). Brockelmann mentions a commentary on the Qur'ān existing in manuscript: *Kitāb al-Ta'wīlāt*.

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**KASSALA** (Arabic spelling: Kasala and Kasalā), a town and province (*mudīriya*) of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The town, which is situated about 25 miles from the Eritrean frontier, derives its name from *Djebel Kassala*, a picturesque granite hill crowned by seven peaks, which rises to a height of 2,791 feet and forms a conspicuous landmark in the surrounding plain. In the older literature it is referred to as *Djebel Kassala al-Lus* (Bedja: To-Lus). The site of the present town, which originally contained a settlement of the *Halanka* (a tribe of Bedja origin), was in 1840 chosen by *Aḥmad Pasha* "Abū Adhān" (*ḥukmdār* of the Sudan from 1839 to 1844) as the administrative centre and garrison headquarters of the district of *Tāka* then recently subdued by the Turco-Egyptian forces. Situated at the apex of the fertile *Gash* delta (see below) and on the pilgrim route from western and central Africa to the ports of *Sawākin* and *Masauwa* (*Maswa*'), *Kassala* soon acquired considerable importance as a trading centre, and in 1883 had a population of 20,000 which included a number of foreign merchants. In 1885 *Kassala*, like the rest of the Egyptian Sudan, fell into the hands of the *Derwishes* i.e. the fanatical followers of *Muḥammad Aḥmad* [q.v.], the Sudan *Mahdī*, and the town was completely destroyed. An agreement between Great Britain and Italy, concluded in 1891, provided for the temporary occupation of *Kassala* by the forces of the latter, who held it from 1894 to 1897, although hard pressed by the *Derwishes* against whom they fought a number of successful engagements. Their occupation terminated as a result of the reconquest of the Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian forces and the establishment of the Sudan government under the condominium of Great Britain and Egypt. Under the new administration the town regained its former importance as an administrative and trading centre, and in recent years its growth has been stimulated by the development of cotton cultivation in the *Gash* delta and by the building of railways (1924—1927) which link the town with the Nile valley and with the Red Sea coast. The population which is of mixed origin numbers some 28,000, and includes a considerable number of West Africans (*Hausa* and *Fellāta*) many of whom are pilgrims going to or returning from *Mecca*.

In the religious life of the Sudan *Kassala* is important as one of the headquarters of the *Mirghaniya* (or *Khatmiya*) *ṭariqa*, an organisation introduced into the Sudan in the early decades of the nineteenth century by its founder *Saiyid Muḥammad* 'Oṭhmān al-Mirghani, who was a native of *Tā'if* in the *Hijāz*. A suburb of *Kassala*, known as al-Kḥatimiya, contains the mosque-tomb dedicated to his son and successor *Saiyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasan* (died 1869), who occupies an important place in the popular hagiology of the Sudan. The original tomb, destroyed by the *Derwishes* in accordance with their doctrinal opposition to the cult of saints, was restored after the re-occupation.

*Kassala* province forms a unit only in the administrative sense: its boundaries have been altered from time to time, and it now (1934) extends from the Egyptian frontier to the confines of *Abyssinia*, and from the Red Sea coast to the river *Rahad*. Its kernel is the district formerly known as *Tāka* i.e. the area formed by the annual overflow of the river *Gash* (*Qash*) or *Mareb* which,

rising in the mountains south of *Asmara*, brings down a heavy volume of flood water during the months from July to October and forms a delta of notable fertility. Since the earliest days it has been the granary of the eastern Sudan, and the cultivation of cotton, first introduced under the Egyptian administration and extensively developed in recent years, has given it considerable economic importance. The flood is controlled by irrigation works, and in 1933 the irrigated area amounted to about 41,000 acres which, in addition to crops of millet, yielded some 42,000 *kanṭārs* of cotton. The original owners of the soil are the Bedja-speaking *Halanka* and *Hadendoa*, and the *Bani 'Amir*, a tribe more extensively represented in *Eritrea* who speak *Tigrē*. Amongst the cultivators who work the land under a system of co-partnership with the government these indigenous tribesmen predominate; the rest is made up of settlers from the riverain districts (mainly *Dja'liyin*) and West Africans. Labour in the cotton fields being seasonal, the *Bedja* combine it with adherence to their time-honoured pastoral pursuits.

The northern part of *Kassala* province (formerly the Red Sea province) consists of the coastal strip extending from the frontier of Egypt to that of *Eritrea* (with the harbours of *Port Sudan* and *Sawākin*) and its mountainous hinterland (the *Atbai*). The inhabitants are *Hadendoa*, *Amarār*, and *Bishārīn* who, although islamised in the Middle Ages, and largely claiming Arab descent, retain their ancient Hamitic speech (*To-Bedauey*), and in manners and customs differ but little from the *Bedja* of the medieval Arabic writers. During the *Mahdiyya* (1883—1898) the *Hadendoa* led by 'Oṭhmān *Dikna* (*Digna*) [q.v.] acquired a reputation for fanaticism and fighting valour. The country inhabited by these tribesmen is largely desert, containing water and vegetation only in the *wādīs* which intersect the mountains, and it is adapted only to the nomadic life of camel-breeders and shepherds; the only exception to this desert character is the *Tokar* delta south of *Sawākin*, a fertile oasis formed by the annual overflow of the river *Baraka*, which in economic importance is second only to the *Gash* delta.

The western part of the province, known as the *Buṭāna*, consists of a vast plain of "cotton-soil" (loess) which extends between the Nile and the *Atbara*. It is typical nomad country affording excellent grazing for camels and sheep in the rainy season, but containing only a few and unimportant permanent settlements. According to J. W. Crowfoot the evidence of Meroitic remains found in the *Buṭāna* suggests that a seasonal agricultural stage preceded the present nomad stage, which perhaps is not older than the period of Arab immigration. The *Buṭāna* tribes (*Shukriya*, *Kawāhla*, *Baṭāḥīn*, *Laḥāwīn*) are Arabic-speaking and homogeneous with the rest of the Sudan "Arabs", and *Bedja* elements have undoubtedly contributed to their composition. The *Rashā'ida* on the other hand immigrated from Arabia as late as the nineteenth century, and they still retain the dress and the dialect of their former home. The dominant tribe of the *Buṭāna* are the *Shukriya* who gained the ascendancy towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The southern boundary of the *Buṭāna* is undefined; the country between the *Rahad* and the upper reaches of the *Atbara*, which includes the

frontier district bordering on Abyssinia, enjoys an ampler and more regular rainfall, and produces gum arabic and sesame as well as rain-grown cotton. As a result of misgovernment in the nineteenth century and of the destruction caused by the Mahdist revolt it carries but a fraction of its former population, but it is capable of considerable economic development as the population increases. Amongst the inhabitants immigrants from the western Sudan form an important element, and Kallābāt, a frontier post on the Abyssinian border (formerly Metemma), was a colony of Takrūrīs (Takārna) as long ago as the days of Burckhardt (1814). The chief town of the district is Gedaref (Qaḍārif) formerly known as Sūḵ Abū Sinn after the leading family of the Shukriya.

It was not until the nineteenth century that the part of the eastern Sudan, now known as Kassala, entered into contact with the outside world. Although Tāka and the Buṭāna must always have been within the orbit of the powers paramount in Ethiopia and Nubia (Meroë, Christian Nubia, and the Funj kingdom of Sennār) the connexion with the Nile valley was loose and intermittent. Sawākin belonged to the Ottoman empire since 1517 and was governed by a Turkish Pasha, but the authority of the Porte did not extend to the interior. Of Abyssinian contacts there is little trace, but there is a tradition recorded by James Bruce, that during the reign of Susneyos (1605—1632) the Abyssinians raided the Bedja country and captured a chieftainess referred to as Fāṭima "queen of the shepherds".

**Bibliography:** The early history of the Buṭāna has been studied by J. W. Crowfoot, *The island of Meroë*, vol. 19 of the *Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1911; do., *Old Sites in the Butana*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. iii., 1920, pt. 2. — The earliest European traveller is J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819. — For the Egyptian conquest and conditions under Egyptian rule see F. Werne, *Feldzug von Sennar nach Taka, Basa und Beni Amer*, Berlin 1851; Sir Samuel Baker, *The Nile tributaries of Abyssinia*, London 1867; H. Dehérian, *Le Soudan Égyptien sous Méhemet Ali*, Paris 1898. — Tribal history has been treated by Sir H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, *passim*; S. Hillelson, *Historical poems and traditions of the Shukriya*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. iii., 1920, pt. 1; G. C. and Brenda Seligman, *Note on the history and present condition of the Beni Amer*, *ibid.*, vol. xiii., 1930, pt. 1; G. E. R. Sandars, *The Bisharin*, *ibid.*, vol. xvi., 1933, pt. 2. — For general accounts of Tokar and Kassala, see articles by G. J. Fleming, in *Sud. Notes and Rec.*, vol. iii., 1920, pt. 1. and vol. v., 1922, pt. 2. — For modern developments reference should be made to the *Reports on the administration, finances and condition of the Sudan*, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925 and annually. (S. HILLELSON)

AL-KĀTIBĪ (DABĪRĀN) NAḌīm AL-DĪN 'ALĪ B. 'OMAR AL-KAZWĪNĪ, a Persian philosopher who wrote in Arabic, d. 675 (1276), according to others 693 (1294). Nothing is known of his life except that he was a pupil of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [q. v.]; a correspondence which he conducted with the latter over the proofs of the ancients for the existence of the necessarily existing (*Wāḍiḥ*

*al-Wuḍūd*) is still preserved in MS. in the British Museum (Cat. N<sup>o</sup>. 429, 1—3) and in the Escorial (Derenbourg, *Les mss. ar. de l'Esc.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 703, 8).

His chief work *Djāmī' al-Daḳā'ik fī Kashf al-Ḥaḳā'ik*, an exposition of logic, physics and metaphysics, does not seem to have been very popular; there are MSS. in Paris (de Slane, N<sup>o</sup>. 2370) and Cairo (*Fihrist*<sup>1</sup>, vii. 647). More success was attained by his second exposition of the same subject in two successive works *'Ain al-Kawā'id fī 'l-Manṭiḳ wa 'l-Hikma* (MSS. in Leyden, Cat. N<sup>o</sup>. 1525 and in the Escorial, Derenbourg, N<sup>o</sup>. 668), with a commentary *Baḥr al-Fawā'id* by the author (Leyden, *op. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 1526; Esc., *op. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 665), and *Kitāb Hikmat al-'Ain* on physics and metaphysics which survives in many MSS. and had a commentary written upon it in the viii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) century by Mirak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārak-shāh al-Bukhārī; this commentary was printed with glosses by Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 816 = 1413), by Kuṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd al-Shirāzī (d. 710 = 1312), by Ḥabīb Allāh Mirzādjān (d. 994 = 1586) and al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Bāghandī in 2 vols. at Kāzān 1319, 1324; the glossary by al-Djurdjānī was printed alone in Calcutta in 1845.

His fame rests mainly upon his manual of logic entitled *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī 'l-Kawā'id al-manṭiqiyya*, which he prepared at the desire of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Djuwainī, the famous Ṣāḥib Diwān of the Mongols Hūlagū, Ḍabāḳā and Aḥmad (d. 683 = 1284; s. i. 1117); it was printed at Calcutta 1816, 1827; Istanbul 1263; Lucknow 1891 and as app. i. to *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1854. Among the many commentaries, that on part 1 (*Kism al-Taṣawwūrāt*) by Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766 = 1364) entitled *Taḥrīr al-Kawā'id al-manṭiqiyya* is best known and has been printed at Calcutta 1815, 1259; Cawnpore 1288; Lucknow 1263, 1279, 1876, 1886, 1889; Cairo 1293, 1307. Equally popular are the glosses by al-Saiyid al-Djurdjānī, pr. as *al-Kūṭak*, Calcutta 1240, 1261; Dehli 1309, 1326; Lucknow 1895; Kāzān 1888; Istanbul 1266; Cairo 1323—1327, entitled *Ḥāshiyat al-Djurdjānī 'ala 'l-Taṣawwūrāt*, Istanbul 1293. Superglosses thereon were prepared by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Sālikūtī (Siyālkūtī; d. 1067 = 1657), pr. Dehli 1870; Lucknow 1878, 1308; Istanbul 1259, 1310; those of 'Iṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 944 = 1537) were lithographed s.l. 1275. The commentary of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791 = 1389) has been printed on the margin of al-Taḥṭānī with glosses by Rawnaḳ 'Alī, Lucknow 1905. The book was eagerly studied, particularly in India down to modern times. It was annotated by Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid al-Herewī (d. 1101 = 1689), whose commentary was printed Cawnpore 1287; Lucknow 1302 and with glosses by Ghulām Yahyā al-Bawā'ī, superglosses by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī and an anonymous gloss in India in 1287. *Ta'liḳāt* by 'Alī al-Laknawī appeared at Lucknow 1292. 'Abd al-Halīm al-Laknawī wrote on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> book the *Sharḥ al-Muḫḫaliṭāt*, Lucknow 1862. Muḥammad al-Sandjānī Muftizāde wrote glosses on certain portions namely *Faṣl al-Taṣḍīḳ*, Istanbul 1254, and *Faṣl al-Taṣawwūrāt*, *ibid.* 1254, 1259. — An anonymous synopsis of the *Shamsiyya* is the *Mizān al-Manṭiḳ*, pr. in the *Maḍmū'a-i Manṭiḳ*, Cawnpore 1881, 1889 and annotated under the title *Badi' al-*



*Mizān* by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥaddād al-'Othmānī al-Tulanbī, Cawnpore 1877; Lucknow 1311; by Muḥammad Faḍl al-Imān al-Khairābādī, Tamasgand 1286 and in Persian under the title *al-Kalām al-fā'iḱ* by Aḥmad Ḥusain Arrakānī, Cawnpore 1317.

Finally he also wrote commentaries on the two philosophical handbooks of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209), on the *Muḥaṣṣal* entitled *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and on the *Mulakhkḥaṣ* entitled *al-Munassaṣ*.

*Bibliography*: Al-Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 845; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii. 61; C. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 466, 507. (C. BROCKELMANN)

**KĀZERŪNĪ**, **SHAIKH** ABŪ IṢHĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. SHAHRIYĀR, founder of a dervish order called after him Iṣhāḳiyya or Kāzerūniyya, lived 352—426 (963—1034) in Kāzerūn (province of Shirāz) where he is buried in his monastery. Although he came of a family of fire-worshippers — his father was the first of the family to be converted to Islām (Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, Turk. transl. of Lāmī, Istanbul, n.d., p. 297) — he was an ardent missionary and is said to have converted no less than 24,000 fire-worshippers and Jews to Islām (Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, ii. 296). His order remained an actively missionary one which preached and organised *djihād* and *ghaṣā'* against the infidels. The Iṣhāḳiyya spread through Persia to India and China where it had branches, particularly in the seaports (e.g. Kalikut and Zeytun; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 64, 88—92; iii. 244—248; iv. 103), and to Anatolia to which the founder in his lifetime is said to have sent his disciples to war for the faith but where the existence of the order can only be proved from the xvth century (W. Caskel, in *Isl.*, xix. 284 sq.). The Iṣhāḳiyya must have played a considerable part in the Ottoman empire of the xvth century owing to its militant missionary spirit. It is mentioned as one of the four great orders in a tractate by Spandugino (beginning of the xvth century) (in Sansovino, Venice 1654, p. 129). It naturally spread also into Rumelia (its *tekke* in Adrianople is mentioned in Ewliyā' Čelebi, iii. 454). The order reached Aleppo (Caskel, *op. cit.*) from Anatolia where it had establishments in Brussa, Konia and Erzerum (Abū Iṣhāḳ-Khāne). It must have been very well organised in the xvth century, for its management used to draw cheques upon people who had fulfilled a vow for Kāzerūnī. The earth from the tomb of the founder was considered to have miraculous effects, particularly with sailors and merchants. In Turkey in the xviii century the Iṣhāḳiyya became merged in a younger order but reverence for Kāzerūnī is still found occasionally among the people.

*Bibliography*: L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, i. 410 sq.; Köprülüẓāde Mehmed Fu'ād (and my additions), in *Isl.*, xix. 18 sqq., with references to some still unused *Manāḳib-nāme's*. (P. WITTEK)

\***KELEK**, pl. *aklāk* and *kelekāt*, the usual name in the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris for the skin-float used for the transport of goods and persons. The word, frequently written *kellek* wrongly by European travellers, comes from the Assyrian (Accadian), where we find it as *kalaku* as early as the Sargonid period (K 689 = Harper N<sup>o</sup>. 312); cf. on this, independent of each other:

Johnston in *Amer. Journ. of Semitic Languages*, xxvii. (1911), p. 187 sq. and Klauber in *Babyloniaca*, iv. (Paris 1911), p. 185—186; Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (Leipzig 1915), p. 45. This *kalaku* is the prototype of the Syriac *kelakhā* (this is better than *kalkā*, as Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.*, col. 1748, vocalises it; examples: *ibid.* and in Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 329). From the Aramaic the word entered Arabic as *kalak*, which is pronounced *kelek* in the vulgar Arabic of Mesopotamia, in Modern Syriac, Turkish, Kurdish and Persian (cf. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leyden 1886, p. 220); for Arabic, see Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.*, iv. 55 and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 485 (where the word is wrongly explained as Persian), also Berggren, *Guide Français-Arabe vulgaire* (Upsala 1844), s. v. RADEAU. According to Moritz (*Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xv., 1888, p. 192), the word is pronounced *čellē* by the people of the swamps of Southern 'Irāk. For Kurdish see Lerch, *Forschung. über die Kurden*. St. Petersburg 1857/8, p. 101; for Persian see Vullers, *Lex. Persic.-Lat.*, ii. 867b. The etymologies of the word given by Kāzim al-Dudjailī (in *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 473) are untenable. The *kelek* man is called *kelekči*; but (according to al-Dudjailī) *kallāk* is also found. *Kelek* is occasionally found as a place-name meaning ferry; there is for example, a Kelekli, Tell Kelekli, south of Biredjik (cf. e.g. Sachau, *Reise in Syr. und Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, p. 175) and two Vezidī villages, Old and New Kelek on the upper Zāb (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 690, 691, 695). Cf. the analogy of the Bavarian place-name Urfar (= Überfahr) for places on rivers and lakes (see Schmeller, *Bayerisch. Wörterb.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 737). In the Southern 'Irāk there is according to Jones (see the *Bibliography*) a canal called Abū Čellāč = "father of floats" (here *čellāč* is no doubt a plur. of *kelek* and can hardly be *kallāk* = "floater"). Cf. the similar name, also found in Southern 'Irāk, *umm el-terārīde* "mother of boats" (for *ṭarrāda*, see above i. 677b and *Isl.*, ix. 138) for an old kind of Euphrates boat; see Ritter, xi. 969. As synonyms of *kelek*, we find in Arabic two other words, also from the Aramaic: *'āma* and *ṭawf* (vulg. *ṭōf*); on them cf. Freytag, *op. cit.*, iii. 246 or 79; Fränkel, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 220; al-Dudjailī, *op. cit.*, p. 473; on *ṭawf* in particular see B. G. A., iv. 292, Oussani in *J. Am. O. S.*, xxii. <sup>1</sup>, p. 109, note 1 and *Isl.*, ix. 143.

The most detailed description of a *kelek* is that of H. Ritter in *Isl.*, ix., 1919, p. 141—143 (with illustrations Nrs. 36—41). The framework of the *kelek* is made of pieces of wood placed length- and cross-wise with bundles of reeds between them. This framework rests on a layer of 50—400 inflated sheep- or goat-skins tied together with ropes. If passengers are carried, reeds are spread thickly over this framework; one or two little huts are even built upon it; 2 to 6 oars are required according to the size of the *kelek*. On reaching the destination, especially on the Tigris at Baghdād, the wood is sold, usually however at a loss so that the profits of the *kelekči* come from the freightage. The skins are taken out, deflated and dried and in this way they last 1½—2 years. The *kelekči* loads them on an ass and goes home by land. The *keleks* carry heavy loads of timber and sacks of grain down the Tigris. *Keleks* belonging to Kurds and Christians arrive almost daily in Baghdād bringing wood to

the 'Irāk which is poor in timber; this was noted long ago by the traveller Pietro della Valle (1617). Federico, who was in Baghdād in 1563, saw many Armenians there with these boats of skins (see Ritter, xi. 799). In the World War (1914—1918) much military transport was carried in this way down from Mōsul to Baghdād. A journey by kelek can be very pleasant on the Tigris, if the river has sufficient water, that is to say in February-March and in October. The float which naturally follows the deepest and swiftest stream keeps turning round slowly. Its greatest enemy is the wind which inevitably drives it ashore, where the traveller has often to wait for days for better weather. If there is no wind and one is otherwise fortunate the voyage from Mōsul to Baghdād can be made in three or four days if there is high water.

Navigation by kelek is found mainly on the Tigris and to this day it is one of the most popular means of travelling on this river. Its use begins in Diyārbakr and ends at Baghdād, where larger vessels take the place of the keleks. The most accurate description of one of these remarkable voyages, by no means free from danger, is given by Sandreczki (i. 261—316; see *Bibl.*) who sailed down the Tigris from Diyārbakr to Baghdād. H. v. Moltke, for example, also describes the same journey; a voyage from Diyārbakr to Baghdād is described by Petermann and Schlāfli, and one from Džazīrat b. 'Umar to Mōsul by Müller-Simonis and Guyer. The voyage from Mōsul to Baghdād is the most frequently described, e.g. by Kinneir, Rich, Oppert, Ussher and v. Thielmann. The kelek is also used on the tributaries of the Tigris, the Diyālā (notices by Rich and Keppel; see Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix. 488 and 511), the upper Zāb (notices by Buckingham, Rich; Sandreczki, ii. 236, 239) and the lower Zāb (Rich, see Ritter, ix. 63), often as a ferry-boat, e.g. on the Shuṭait, the western arm of the Kārūn at Shuster (see ii. 776; cf. Herzfeld, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitt.*, 1907, p. 75) or on the water-courses of the Southern 'Irāk (Shaṭṭ al-Kahr: Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 265). On the Euphrates the kelek is found only on its upper course on the Murād Su, upon which v. Moltke sailed (cf. Ritter, x. 712, 720 sq.; *ibid.*, p. 719 note from Brant's record of his journey). On the lower Euphrates in the 'Irāk, there are no longer any keleks, the reason given being the stony nature of the bed of the Euphrates which very quickly tears the skins (H. Ritter, *Isl.*, ix. 141). But there is evidence of its occasional occurrence in the region south of Dīwāniya (cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 111). Generally speaking the *shakhtūr* or *ṣakhtūr*, a quadrangular wooden box, takes on the Euphrates the place of the kelek on the Tigris (see Ritter, *Isl.*, ix. 141 and fig. 34—35).

This primitive skin-float has been native to Mesopotamia from the earliest times. It is depicted on Assyrian reliefs; cf. the illustrations in Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, ii. 13 and Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, iii. 43 and in Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, p. 561; v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 194 and elsewhere; cf. also Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. Heidelberg 1920, p. 252. In Herodotos, (i. 194) the reference however is not to keleks but to those round basket-like boats woven of reeds and covered with pitch, which are still found on the Euphrates and Tigris and are known as *kuffa's* (σκηδία διφδερῖναι, διφδέραι). Kelek-like hide floats, often filled with hay or straw were used

in antiquity in a few places outside of Mesopotamia. Diodoros mentions such a Euphrates float ii. 11, 4—5. There is mention of skin-floats on the Ister, the lower Danube, in Arrian, *Anab.*, i. 3, 6. Alexander the Great crossed the Oxus and the Hydaspes on them (Arrian, *Anab.*, iii. 29, 4; Curtius, vii. 21, 17; Arrian, v. 9, 3; 12, 3). On the South Arabian coast there were tribes who also used skin-floats. The Greek and Roman authors therefore called them *Arabes Askitai* = Arabs who use skins (ἀσκή = skin); see the article Askitai in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, ii. 1622. At the present day floats of ox-hide are still found on the Indus (see Ritter, vii. 47) and hide boats in eastern Tibet (see T. J. Cooper, *Journey from China towards India*, Calcutta 1869), also in Albania on the Drin (K. Steinmetz, *Eine Reise durch die Hochländergaue Nordalbanien*, Vienna 1904, p. 54). Sven Hedin reports them on the river Raskain Daria, to which Boissier calls attention in the *Rev. sem.*, vii. 131. They are also found outside of Europe and Asia, e.g. in South America; cf. P. Schmidt in the *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlv., 1913, p. 1051.

As an appendix to the above we may note that for taking a single individual over the rivers in Mesopotamia a single or double inflated goat-skin is commonly used, which supports the upper body. This method is known to us from quite early times from Assyrian sculptures (cf. the above references) and from Xenophon's description. The Persians became acquainted with this practice in Babylonia; cf. Darius, *Behistun-Inschr.*, § 18 = *Vorderasiat. Biblioth.*, iii. 25. In the *Shāhnāme* horses which have to be taken across a large river have inflated skins at their sides; cf. Horn, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 845. With reference to the use of skins for crossing the Euphrates and Tigris (which naturally only the lower classes do: persons of condition use the ferries) cf. Pietro della Valle, i. 187; Olivier, ii. 352, 354; iii. 357—358; Rousseau, p. 52—53; Buckingham, p. 36—37; H. v. Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände u. Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1875<sup>3</sup>, p. 287—288, 360—362 (cf. Ritter, *Erkunde*, xi. 66); Oppert, i. 81; Sandreczki, ii. 47; Petermann, ii. 60; v. Thielmann, p. 356; Lehmann-Haupt, i. 340, 523; H. Ritter in *Isl.*, ix. 143 (and fig. N<sup>o</sup>. 43); cf. also Budge, *The Book of Governors; the Historica monastica of Thomas of Marga*, London 1893, ii. p. 651. The use of the single or double inflated skin for crossing rivers is also known outside of Mesopotamia e.g. in Turkistān (see F. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, p. 392); further in 'Omān and on the Indus; cf. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 1838, i. 19; A. Burnes, *Cabool*, 1842, p. 92, 98. The practice is recorded in ancient times of the Spaniards (Livy, xxi. 27, 5) and the Lusitanians (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, i. 48). For South America see *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlv. 1051.

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\***KHATTĀBĪYA**. This extremist *Shi'a* sect has, since the appearance of the original article, been the subject of studies based on unpublished or unexplored sources, a list of which will be found in W. Ivanow, *Notes sur l'Ummu 'l-kitāb des Ismaéliens de l'Asie Central* (dans *R. E. I.*, 1932, p. 419—482, esp. p. 430 and 439) and in L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk* (No. 7 of the *Publ. Soc. Études Iranienes*, Paris 1934, esp. p. 19, 38 and 44). — From this it is known that Abu 'l-Khattāb, killed in 138 = 755—756 (dates attested by Kāshī, p. 191, in the course of a long notice of him), was the founder of two extremist *Shi'a* sects now hostile to one another, the Isma'ilians [cf. *ISMA'ILĪYA*] and the Nuṣairis [q. v.]. Cf. also my note on the Banū 'l-Furāt, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, Cairo 1935, vol. ii. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

**KILWA**, a name associated with a variety of places and islands on the east coast of Africa, but chiefly applicable nowadays,

generally, to a district in Tanganyika Territory, and, particularly, to two sea-ports: *a.* Kilwa Kivinje, 133 miles south of Dār al-Salām (in 8° 45'), on the mainland on the north side of Kilwa Bay, a sea-port with fine gardens and many European houses, the start of the caravan route to Lake Nyasa, with a population of about 5,000, mostly Swahilis; and *b.* Kilwa Kisiwani, 150 miles south of Dār al-Salām (in 8° 58'), and about 200 south of Zanzibar [q. v.]. The latter is historically the more important. Situated on a small island, there are numerous remains in the vicinity of walls, palace buildings, forts, mosques belonging to the Arab period, and of the later Portuguese occupation. Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited the place, calls the town Kulwā. The site was near that of the ancient city called by the classical geographers (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. 'Ραῦλοι) Rhapta. Our knowledge of the history of Kilwa is derivable from two sources: *a.* the Portuguese account based on an ancient *Chronica dos Reis de Quiloa* recorded in the *Asia* of De Barros, and *b.* a modern, and apparently unique, Arabic MS. in the British Museum (Or. 2666). In addition considerable supplementary and corroborative evidence is supplied by the coins issued by the Muslim rulers of Kilwa in the xvth—xvth centuries. The first Muslim settlers on Kilwa Island are said to have been followers of Muḥammad's great-grandson Zaid, the *Umma Zaidiya* (*Emozaidij* in De Barros), c. 122 (739). Their descendants were dispossessed in 365 (975) by the founders of a *Shirāzī* Dynasty that ruled Kilwa until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500 (49 rulers in all). Their dominion, at its greatest extent stretched as far northwards as Zanzibar and southward to the gold regions of Sofāla [q. v.], including the islands of Pemba and Mafia (the *Mōfia* of De Barros). Kilwa thus, in a sense, occupied the position of capital of the "Empire of the Zandj" [q. v.]. The island is separated from the mainland by a shallow channel, which according to tradition, was cut by the Persian immigrants as a protection against attack. The former flourishing state of Kilwa may be gauged from the fact, that, when the Portuguese came, there were over 300 mosques in the place. In 1505 it was occupied by Don Francisco d'Almeida, following the refusal of Ibrāhīm, Sultān of Kilwa (Mir Habraemo in De Barros), to pay tribute. In the struggle that followed between the Arab and the European invaders, the town was destroyed, and in 1512 temporarily abandoned. It passed into the hands of the Sultāns of Muskat (Maskat) in the xvii<sup>th</sup> century, and in 1856 was acquired by the Sultān of Zanzibar. Germany took possession in 1890 but since the War it has been included in Tanganyika Territory.

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KIRṬĀS means 1. papyrus, 2. parchment and 3. later also rag-paper. — Papyrus was obtained from the papyrus (Cyperus Papyrus L., *bardī*, *abardī*, Span. *albardin*, *albardī*, Malt. *bordī*, or *fāfir*, *baḥīr*, *barbīr*) which grew mainly in Egypt but was also found in Sicily (Anapo) as well as Mesopotamia (Babylon). Arab poets like al-A'shā' and Sa'īda b. Dju'āya are familiar with it. Every inch of the plant was used, from the root to the top; it was made into string and rope as well as into mats, but its main use was for the manufacture of the valuable "reed-paper" (*warāḥ al-kaṣab*) which is known as *warāḥ al-abardī* and *ḥirṭās*, *ḥarṭās*, *ḥurṭās*, *ḥarṭas*, *ḥirṭas*. The latter word is derived from the Greek *χαρτης* and entered Spanish as *alcartas* and Portuguese as *cartas*. The Qur'an (vi. 7, 91) mentions this writing-material, which al-Bīrūnī (*Tārīkh al-Hind*, p. 81) has discussed. In course of time it became more and more used in cultivated Arab circles, in the chancellories of the caliphs and in the provinces, at least the western ones, and among private individuals. In Baghdād in the business quarter (al-Karkh) there was a Papyrus street (*Darb al-Karṭās*) and in 836 A.D. the caliph al-Mu'taṣim erected a papyrus factory, probably in order to be independent of Egypt for supplies of this writing-material so indispensable to the government offices. In Egypt papyrus was manufactured in Wasīma, Būra, al-Afrādjūn, al-Fār and some other places, in Sicily at Palermo.

Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Nabātī tells us how it was made and we see that the process had undergone slight changes in the Arab period. Apart from technical improvements, the breadth of the leaves, which were made into rolls, had been considerably increased and was now 44—45 centimetres, while the height of the leaf had reached a maximum of 75 cm. The first leaf of the roll, which seems to have been made up of 20 leaves in the Arab period also, was made of coarser material and used for a special purpose; it was inscribed with the text, first of all bilingual (Greek and Arabic), then in Arabic alone, which is known as *ṭirāz* [q.v.] and contained after an introductory formula the name of the reigning caliph, governor or financial secretary, with the place and date of manufacture. The changing formulae of this text of varying length, which in the later period sometimes extended as far as the third leaf of the roll, as well as the elaborate script used were intended to prevent

forgery as far as possible. There appears to be no trace in the Arab period of regular makes of papyrus with definite names, such as we find in the classical period. But we learn from a Cairo papyrus (P. Cair. B. É., fol. 187<sup>r</sup>, l. 4) that the best kind was celebrated for its fineness (*ḥirṭās djaīyid rakīk*) and in a Vienna papyrus (P.E.R., Inv. Ar. Pap., No. 6954,5) "pale yellow" is given as the characteristic colour. The fact that *ḥirṭās* in addition to meaning papyrus also means paper-bag seems to indicate that in the Arab period also a kind of coarse packing-paper similar to *emporetica* was made. The price of the roll which was sold either as a whole or in parts to  $\frac{1}{6}$  (*ṭūmār*) or even smaller pieces was very high in proportion to the value of money in these days. About 800 A.D. the best quality cost  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dinārs, the cheapest  $\frac{1}{3}$  dirham. It was therefore very natural that this valuable writing material should be used very economically, the writing removed from the old page and the latter used again, or the blank reverse extracted and suitable excuses made to the recipient of the document. Papyrus rolls from Egyptian factories were used for a very long time in the offices of the Pope. While the use of papyrus in Egypt itself, considerably diminished as a result of the use of parchment and paper, barely lasted beyond the first half of the fourth century A.H., i.e. was practically in disuse by 950 A.D., the latest Papal document on papyrus is dated 1057 A.D.

The findspots of Arabic papyri are distributed all over Egypt. In the Delta we have Kōm el-Olsūm, perhaps also other places as the fragments recently acquired by the University of Milan seem to indicate. Very fruitful sites are the rubbish heaps on the site of the ancient Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo), Saḥkāra and Mīt Rahīne (the ancient Memphis-Menf), Ehnās, al-Faiyūm, Behnesā, al-Ushmunain, Akhmīm and Edfū, as well as Eshkaw, which has become famous from the correspondence of the governor Kurra b. Sharīk found there. The bulk of these finds consists of official documents and also of private legal documents, letters and to a smaller extent of literary matter, which covers all possible fields, particularly tradition, poetry and medicine. The most important work that has been found in this way is undoubtedly the *Kirāb al-Djāmi'* fi 'l-*Ḥadīth* of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Wāḥb b. Muslim al-Kurashī al-Miṣrī (d. 197 A.H.), a papyrus codex of 87 pages which on palaeographical grounds I would date towards the end of the second century A.H. It was found at Edfū and is now in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo. The value of this vast amount of material, which is distributed over the papyrus collections of the west, some of America and that of Cairo, lies in the fact that these are original documents, letters etc., which take us back straight into the life of the time and give valuable glimpses of the legal history, religion and history of Egypt in the Arab period, as well as of the literary activity which had begun even at this early period. Just as the Greek papyri have led to the foundation of a separate branch of knowledge, Greek papyrology, so has the study of Arabic papyri become a special subject, although it is only in its initial stages. Since Silvestre de Sacy laid the foundations of Arabic papyrology by publishing the finds from Dēr Abū Hormīs (Saḥkāra 1825), a number of scholars, often it is true at considerable intervals, have published and annotated Arabic papyri and



particularly in recent years there has been a special interest in and an increase in the work on Arabic papyri. There have even been occasional endeavours to make comprehensive surveys of the subject.

*Bibliography:* On papyrus, parchment, paper, see the general survey in A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri*, in *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri III series arabica*, vol. 1/i., Vienna 1924, p. 22–51, 54–58 (with full literature); part 2, Vienna 1924, contains the text of the protocol. — The Arabic papyri published down to 1924 are listed on p. 14–17. — Since then have appeared: A. Grohmann, *Probleme der arabischen Papyrusforschung*, i., in *Archiv Orientalní*, iii. (1931), p. 381–394; ii., *ibid.*; v. (1933), p. 273–283; vi. (1934), p. 125–149, 377–398 (5 plates); do., *Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungs-termini im arabischen Ägypten*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 13–14 (1932), p. 275–284; do., *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, in *Études de Papyrologie*, i., Cairo 1932, p. 23–95 (9 plates); do., *Ein Qurra-Brief vom Jahre 90 d. H.* (1 plate), in *Festschrift f. M. v. Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, p. 37–40; do., *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, vol. i., Cairo 1934, xv. + 277 p. (20 plates); do., *Arabishe Papyri aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 1/i., in *Isl.*, xxii. (1934), p. 1–98 (8 plates); do., *Die Papyrologie in ihrer Beziehung zur arabischen Urkundenlehre*, in *Münch. Beiträge z. Papyrusforsch. u. antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, xix. (Munich 1934), p. 327–350; do., *Texte zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens in arabischer Zeit*, *Archiv Orientalní* vii. (1935), p. 437–472 (6 plates); J. D. Weill, *Papyrus arabes d'Edfou*, in *B. I. F. A. O.*, xxx. (1930), p. 33–44 (1 plate); D. S. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, Manchester 1933, xix. + 239 p. (40 plates); I. Kratchkovsky and V. A. Kratchkovskaja, *Drevnejšij arabskij dokument iz srednej Azii* (oldest Arabic document of Central Asia), *Recueil Sogdien*, Leningrad 1934, p. 52–90 (1 plate); V. Beljaev, *Arabskie papirusy. Administrativnoe razporjaženie o shore zemel'noj podati za 767 g. n. e., Egipt* (*Arabishe Papyri. Administrative Verordnung über die Einhebung der Grundsteuer für das Jahr 767 neue Ära, Ägypten*), in *Vestnik akademii nauk SSSR*, 1934, No. 11–12, col. 71–76 (1 pict.).

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

**KITĀB AL-DJILWA**, one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs [q. v.], which with the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* contains the fundamentals of their religion. As the religious language of the Yazīdīs is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazīdīs known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of the *sandjak*, and God himself in the apocryphal continuation of the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* speaks Kurdish), it is rather remarkable that their two sacred books, the existence of which has long been known and of which copies of the originals have come into the possession of Europeans, should be in Arabic, namely the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* (*Kitāb-i Djalwā*), the “Book of Revelation” (the form *Djuluw* which Sharaf al-Dīn gives from the manuscripts available to him, seems to be a slip on the part of the copyist), and the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh*, the “black book”; black obviously means something

sacred: for example God descends upon the “Black Mountain” (*Maṣḥaf*, xvi.). The explanation of the name from the forbidden words said to be covered over with black wax, is wrong as in this case the Qurʾān is substituted as the sacred book of the Yazīdīs.

Father Anastase Marie of Baghdād was the first to succeed in getting exact tracings of the alleged original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sindjār in 1904–1906; they were written in an old Kurdish dialect in cipher that recalls the Armenian. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was however not excluded especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazidism, sharp guarantors in Moṣul were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Mingana has endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkosh monastery, named Shammās Eremia Shāmīr of the diocese of Kirkūk, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Giamil, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kurdish text seems to be placed above reproach by Maxim. Bittner's monograph, *Die heiligen Bücher der Yaziden oder Teufelsanbeter, with Nachtrag*, in the *Denkschriften d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, lv., Vienna 1913.

The text shows us a genuine obsolete form of Kurdish, no longer spoken, which is closely related to the Mukrī dialect, the language of the Bebe Kurds in the sandjak of Sulaimāniye, and an oriental forger with his limited resources could hardly have been able to reconstruct it. The language of the books is not identical with the language spoken by the Yazīdīs at the present day.

Nevertheless the question still remains open whether the Kurdish version, in spite of its archaic language, is really older than the Arabic or whether it is not simply an old retranslation from the Arabic as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kurdish).

The *Kitāb-i Djalwā* might perhaps have been originally written in Kurdish, as the Kurdish text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh*, the Arabic text is better than the Kurdish. According to Sharaf al-Dīn, the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. The Arabic of the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is even more modern as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Ottoman Turkish.

So far we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1895; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possesses two versions in addition to the one published in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxv.; two procured by Father Anastase Marie, one of which, the so-called Sindjār version, was copied in 1899 by a Sindjār-Yazīdī for a Yazīdī apostate while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Moṣulan.

The *Kitāb-i Djalwā* (also *Kitāb-i Djalwā*, *Djeloa*) the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Mollā Haidar in Bāʿadriye

and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 109 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shaikh 'Adi (q. v.; d. 555 = 1160 or 557 = 1162) who is said to have dictated it to Shaikh Fakhr al-Din.

The fact that the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* is not mentioned in the *Radd 'ala 'l-Rāfiqa wa-Yazidiya al-mukhālifin li 'l-Millat al-islāmīya al-muḥammadiya* written in 725 (1325) by the well informed Ibn Djamil (Abū Firās 'Ubadī Allāh) who belonged to the Euphrates district, nor in Maḳrīzī in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shaikh 'Adi in 817 (1414), makes Sharaf al-Din think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725 (1325) or 817 (1414). As Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention the work, this would bring the date even farther down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate however that the Yazidis have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as *ahl al-hiṭāb*, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catechism of the Shaikh Mirān Ismā'il Bek 'Abdī Bek Ogħlu Nazli Rāhānī Yazid for the Russian Yazidis is there a reference to "the glorious *Djilwa*" *Gyiazim* as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the *Kitēb-i Djālwa*, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows: Melek Tā'ūs who existed before all creatures sent 'Abtā'ūs (= 'Abd Tā'ūs = Shaikh 'Adi) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazidis, by oral instruction and later by means of the *Kitēb-i Djālwa* which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre-existence and eternity, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and providence, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, to which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (chap. 1). Further he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits; with the dying of a true Yazidī and the migration of souls (chap. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (chap. 3). He warns against strange doctrines, so far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamed things and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (chap. 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (chap. 5).

The *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is more comprehensive. The Yazidī Kurdish original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the *Kitēb-i Djālwa*. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 200 years after Shaikh 'Adi (c. 743 = 1342) by the great Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q. v.]. The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahāya 'Alī in Kaṣr 'Azz al-Din near Semali on the Tigris, but it seems now to be in Sindjār like the *Kitēb-i Djālwa*.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion with-

out divisions into chapters the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many MSS.: Anghar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the 7 angels of God who are identified with the mystic shaikhs.

On the Sunday God created 'Azrā'il (Azāzil, Zazā'il) = Melek Tā'ūs, who is supreme over everything; on the Monday Melek Dardā'il = Shaikh Hasan (al-Baṣrī). The Yazidi pronunciation is *Shēkhūsīn* as the invocation in the chief Yazidī prayer shows (Sydjadin *Shēkhysīn* = *Sadjdjād al-Din Shaikh Hasan*). (The conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged Shaikh Sinn who is compared with the moon-god *Sin*, e. g. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du Lexique technique*, Paris 1922, p. 178<sup>a</sup>, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrāfā'il (Isrāfil) = Shaikh Shams (al-Din); on Wednesday Melek Mikā'il = Shaikh Abū Bakr; on Thursday Melek Djibrā'il = *Sadjdjādīn* (*Sidjādīn*, *Sadjdjād al-Din*); on Friday Melek Shamnā'il (*Shatmā'il*, *Samansā'il*) = *Nāṣir al-Din*; on Saturday Melek Tūrā'il (*Nūrā'il*) = Fakhr al-Din.

Then he created the 7 heavens, the earth, sun, and moon, whereupon the last named angel of God Fakhr al-Din took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the sea which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. *Djibrā'il*, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit-trees and the heavens.

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the 7 deities, who arising through emanation, are light of the light of God just as light is lit from light, and among them the supreme god, *Khudā*, only appears as *primus inter pares*.

The statements regarding the creation of the religious community of 'Azrā'il (= Melek Tā'ūs) i. e. the Yazidis, to whom God sent Shaikh 'Adi from Shām (Syria) to Lālesh, are fragmentary, as are the statements regarding the descendants of *Shahr b. Safar*, the son of Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind. After God had been worshipped for 40,000 years by the 30,000 newly created angels, he created Adam out of the four elements with the active assistance of *Djibrā'il* and put him in Paradise ordering him to eat of all the fruits of the earth, except wheat (according to one Yazidī legend, the prohibition concerned grapes).

When, after 100 years, Melek Tā'ūs reminded God that there could be no increase in Adam's race God gave him permission to do what he thought fit. Melek Tā'ūs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden wheat whereupon Adam who had as yet no opening to his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Tā'ūs and suffered great discomfort until God sent a bird to pick an orifice in him. After another 100 years God sent *Djibrā'il* to create Eve from the lower part of Adam's left armpit.

Another story of the creation in the *Maṣḥaf-*



*rūsh* says that God who was sailing about on the ocean on a ship created by him created a pearl but crushed it after 40 years; from its cry of pain arose the mountains, from the noise the hills and from its vapour the heavens. God then created six other deities by emanation from his light. Each of these deities in their turn then created something: the first the heavens, the second became the sun, the third the moon, the fourth created the horizons, the fifth the morning-star and the sixth the atmosphere.

There are further a few confused statements regarding the very early history of the Yazīdis in the *Maṣḥaf*, which include a few features worth noting: after Melek Tā'ūs had given Eve to Adam as a companion, he descended to earth to the Yazīdis who, as descendants of Adam alone, had nothing in common with the rest of mankind. He appointed for them as for the Assyrians, who had been in existence from the earliest times, rulers namely: *Nashrūh* (*Nasrūkh*, Assyr. Nisroch) = *Nāsir al-Dīn*; *Djambūsh* (*Kāmūsh* = *Kamos*) = *Melek Fakhr al-Dīn* and *Artēmush* (*Artimūs* = *Artemis*) = *Melek Shams al-Dīn*. After them *Shābūr* (*Shāpūr*) I and II reigned 150 years. From him all their notables are descended, especially the family of the Yazīdi princes. The Yazīdis had four rulers not definitely named. One of their kings, *Āhāb*, ordered names of their own to be given to them (what is not stated). *Ilah Āhāb* (i.e. *Ba'izabūb*) is now called *Pirbūb*. Among other Yazīdi rulers were *Bukhtnaṣar* (*Nebucchadnezzar*) in *Babel*, *Akhashweroṣh* (*Akhashperosh*) in *Persia* and *Aghrinḳālūs* (*Aghrikālūs*) in *Constantinople*.

The *Maṣḥaf* further contains prohibitions. The forbidden foods include lettuce (*Yaz. kāhū*, Arab. *kḥass*), which is prohibited on account of the resemblance of the name to that of the prophetess *Khāsia*; beans (*lobīā*); fish (*māsi* = *māhi*, on account of the prophet *Yūnān* = *Yūnus*); gazelles (*āsek*); for the *shaiḳh* and his disciples the flesh of poultry (*kūlūshir*) and gourds (*kūlākū*) are forbidden.

As among the Sabaeans the colour dark blue is prohibited. The following are also expressly forbidden: to micturate standing, to dress while sitting down, to use a closet and to wash in a bathroom (bath and closet are regarded as the abode of evil spirits). It is forbidden to pronounce the following words: *shaiṭān* ("the name of their god"); *kaṭīān* (noose); *shaṭṭ* (stream); *sharr* (evil); *mal'ūn* (accursed); *la'na* (curse) and *na'l* (horse-shoe).

Not mentioned in the *Maṣḥaf* but traditionally regarded as forbidden are words beginning with *shin*; also *saraḥān* (crab); *hiṣān* (hedges); *bustān* (vegetable garden); *baṭṭ* (duck); *naṭṭ* (jump) and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the mustache are also forbidden as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking wood from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.

**Bibliography:** Cf. the *Bibl.* of the article *YAZĪDĪ* and *Ismā'il Beg Čöl, al-Yazīdiyya ḥadīman wa-ḥadīthan...* (*The Yazīdis past and present*), ed. Dr. Konstantin Zuraik, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 6, Bairūt 1934; cf. thereon: R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xxii., 1935, p. 323—324. (TH. MENZEL)

**KĪTĀRA, KĪTHĀRA**, guitar. These are instruments with a flat sound-chest like the modern Spanish guitar. That this type was known to the

Arabs of the viii<sup>th</sup> century is proved by the frescoes at Kuṣair 'Amra (*Kusejr 'Amra*, Vienna 1907, pl. xxxiv.). We see an instrument with a somewhat similar sound-chest, but with a longer neck in Persian art (Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, pl. 715). Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) mentions an instrument called the ترنتلی or ترنتار (cf. the *tuntuni* of India; Day, *Music and musical Instruments of Southern India...*, p. 130). Its sound-chest was hexagonal and it had a long neck mounted with one string. We also know from Ibn Ghaibī that the *badawī* Arabs used a rectangular flat-chested instrument, which he likens to "the mould of a brick", with a belly of skin and one string. This also occurs in Persian art (Arnold, *Painting in Islām*, pl. 28). The bowed *rabāb* of the Arabs is a rectangular flat-chested instrument in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia to-day, and it is sometimes found being played without the bow in Arabia, i.e. guitarwise, as both Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 398) and Burton (*Personal Narrative...*, iii. 76) observed. We do not know the early name of the guitar of the Arabs. Some authors have assumed that it was *murabba'* ("rectangular") (see Soriano-Fuertes, *Música Árabe-Española*, p. 54; Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v. 2745). This name was certainly applied to the *rabāb* mentioned above in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*). In the x<sup>th</sup> century *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 236) we read that the Greeks had an instrument resembling the Arabian *tunbūr* which was called the *kitāra* (cf. text), and al-Mas'ūdī in the same century refers to the *kitāra* of the Byzantines having twelve strings (*Murūdj*, viii. 91). We know of the *kitāra* or *kaithāra* as early as the x<sup>th</sup> century in Moorish Spain (Seybold, *Voc. Arab.*), and since the *tunbūr* is not included by al-Shakundī (d. 1231), quoted by al-Maḳḳarī (*Anal.*, ii. 144), among the musical instruments used in Moorish Spain, it is highly probable that both the pandore and guitar types were known as the *kitāra* or *kitāra* (*kaithāra*) (cf. *Anal.*, كيثرة = كيثرة). In the Spanish *Tractatus de Apocalypsi Johannis* (xix<sup>th</sup> cent.) we see an ovoid-chested pandore. It also occurs in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.) together with a guitar-shaped instrument. These two types may represent the *guitarra morisco* and the *guitarra latina* respectively which are mentioned by the Spanish poet Juan Ruiz (xiv<sup>th</sup> cent.),

**Bibliography:** See *J.R.A.S.*, 1935, p. 350, and the *Bibliography* of the art. 'ūd.

(H. G. FARMER)

\***KĪYĀS** (A.), syllogism, deduction. The *kiyās* occupies a central position in the logic of the Muslim philosophers, which is mainly derived from Peripatetic tradition [cf. ΜΑΝΤΙΚ]. This word really corresponds to the Greek ἀναλογία and not to συλλογισμός (see below). A syllogism is according to the usual use of the word a collection, listing or combination, but Aristotle gave it its special meaning as a technical term for a combination of statements from which a deduction can be drawn. For this we require (i.e. for a perfect categorical deduction, *kiyās ḥamlī*) three conceptions (ἄροι, *ḥudūd*), a middle (μέσων, *ḥudūd awṣaf*) with two extremes (ἄκρα, *aṭrāf*), e.g. mortal, man and Socrates, which are combined in two statements as premisses (*muḥaddamāt*) in such a way that a conclusion is reached from them [cf. ΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ].

By this method of proof, something unknown or dimly perceived is deduced from what is known, i. e. our immediate or already acquired knowledge is extended and established. For the proper use of reason, syllogistic logic, like grammar and prosody in their spheres, lays down rules (*ḥawānīn*, sg. *ḥawān* = Greek κανών). Logic however does not confine itself to formal correctness: it is also intended to be a theory of knowledge which teaches that true knowledge can only be established through the *ʿaql* (νοῦς). There are, it is true, different kinds of syllogisms, which can more or less extend our knowledge, but real knowledge is only obtained through the συλλογισμός ἀποδεικτικός or ἐπιστημονικός (*ḥiyās burhānī*).

According to the Muslim philosophers from the time of Fārābī, logic has a double function: 1. it teaches us about the formation of conceptions (*taṣawwūr*) which leads to definition (ὁρισμός, *ḥadd*) or where this is not possible to description (ὁπογραφή, *rasm*); 2. it also teaches us about methods of proof (*taṣāiḥ*, also *taḥkīk*, *taḥakkūk*), which lead to the greatest certainty (*burhān*, *yaḥīn*) or, if this is not attainable, to an approximation to it. In *taṣawwūr* we are dealing particularly with the meaning of words and phrases, in *taṣdīḥ* with the truth of judgments and deductions. The division of logic into two parts, which could not be carried through either from the point of view of form or of matter, was not in keeping with the intention of Aristotle, who does not deal with definitions until the Posterior Analytics after the discussion of apodeictic deduction. We have here a Stoic motif, which the Muslim philosophers took over from the commentators on Aristotle.

The doctrine of *taṣdīḥ* — for this is what we are dealing with here — goes back to the Prior and Posterior Analytics, the Topics (Dialectics) and the Sophistical Refutations of Aristotle but, as in the late Greek commentators, is also referred to the Rhetoric and Poetics. On this it should be noted that the earliest knowledge of the Aristotelian method of proof was brought to the Muslims also through translations of the works of Galen, his εἰσαγωγὴ διαλεκτική and the 15 books περὶ ἀποδείξεως. Galen was an eclectic thinker but, in logic, he followed Aristotle more closely than the Stoics.

The acquaintance of learned Muslims — as among the Syrians — with the *Organon* did not at first extend beyond the first book of the Prior Analytics. According to the Stoic idea there was a close connection between logic and grammar. More in the spirit of the early centuries than in that of his own time Abū Sulaimān says (in Tawḥīdī, *Maḥābasāt* 22, p. 169): "Grammar is an Arabic logic and logic is a grammar of reason".

Only after the whole *Organon* had been translated (ixth to the beginning of the xth century A.D.) could Fārābī say in his *Ḥisāb al-ʿUlūm* (Cairo, n. d. p. 11—33) in agreement with Greek commentators that the centre of gravity of logic lies in the Posterior Analytics, i. e. in the doctrine of apodeictic *ḥiyās* (*burhān*): all that precedes is introductory, all that follows, explanatory. The object of the whole is apodeictic certainty, the evidence of truth, in the light of which everything probable is recognised according to its degree down to the absolutely false. The Topics or Dialectics (*ʿajāl*) are in this way concerned with opinions which for the most part are true or at least very probable according to generally assumed principles; the

Rhetoric (*ḥaṭāba*) shows how true and false in the same measure leave the decision to the passions instead of to the reason; the Sophistics (*mughālāt*) is directed against that which is predominantly false; lastly the Poetics (*shīʿr*) deal with the imaginations and fictions of the poets. It is doubtful if Fārābī was acquainted with the matter of Aristotle's Poetics; he did not comment upon it.

According to his general scheme of values then, the topical syllogism is not absolutely certain (*yaḥīn*), as the apodeictic is but yet in most cases in practice it is sufficient (*iknāʿ*); the rhetorical is likewise sufficient so far as subjective power of conviction is concerned; but sophistical and rhetorical conclusions are worthless (*fāsid*).

The philosophical logicians are of the opinion that the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), preachers and orators usually bring forward topical and rhetorical proofs. On the other hand the theologians etc. say that their direct knowledge, more particularly the truth of the Qurʾān and of Tradition, surpasses apodeictic deduction in certainty. That *shīʿr* is not a foundation for truth both sides are agreed: many called poetry the Devil's Qurʾān.

Although, as already mentioned, Fārābī places apodeictic deduction first, he deals with the Topics before the Apodeictics in his commentary on the *Organon*. Even in antiquity (Stoics, Eclectics, Sceptics) the Apodeictics had been thrust into the background by the Topics and Rhetoric. But this was not Fārābī's intention: he excuses his procedure with the properly Aristotelian remark that the probable is nearer to us in experience than the necessarily true, although the latter is really earlier.

The main thing then is the *ḥiyās burhānī*. Let us begin with some observations on terminology! The oldest translators into Arabic, following in the footsteps of the Syrians, usually took the Greek titles of the books and many technical terms over from the original, but usually added an Arabic name or description. But the terminology of the late Hellenistic period was already somewhat complicated and the confusion became still greater when the different translators made a different choice from the living vocabulary of the Arabic language. It was only through the works of Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā that the terminology became more or less fixed.

Let us confine ourselves to the Prior and Posterior Analytics which became known in the post-Aristotelian period from their contents as περὶ συλλογισμοῦ and περὶ ἀποδείξεως. The name Analytics, especially for the Prior Analytics, survived for a long time in Arabic works; from the ninth century A. D. the Arabic *ḥiyās* was used for syllogism. Yet we find in the second half of the tenth century (*Maṣāṭīḥ al-ʿUlūm* of Khwārizmī, ed. v. Vloten, p. 145 sq.) the statement that the (Prior) Analytics is called *al-ʿaks* because it deals with the investing (*ḥalḥ*) of judgments. *ʿAks* and *ḥalḥ* are synonyms.

How did they come to translate syllogism by *ḥiyās* (plur. *maḥāyīs*, *ḥiyāsāt*), comparison, analogy? I make the following suggestion. Already among the earlier Peripatetics, especially in the Galenic work εἰσαγωγὴ διαλεκτική, there are mentioned συλλογισμοὶ κατ' ἀναλογίαν or κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. This is a kind of hypothetical deduction from probability, the objective value of which Aristotle had not been able to put high. But it found its way into *fiḥḥ* and medical works. Must not this



have given the stimulus to use *kiyās*, the name of a kind, as the generic name for all *συλλογισμοί*?

Kh̲wārizmī as already mentioned distinguishes in the section on *fiḥh* (*Mafātīḥ*, p. 8 sq.) between *kiyās al-illa* and *kiyās al-shabah*, without further explanation; he only adds that many do not make this distinction. The term *kiyās al-illa* becomes clear from the Aristotelian theory of the syllogism. Aristotle applied his general theory of the four causes (*‘ilal, asbāb*) to the syllogism also; in the conclusion he finds the matter, in the idea the form, in the syllogism the real cause and in the definition the purpose of syllogistic thinking. The *kiyās al-illa* can therefore only be the *kiyās burhānī*, while by *kiyās al-shabah* we have to understand the usual deduction by analogy of *fiḥh*.

The application of the name *burhān* to the apodeictics (Posterior Analytics) was also not fixed from the first. Ya’kūbī (d. 897) records (ed. Houtsma, i. 146) that it was known as *Kitāb al-Bayān wa ‘l-Burhān*. The two expressions are related in meaning (“to be clear, evident”) and correspond to the Greek ἀπόδειξις. But *bayān* has acquired a much wider and vaguer meaning. It is very frequent in the titles of books. A celebrated example is found in Djāhiz, who — one of the ironies of Arabic literary history — gave his most confused work, in which he endeavours to explain his own views with passages from poets and orators, the title *Fi ‘l-Bayān wa ‘l-Tabayīn*.

*Burhān* established itself as the term for apodeictic *kiyās*. Some mystics seek a higher stage of certainty in *bayān*. Ḳushairī for example (986–1074; cf. KASHF) regards *burhān* as an intelligent preliminary to the certainty of *bayān* and to the direct inspection through *ma’rifā*.

According to Kh̲wārizmī (*Mafātīḥ*, p. 145 sq.), the Apodeictics is called *al-īdāḥ*, because it makes clear to us the distinction between the true (sound) and defective *kiyās*. Ghazālī is fond of using the expression *wuḍūḥ* for “to be evident”; he says (*Mizān al-Amāl*, p. 3) that *wuḍūḥ* stands between *taḥlīd* (blind faith) and *burhān*.

But *burhān* is also often used somewhat vaguely. To emphasise its apodeictic character the necessity is therefore felt of talking of a *burhān sāṭi‘* or *ḳaṭi‘* (= absolutely certain, convincing proof). There is also *dalīl ḳaṭi‘*.

*Dalīl* (plur. *adilla*) and *diṭāla* (plur. *dalā’il*) are frequently used as synonyms for *kiyās burhānī*. Ghazālī, to take one example out of many, speaks in his *Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, Index) of *barāḥin handasiya* and *adilla handasiya* with the same meaning. *Dalīl* corresponds to the Greek σημείον (sign, hint). But σημείον came to be used (by Sext. Emp.; see v. d. Bergh, *Epitome des Averroes*, p. 154) as the generic name for the apodeictic method of proof also. This would be quite sufficient to explain the confusion or equation of *burhān* and *dalīl*. According to Aristotle, however, σημείον is simply a proof by circumstantial evidence which falls within the range of the probable and not in the field of necessity, as it was understood by the Muslim philosophers also. In this sense Ghazālī distinguishes *kiyās diṭāla* from *kiyās ‘illa* (*Mihakk al-Nazar*, Cairo n. d., p. 8).

‘Alāma (symptom), much used in diagnostics, is on the same level as *dalīl*: to conclude from signs, indications and symptoms — we may say comprehensively — this means from external phenomena, i. e. to deduce the cause from the effects. On the

other hand, as we saw, *kiyās burhānī* has to derive effects from the cause (the form of being = the conception). Two roads to knowledge are thus indicated, usually called induction and deduction. Deduction of the particular from the general, with considerable emphasis however on the middle terms (contrary to Plato), this is the root conception of syllogistic. Induction (i. e. επαγωγή, *istikrā‘*) from the particular to the general, for which Aristotle demands completeness, starts from the facts of experience (ἐμπειρία, *taḍjārib*) and is for us the nearest way, the necessary preliminary for syllogistic thinking. Our knowledge starts with sensual perception and probable meaning, but only the function of pure thinking (*‘aql*), which engages in the direct comprehension of self-evident principles of thought (e. g. the whole is greater than its part) and in the apodeictic method of proof, yields truth, which is valid for all men and peoples. Only in so far as in induction the perceiving and abstracting activity of the mind co-operates, is it (i. e. induction) implicitly syllogistic and significant for the attainment of true knowledge. This syllogistic was taken over and developed by the Muslim philosophers from Aristotle. The doctrine of induction is as a rule briefly mentioned, not developed theoretically and frequently passed over in the elementary school-logic. But induction survives in practice (as does deduction by analogy from case to case, i. e. from particular case to particular case), both as proof by circumstantial evidence and as a theoretical example (παράδειγμα, *tamthīl*).

After this summarised introduction we ought to give a brief survey of the history of syllogistic among the Muslim. Unfortunately the Arabic sources are still for the most part unprinted and even what has been published cannot be completely brought within the scope of this article.

In matter as well as terminology the *rasā’il* or the *Iḥwān al-Safā’* show archaic features. They do not divide logic into a doctrine of *taṣawwur* and of *taḍdīq*. Nor do they deal separately with the writings of Aristotle on Topics as far as Poetics although they were acquainted with them by name at least. But the main thing, the Prior and Posterior Analytics, is already there and presented in the spirit of Aristotle, although not without additions.

In keeping with their eclectic method, the many roads to knowledge are enumerated in different ways in the different treatises. The past is to be learned through tradition, the present by sensual perception and the future by *istidlāl* (astrological theory) (Bombay edition, i. 80). The soul knows all that is below it, the physical world, through the senses, itself by the *‘aql* and what is above it, the spiritual world, by *burhān* (*ibid.*, p. 211). There are three paths to knowledge: 1. sensual perception, which man has in common with the animals; 2. *‘aql* as a principle of direct cognition, whereby all men are distinguished from the animals; 3. *burhān*, whereby the learned (*‘ulamā’*) are raised above other men (ii. 258). This does not exhaust all the sources of their knowledge.

In *rasā’il* 10–14, they deal with Aristotelian logic, in 13–14 the Prior and Posterior Analytics, in which Aristotle is praised but Galen criticised. In the Prior Analytics the correct combination (*tarkīb*) of judgments in *kiyās* is taught and it is particularly emphasised that the philosophers with Aristotle regard *kiyās* (*burhānī*) as the balance (*mizān*) of truth, with which they are in a position

to distinguish true from false, good from evil, and to reject what is written in books on dialectics and rhetoric (*djadal* and *khaṭāba*). (In the later period logic is actually once called '*ilm al-mizān*').

In the Posterior Analytics (Apodeictics) the *Ikhwān* begin by distinguishing four logical methods: 1. *Takṣīm* (διαίρεσις), division, that is classification according to genera and species; 2. *tahlīl*, analysis, down to individuals (*ashkḥās*); 3. *taḥdīd*, method of definition, in which the reader is referred to *risāla* 41, a collection of definitions; 4. *burhān*, the true method of *kiyās*, which is the subject of *risāla* 14. This treatise in a mediaeval Latin translation entitled *Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis, collectus a Mahometh discipulo Alquindi philosophi* has been edited by A. Nagy (*Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Faṭṭūb ben Ishāq al-Kindī*, in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. im M. A.*, ii. 5, Münster 1897; cf. thereon my art.: *Zu Kindī und seiner Schule*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, xiii. [1899], 177 sqq.). A closer investigation of the authorship and sources (commentary on Aristotle by Themistios or Philoponos?) is still a desideratum.

Fārābī was acquainted with the *Organon* and several commentaries on it in Arabic translations. He himself endeavoured to write a commentary upon the whole of it (except the *Poetics*). Although he remarks that logic deals not only with the inner but also with the spoken *logos*, he distinguishes it in principle from grammar. Grammar has as its subject the language of a single people, or if it touches on other languages, the agreement and difference between them. Logic however in his opinion is the same for all peoples because the principles of reasoning, e.g. the proposition of contradiction or the proposition: the whole is greater than its part, hold for all; by virtue of the common basis of reason, the truth of such propositions is acknowledged by every one in any disputation with his opponents. His belief in reason also includes the infallibility of derived conclusions, if one is guided only by the rules of the method of apodeictic proof.

How much Fārābī's writings served as models for the later period is evident from the frequent references to him in Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd. Nearly three centuries after him, Ibn Ṭumlūs, a pupil of Ibn Rushd, copied in his *Maḥḥal* the whole section on logic from Fārābī's *Iḥṣā'*, introduced by a simple *ḥāla*, i.e. he (the master) says (see *Introducción al Arte de la Lógica*, ed. M. Asín, Madrid 1916, Arabic text, p. 15—30).

Fārābī was a commentator, although not so exclusively as Ibn Rushd; Ibn Sīnā however gave in various works, one even in verse, a freer presentation of logic, which had a great influence for centuries. His fullest treatment of it is in his encyclopaedic work *Kitāb al-Shifā'*; there is an outline of it in his *Kitāb al-Naḍājāt* (Rome 1593) and again in his *Kitāb al-Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leyden 1892) and in the *Manṭiḥ al-Mashriḳiyyin* (Cairo 1910, printed with the logic in verse). Generally speaking he treats of *taṣawwūr* more fully than *taṣdīq*.

To Ibn Sīnā, the study of logic was the ascetic training of scientific thought (Stoic motif). With God's help he will thereby overcome his passions and prepare himself for the voyage of discovery to pure truth. Relying on logic he wanders like the allegorical figure of his Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān, through the kingdoms of nature and of the mind.

He prefers to give *istikrā'* greater scope than Fārābī — of course only as a necessary preliminary to syllogistic reasoning. He deals more fully than his predecessor with the psychical preliminaries of pure thought i.e. analysing the properties and activities of the perceiving, imagining and reflecting soul; on the whole, however, he is dependent on Fārābī, especially in the syllogistic.

Ghazālī studied and to some extent adopted the logic of Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. He is of the opinion that the mathematical and logical methods of proof speak neither for nor against religion. In the field of logic the philosophers are distinguished from the *mutakallimūn* in his opinion by a different terminology; the material differences are in the field of the speculative. But he seems at the same time to use the language of the philosophers, not simply as an objective recorder. In his case, more than with Ibn Sīnā, logic was thrust into the background by psychology. The different methods of proof are valued less according to their objective validity than according to their subjective power of convincing; e.g. in *Ilāḥiyyāt al-ʿAwāmm* 'an 'Ilm al-Kalām (Cairo 1309, p. 39 sqq.), where he places *burhān* first and puts last, in the sixth place, belief (*īmān*) in something because one wishes it. But the philosophers must moderate their pretensions. As a theologian and mystic, Ghazālī esteems the testimony (*ḥudūdja*) of the Qurʾān and tradition as well as enlightenment by *maʿrifa* more highly than *burhān* guaranteed through the activity of the *ʿaql*.

The earliest known presentation of Aristotelian logic in the west is the *Kitāb Taḥwīm al-Dhihn* of Abū Ṣālt (1067—1134) ed. by C. A. Gonzalez Palencia as *Rectificación de la Mente*, Madrid 1915. Although the author was a younger contemporary of Ghazālī, he seems to have worked independently of Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. He ends with the first book of the Apodeictics. He treats the Prior Analytics more fully than the latter and gives a tabular survey of the forms of deduction (σχήματα, *ashkāl*).

On the other hand, Ibn Rushd in several commentaries deals with the whole of the *Organon* (including the *Poetics*). Completeness is obligatory with him, but also so far as possible, Aristotelian purity. He recognised — what Ibn Sīnā had already noticed — that the 'introduction' of Porphyrios is based on the Topics and contributes nothing to the understanding of the Apodeictics; but he wanted nevertheless to comment upon it, simply because it was the custom. He himself thinks most of the Apodeictics: without *kiyās* and *burhān* human felicity is not complete. One should not upset the syllogistic of Aristotle; but it is permitted to use good Arabic words and examples instead of unintelligible Greek ones. In his opinion Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā did not follow the teaching of Aristotle closely enough and Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut* was usually content with dialectical and rhetorical methods of proof.

*Bibliography*: in the text C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, i.—ii., Leipzig 1855—1861 is still indispensable. In vol. ii. (p. 297—396) he deals with the influence of the Arabs on Christian scholasticism from Latin translations and quotations in the scholastics. There is, so far as I know, no good survey of Arab logic based on the original sources. Cf. also KİYÂS, MANṬIḤ, NAẒAR and UṢŪL.

(TJ. DE BOER)



\***KONYA**, a town in the interior of Anatolia, with 47,286 inhabitants according to the last census (1930), capital of a wilāyet, the ancient Iconium (Ἰκόνιον) in Lycaonia, Τονόνιον of the Byzantines (Chalkok., ed. Bonn, p. 243), Yconium, Conium, Stancona (< ἡ τῶν Εἰκόνα), Cunin of the Crusaders, Conia of the Italian portulans and of Marco Polo (cf. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie v. Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1891); so, or Konia in European authors of more recent times.

Konya (Arab. Kūniya) is, according to the Arab geographers of the middle ages, situated in the fifth Ptolemaic zone (*iklim hakiki*), according to Abu 'l-Fida' in the xiv<sup>th</sup> district (*iklim 'urfī*) which consists of Western and Central Anatolia and parts of Eastern Anatolia (*bilād al-Rūm*); according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī it is situated in 65° 45' E. Long. and 41° N. Lat. It lies on the great road which runs diagonally through Asia Minor from the Amanus and Taurus passes (on this road see Fr. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i., Leipzig 1924, p. 77; on Konya's place on this road, p. 92 sqq., 129 sqq., pl. 10—13), and which was already described by Ibn Khurdādhbih (ed. de Goeje, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 100 sqq.).

In the Byzantine period, on account of its comparative proximity to the frontier, Konya suffered very much from the raids of the Muslim frontier troops and was several times, e. g. in 907, sacked by them. When the Saldjūks conquered Asia Minor under Alp Arslān, Turkish freebooters extended their raids as far as Konya (1069). After the battle of Mantzikert (1071) when Anatolia lay open to them, the town was taken by the Turks. When soon afterwards (1074) the Saldjūk prince Sulaimān b. Kutulmīsh, given by Malikshāh the conduct of the campaign against the Byzantines, entered Anatolia, he was placed upon the throne in Konya by the Turkish begs who were fighting in Anatolia (Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, *Rec.*, iii. 2). After Nicaea (Iznik) had been temporarily made the capital of the Anatolian Saldjūks, they were forced back to Konya after the First Crusade (1097) in which Western Anatolia, only recently occupied, was again lost by the Saldjūks. Konya remained the capital of the Saldjūks of Anatolia (Rūm) until the decline of this kingdom.

In the struggles within the ruling house of the Saldjūks of Rūm, brought about by the division of the kingdom among the sons of sultān Kīlīdj Arslān II, the fight centred round the possession of the capital Konya. For example in 584 (1188—1189) Kutb al-Dīn Malikshāh, to whom Kīlīdj Arslān had given Siwās, seized Konya and Akseray, which his father had retained as sultān and overlord, and also took his father prisoner. On the approach of the Crusaders under the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the Third Crusade, Malikshāh resisted their advance; but Frederick succeeded in taking Konya (May 18, 1190) which, after negotiations with Malikshāh, he returned to the Saldjūks. When next year (587 = 1191) Malikshāh attempted to take Kaşariye also, Kīlīdj Arslān cast off his allegiance to him. As Malikshāh in the meanwhile held a firm grip on the capital Konya, the father had to take to flight and found refuge with his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw to whom he had allotted Burghlu (= Ulu Burlu?). With the latter's help, Kīlīdj Arslān then succeeded in regaining Konya. But he died soon afterwards

(588 = 1192) before he was able to retake Akseray also from Malikshāh, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw I ascended the throne. Malikshāh soon afterwards took Kaşariye but died not long afterwards (1195 or 1196).

Another son of Kīlīdj Arslān, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimānshāh, lord of Tokat, then seized first of all Malikshāh's lands (Siwās, Akseray and Kaşariye) and attacked Konya, which he besieged for four months. Finally the town was surrendered by an agreement, which allowed Kaikhusrāw to withdraw unhindered. Sulaimānshāh II ascended the throne (1197) and Kaikhusrāw went into exile, first to Little Armenia and Syria, then to Byzantium.

When after the death of Sulaimānshāh his son 'Izz al-Dīn Kīlīdj Arslān III, a minor, was placed upon the throne (600 = 1204), Kaikhusrāw summoned by three Turkish begs appeared before Konya to try to regain the throne. After an initial resistance, the town was surrendered by negotiation: Kīlīdj Arslān was brought to Tokat (Ibn Bibi, iii. 70 sqq.; iv. 27 sqq. says he was given Tokat as his fief; but this is probably, as P. Wittek points out, a euphemism for his disappearance in the state prison in Tokat) and Kaikhusrāw again ascended the throne (601 = 1204; on the fighting for Konya, which began after the partition of the kingdom by Kīlīdj Arslān II, cf. P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, x., 1935, p. 11 sqq., particularly p. 17 sqq.).

The golden age of the city now began under the sultāns 'Izz al-Dīn Kaikā'ūs I, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaikobād I and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw II, which is characterized by remarkable building activity. In 618 (1221) Kaikobād I built a wall with towers round Konya (Ibn Bibi, iii. 251 sqq.; iv. 104 sqq.; cf. also Löytved, inscription, N<sup>o</sup>. 23), of which Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī has handed down an old description. Ibn Bibi makes it appear as if the town had been completely unfortified before Kaikobād. This is certainly not correct; for Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī tells us that Sultān Kīlīdj Arslān (which?, presumably II; so thinks Ewliyā Çelebi who gives the story too) erected the citadel (i. e. the present citadel hill) and a palace upon it and that when the citadel and wall were in ruins, Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Kaikobād and his emirs renewed the city wall. If we take the two stories together, the following seems to be the truth: Kīlīdj Arslān built the citadel and Kaikobād restored it and built a wall which included the town within the fortifications. Kaikobād's wall bore numerous inscriptions and sculptures, some spolia from ancient monuments, others the products of a contemporary school of sculpture of the Saldjūks of Rūm. In the first half of the sixteenth century this wall was still practically intact and is described by travellers of the time (Texier, Moltke). At the present day nothing of it is to be seen. Some of the sculptures that adorned it are in the Museum at Konya.

The other buildings erected by the sultāns mentioned above in the golden age of Konya, are all on the citadel hill, i. e. within the area of the old citadel. Of the works of earlier sultāns, which must also have been built within the citadel but which had to make way for the buildings of Kaikā'ūs and Kaikobād, there only exists the wonderful *minbar* of wood of Sultān 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I in 550 (1155) made by a master from Akhlāt, with an inscription, now in the mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn; this is one of the finest examples

of the Muslim wood-carver's art; it stood of course in a mosque, on the site of which 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād built the present mosque which bears his name. Of the two *türbe* standing beside this mosque one which contains the tombs of the four sultāns Mas'ūd I, Kılıdī Arslan II, Kaiḳsuraw I and Sulaimānshāh II, according to inscription (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 9), was erected by Kılıdī Arslan II, the other by Kaiḳ'ūs I in 616 (1219) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 12). The chief building on the citadel hill of Konya, the mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn, is known from existing inscriptions to have been begun by 'Izz al-Dīn Kaiḳ'ūs I in 616 (1219) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 14) and finished by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād I in 617 (1220) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 16, 19 and 21; the architect was Muḥammad b. Ḳhawlān of Damascus, Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 17; the fayence with which it is covered is by Karīm al-Dīn Ard[um]shāh: Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 21). The brief period it took to build, two years, shows that it was a question not of a new building but of alteration or extension of an already existing building; the irregularity of the plan suggests the same thing.

Beside the mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn there stood the palace of the sultāns, considerable remains of which were still seen by Texier; Sarre, Huart and Löytved found that all that was left, besides a wall, was a tower with an incomplete inscription of one of the four sultāns called Kılıdī Arslan (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 51). Sarre's suggestion that it could only be Kılıdī Arslan IV because — Kılıdī Arslan III on account of his too short and disputed reign does not come into the question — in the reign of the earlier sultāns of this name "buildings of this kind were probably not built in Konya", is perhaps correct. Still one must assume that the earlier sultāns built some parts of this palace and this late inscription was only preserved by chance. On April 5, 1907, according to Löytved one half of the window arch with the inscription collapsed and now all that is left is a miserable fragment (reproduced in R. Hartmann, Pl. 23). With the whole building area on the citadel hill of Konya P. Wittek will deal in more detail. Fr. Sarre has just published a monograph on the tower (*Der Kiosk von Konia*, Berlin 1935).

Outside of the citadel in the inner town there are still a whole series of buildings erected by notables among the laity and clergy of this period in the history of Konya (cf. Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 10, 11, 22, 24, 25), among them the Sīrḳāf Medrese of 640 (1242) splendidly adorned with fayence (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 27), the work of an architect Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Othmān of Ṭūs (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 34).

In the period after the Mongol invasion of Asia Minor (1243) which brought the Saldjūk kingdom of Rūm under the sway of the Mongol khāns it was two distinguished statesmen who endeavoured to avert the ruin of the kingdom and developed a building activity in Konya, marked by works of remarkable artistic quality, the emir Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳara Ṭai b. 'Abd Allāh who built the Ḳara Ṭai Medrese of 649 (1252/2) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 35) and the grand vizier (Ṣāhib) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusain, called Ṣāhib 'Atā (d. 684 = 1285; the inscription on his tomb in Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 66; on him cf. also M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Selçuk veziri Sahib Ata ile Oğullarının Hayat ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1934). The latter, who also erected buildings in other towns of Anatolia, built a

whole series of notable buildings in Konya: two mesdjids, the Larende Mesdjid of 656 (1258) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 44) and the Indje Mināreli Mesdjid (the "mesdjid with the slender minaret", which was destroyed by lightning in 1901), both works of the same architect Kelül (or Kelük) b. 'Abd Allāh (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 48 and 73; the same architect also built in Konya the so-called Na'laindji Kümbedi: Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 78; on this architect whose name is perhaps to be explained as Kaloyan, cf. Ferit and Mesut, *op. cit.*, p. 120 sq.); Ṣāhib 'Atā also built the Ḳhānkāh behind the Larende Mosque (place of residence for dervishes of 678 = 1278-80) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 57), adjoining which is his own *türbe* of 682 (1283) (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 61) (Ferit and Mesut mention a number of other smaller buildings of Ṣāhib 'Atā in Konya). Other notables of this period of political decline also built important architectural monuments in Konya (Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 53, 54, 56, 80 sq., 82); on the other hand there are none built by sultāns.

Next to its historical and architectural importance for Turkey as the first capital of a Turkish state on Anatolian soil, we must emphasise the significance of Saldjūk Konya from the point of view of religious history as the place of foundation of the most important dervish order in Turkey, the Mewlewīye, and the home of the mother monastery of this order and the residence of the grand master, the Ḳelebi. According to Mewlewī tradition, the father of the founder of the order, Bahā' al-Dīn who had fled into Anatolia to escape the wrath of the Ḳh'wārizmshāh came to Konya in 1220 on the invitation of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād I and died there in 628 (1231). His son, the founder of the order, Mewlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, lived here until his death in 1274 and composed his famous *Mathnawī* here. His monastery (*dergāh*) contains the tombs of the Mewlānā, of his father Bahā' al-Dīn and those of his successors, the Ḳelebis (cf. Löytved, p. 40 sq.). It is a building the plan of which probably dates back to the period of its foundation but contains elements from each succeeding century; at the present day it houses the Museum of Konya (cf. Mehmed Yūsuf, *Resimli Konya Asari Atika Müzesi Detili ve Mevlevi Tarihi*, and do., *Resimli ve muhtasar Konya Asari Atika Müzesi Rehberi*, Istanbul 1348 = 1930). Of other famous places of pilgrimage in Konya mention may be made of the *türbe* of Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳonewī (d. 672 = 1274-1275; a building of the same year: Löytved, N<sup>o</sup>. 54), the step-son and pupil of Ibn al-'Arabi and that of Ṣhams al-Dīn Tabrizi, the dervish whom Mewlānā described as his spiritual father on the path of Ṣūfī knowledge of God.

In this connection we must not forget to mention several local traditions of Konya, associated with pre-Muḥammadan (Christian) buildings and telling in some cases of remarkable relations going back to the Saldjūk period between the believers, even the clergy, of Islām and Christianity in Konya. In the first place we mention a Byzantine church on the citadel hill, later used as a clock-tower and now completely destroyed, which was dedicated to St. Amphilochius. In modern times it was thought to be "Plato's (Ifḷāṭūn) Observatory"; at an earlier period, as Yāḳūt notes, it was regarded as the wonder-working tomb of Plato, the "divine sage", and visited as a place of pilgrimage by members of both religions. To Plato also were ascribed other buildings in the region of Konya, which the Turks



ound in the conquered country, particularly such as were taken to be waterworks (cf. thereon F. W. Hasluck, *Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia Plain, in Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vol. ii., Oxford 1929, p. 363 sqq.). Plato was also associated with the monastery of St. Chariton in the hills of Sile, two hours' journey N. W. of Konya (called by Eflâki "Plato's monastery", also Aḡ Monastir "White Monastery"), the headquarters of the Greek clergy in Iconium. Within this monastery was a little mosque recalling a miracle which St. Chariton is said to have performed on the Mewlānā's son [on the monastery and the legends associated with it cf. Nikos A. Bees, *Die Maria-Spiläotissa-Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien)*, Berlin 1922]. Of the tomb of the Mewlānā a local Christian tradition already recorded by Paul Lucas who was in Konya in 1705, records that his intimate friend, a Greek "bishop" called Epsepi (i. e. Eusebius), was buried beside the great founder of the order, so that the tomb was honoured by Christians as well as Muslims (cf. thereon J. H. Mordtmann, *Um das Mausoleum des Molla Hunkiar in Konia, in Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, ii., 1925 p. 197; on all these relations between Christians and Muslims cf. also F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans of Konia, op. cit.*, p. 370 sqq.).

The Ḳaramanians succeeded the Saldjūks as lords of Konya. As early as 676 (1277) the then Ḳaraman-oghlu, Mehemmed Beg, endeavoured to establish himself in Konya, taking advantage of the troubled situation under Kai-khusraw III (assassination of the powerful vizier Mu'in al-Din Perwāne, campaign of the Mamlūk sultān Baibars against the Mongols which brought the Mamlūks as far as Ḳaişariye, and the absence of the sultān and the Şahib Fakhr al-Din from Konya); he put up a claimant to the throne in the person of a certain Djemri, whom he alleged to be a son of Sultān Kaika'ūs II named Ghīyāth al-Din Siyāwush and captured Konya in his name, but had soon afterwards to abandon the town on the approach of the Saldjūk army led by the Şahib and reinforced by Mongol auxiliaries (Ibn Bibi, iii. 321 sqq.). If peace and order was now restored in Anatolia for a time, this was due not to the authority of the Saldjūk sultān but to that of the Mongol khān who sent his vizier Shams al-Din Djuwaini with this object to Konya. It was of course not the Saldjūks but the Mongols who reaped the benefits. Saldjūk rule in Konya came to an end, unhonoured and unsung, not very long afterwards. We are however uncertain about the details and dates (708 [1308] is usually given as the year of the end of Saldjūk rule in Konya); we only know that in the xvth century the Ḳaramanians become lords of Konya.

Under the Ḳaraman-oghlu, who lived in Larendē (the modern Ḳaraman), Konya sank to the level of a provincial town but was still of significance for its cultural tradition. Some buildings erected in Konya by notables in this period of Ḳaramanian rule may be noted (cf. Löytved, p. 79 sqq.), among them the medrese (*dār al-huffāz*) of Muḥammad b. Hādīdjī Khāṣṣ Beg of 824 (1421) (Löytved, No. 90) may be specially mentioned; but there are none erected by Ḳaramanian princes themselves.

In the wars that now followed between the Ḳaraman-oghlu and the Ottomans, Konya formed the principal object in dispute and before its walls

battles were several times fought between the two powers struggling for supremacy in Anatolia. About the year 796 (1393-1394) (so most of the Ottoman sources; cf. Urudj, p. 31, 16 = 101, 10; anonym. MS., ed. Giese, p. 34, 10; 'Ashīḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, p. 65, chap. 64; v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 225; the date is not exactly certain), Bāyazid I Yıldırım captured Konya and entered the kingdom of the Ḳaraman-oghlu. After the battle of Angora (1402), however, in which Bāyazid was defeated by Timur and taken prisoner, the victor restored the Anatolian emirs dispossessed by the Ottoman to their kingdoms again; the Ḳaramanoghlu — it was Mehemmed II, son of 'Ali Beg who had been defeated and put to death by Bāyazid's general Timurtaş — in this way regained his lands and Konya with them. The struggle between the rival powers continued for another half century — mention may be made of the sack of Brussa by the Ḳaramanians and the counter-blow by the Ottoman Mehemmed I which ended in his victory over the Ḳaramanians at Konya (the date is not certain: the chronicles give 816, 817 and 819; cf. 'Ashīḳpashazāde, p. 75, chap. 71 and p. 78, chap. 74; v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 366 decides for 817 = 1414) — until finally Mehemmed II the Conqueror in 872 (1476) conquered Konya and finally incorporated Ḳaramania in the Ottoman empire ('Ashīḳpashazāde, p. 163, chap. 143; v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii 86 sqq.). Konya was henceforth the capital of the Ottoman eyālet of Ḳaraman and the headquarters of a beglerbeg and a mollā of 500 aspers.

Since Mehemmed II in order to increase the prestige of his new capital Constantinople compelled artists, artisans and notables to migrate thither, the incorporation of Konya in the Ottoman empire meant its gradual sinking to the level of a sleepy provincial town. Only the mother monastery of the Mewlewī at the tomb of their founder Djalāl al-Din Rūmī remained to the town as a powerful stimulus to an intellectual life bound up with the Mewlewī tradition. This diminution in the importance of Konya made itself felt in the embellishment of the town: the foundations of the Şaldjūk and Ḳaramanian period fell into decay and the buildings dependent upon them fell into ruins, and new edifices, which might have been fit to take their place alongside those of the Saldjūk period, were no longer erected, at least by private individuals. The whole interest in Konya centred round the tombs of the saints buried there and the Mewlewī monastery; to these, particularly the last-named, sultāns and great dignitaries have however extended their care. Konya does possess one outstanding monument of the best Ottoman period in the Selimiye mosque built by Selīm I; its value as a document for the history of art is increased for us by the fact that it is a copy of the Fātiḥ Mosque built in Constantinople by Mehemmed II, which in its present form is a reconstruction of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century (cf. R. M. Riefstahl, *Selimiye in Konya*, in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. xii., No. 4, 1930). Konya possesses several other Friday-mosques of the Ottoman period, of which only the mosque of Sharaf al-Din (date unknown, probably xviii<sup>th</sup> century) is of some importance.

Im 1832 Konya again played a part in history when Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt, defeated the troops of the Ottoman sultān here. After the town had for centuries been

the principal station on the road running diagonally through Anatolia, which road in the Ottoman period, apart from its significance as a military road for all Ottoman operations against the east, was also very important as a pilgrim road for the annual caravan from Constantinople to Mecca, in the year 1896 Konya was connected with the Baghdad railway which replaces this road and has since experienced a revival of prosperity. After the World war Konya was occupied by the troops of the Entente. From Oct. 3—6, 1920 it was the scene of a rising in the name of the caliph against the nationalist movement but this was soon suppressed (cf. Mustafa Kemal, *Die nationale Revolution*, p. 53). At the beginning of the last decisive struggle with the Greeks in Aug. 1922, Konya was the headquarters of the Turkish forces. Like all dervish monasteries that of the Mewlewis in Konya was closed in 1925; since 1927 it has been the town Museum.

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**KUBBA.** Purpose and significance. Kubba is the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome and is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of *shaiḥs* and saints made by the people as well as to great mausoleums. The name Kubba became established as a *pars pro toto* abbreviation for the domes of tombs for which it is exclusively reserved. All the special names for sepulchral buildings, which vary with country and language as well as with the style of building and person interred, come under the general generic name of Kubba. The classical word *turba* was driven out of use by Kubba until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have *gumbād* for Kubba, so we occasionally have *turbat* for *turba* in Irān. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, which usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the *maṣḥḥad*, which according to its etymology means a place where a *shahīd* is buried. "As a rule a *maṣḥḥad* is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endued with a semblance of divinity; but then the *maṣḥḥad* is not only a grave, but a

memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say it is not a burial-place for any Muslim but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints" (van Berchem in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* [to be quoted as *Ch. Bdkm.*], p. 89). The general term in Shi'a lands for the tomb of a saint is *imām-zāde* or *shāh-zāde*. In lands where Arabic is spoken these domed tombs are called *marbūt*, *shaiḥ*, *walī*, *nābi* and as places of pilgrimage *maḥam*.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the Kubba is a square building covered by a dome which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised. This evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*<sup>1</sup>, p. 79). This development began with primitive corbelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and in the end took its own way in west and east which will be dealt with under the separate countries. Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of Kubba, which is found from the Maghrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples such as northern Irān, Māzandarān, the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Turkestan. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decoration in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Irān and exceptionally also in Anatolia is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Aiyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo Kubbas covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Irān.

Form and development of the Kubba in the various lands. Maghrib. The Kubbas or *marabūts* of the Maghrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficult to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries, four of which are reproduced here (from Marçais, *Manuel*, ii. 797), have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people. The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style, the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture, the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramid roof which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain



valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the High Algerian Plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory with the egg-shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure.

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the Kūbba we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of Kūbba — a dome on four pillars — as represented in the Cubola in Palermo, is the oldest in the Maghrib (Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 532). Several Kūbbas of the cemetery of Kairawān might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (cf. Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 17). To the same group also appears to belong the Kūbba of Sidi el-Mazeri in Monastir which can be dated in the xi<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

In al-‘Ubbādes-Suflī (the Lower) near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Marīnid Kūbbas (i. e. before 1195 A. D.) built of brick and pisé on four pillars with horse-shoe arches and semi-niche pendentives as arcades and octagonal domes (Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 310). The walls were either crowned with wreaths of pinnacles or with corner pinnacles. In the old cemetery of Sidi Ya’kūb outside Tlemcen is the “Tomb of the Sultāna”, the rounded arches in nine sections of which piercing the eight sides of the lower drum make a date in the early vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century certain. The octagonal drum made the arcades superfluous here. The Kibbat Benī Merin (Tombs of the Marīnids) in al-Kulla (Chella) at Fēz link up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 763—801 (1361—1398) were buried four successors of Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Alī. One of these Kūbbas has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives. The mausoleum of Abu ‘l-Hasan there, the most splendid of the Marīnid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris*, 1922; Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 497). Next to these open Kūbbas just mentioned the closed Kūbba is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind-niches. This is the form of the Kūbbas of Sidi bu Medyen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the viii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) century and restored at the end of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century. The dome is divided inside by painting with intertwining-bands into twelve sectors. The Kūbba in Tlemcen now called Sidi Brāhim was built by Sidi Abū Hammū Mūsā II (753—788 = 1352—1386). The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their socles ornamented with glazes and their painted stucco relief. The dome divided into eight parts rests on Maghribī arcades in the form of semi-pendentives. These two last named Kūbbas have pillared outer halls for the pilgrims. As, elsewhere, in the Maghrib, particularly in Tunis, mosques and madrasas were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a Kūbba (Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 860).

Egypt. The oldest buildings of the Kūbba type in Cairo belong to the Fātimid period. The oldest is the *maṣḥhad* built by Badr al-Djamālī, the builder

of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afdāl — the *maṣḥhad* of al-Djuyūshī on the Muḳaṭṭam. *Amīr al-Djuyūshī*, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr’s title. The date of the inscription was read 478 (1085) (von Berchem, *Notes d’Archéologie Arabe*, in *J. A.*, 1891). The building consists of a rectangular chamber, roofed by a high arcaded dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, *K. d. i. V.*, *Prop. K’g.*, p. 159; M. S. Briggs, *M. A. E.*, fig. 35—38). The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, encloses the tomb of an unknown saint, whom the natives call Sidi Djuyūshī and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (*Notes*, repr., p. 78; cf. do., *Une mosquée du temps des Fatimites*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, vol. ii.). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco *mihrāb*. The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian single arcades which survive in Cairo down to the Aiyūbid period. Directly below the Djāmī<sup>c</sup> al-Djuyūshī at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam in the Ḳarāfa is a building similar in plan and construction to the *Maṣḥhad* on the Muḳaṭṭam, *Djāmī<sup>c</sup> Ikhwat Sidnā Yūsuf*. It has no court or minaret. The arches here again have the Persian profile characteristic of the Fātimid period as well as the cupola. This building again is not a mosque but a Kūbba. There are four small Kūbbas of this period in the Ḳarāfa near the Kūbba of Sidi ‘Uqbā called by people *es-sab‘ā Banāt* “the seven daughters” (v. Berchem, *Notes*, p. 78). These are small square buildings with octagonal drum and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Maḳrīzī. How much of these buildings with the exception of the Djuyūshī which has been preserved still stands, can only be ascertained on the spot. The expected second volume of Creswell’s *Early Muslim Architecture* may definitely settle this question.

A Kūbba with tombs of ‘Abbāsīd caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Saiyida Nafisa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the ‘Aiyūbid style (van Berchem, *Notes*, ii., in *J. A.*, 1897, repr., p. 20 sqq.). A date 640 (1243) in an inscription gives the *terminus ante*, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Aiyūbid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of muḳarnas niches which shows Turkish influence. This Kūbba however still follows Fātimid tradition as a brick building and in its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (*Notes*, ii., p. 21). From the Aiyūbid period also date the Kūbbas of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb of 647—648 (1249—1250) and of his widow *Shadjarat al-Durr* of 648 (1250). These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin eggshaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it. Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. The façades of this Kūbba are ornamented with keel-arched flat niches and lozenge-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Aḳmar mosque (519 =

1125) and other Fāṭimid buildings. In the interior the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and muḳarnas, the *mihrābs* were decorated with rich ornament and framed above with keel-arched muḳarnas in the form of a fan (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation . . . , in Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques*, fig. 32 and M. S. Briggs, *M. A. E.*, fig. 72—75). With the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1250—1390) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the tambour, as could be seen in the ruins still standing 20 years ago of the Ḳubbas of the family of Sultān Ḳalā'ūn (678—689 = 1279—1290) (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 187 and 153). The two Ḳubbas, which were associated with madrasas, had rectangular substructures of stone with octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Ḳalā'ūn and Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recess niches with pillars from ancient buildings but was otherwise bare. The substructures had windows of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the Ḳubba of the Baḥrī Mamlūks disappeared. The Ḳubba of Ḳalā'ūn himself is an exception; he had it built after the model of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in and was given a wooden cupola. In the Baḥrī period the melon cupola also appears in Cairo. The Ḳubba of Zain al-Dīn Yūsuf, a Ṣūfī *shaiḫ* of the line of the Banī Umaiya, of 697 (1298), is one of the most beautiful Ḳubbas of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squinch area, a drum full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it and a melon dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, muḳarnas (picture in Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (pict. in Devonshire, *op. cit.*, p. 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the melon cupola of the Ḳubba just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupola, the drums of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cellwork evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with muḳarnas honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamlūks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the Caliphs" all belong to the second Mamlūk period and are similar.

Lists of the Ḳubbas of Cairo are given in Creswell, *A brief Chronology*, in *B. I. F. A. O.*, vol. xvi. and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, p. 123—127.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list there still are in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred Ḳubbas, which are there called *turba* and *welī* and are usually connected with small madrasas or dījami's. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squinch storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Aiyūbids that architecture began to flourish again. As however the sepulchral dome over the Nūriya madrasa with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was still dependent on other lands and in this case imitated the Mesopotamian form (Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damascus*, pl. 4<sup>b</sup>). Saladin's Ḳubba above the 'Azīziye madrasa has a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure. From the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, the vii<sup>th</sup>—viii<sup>th</sup> centuries (1250—1390), many turbas still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in so far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Baibars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the tambour becomes higher and the silhouette steeper . . . In particular the portal niche now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, p. 7). In keeping with this towering tendency the turba of Rukn al-Dīn of 621 (1224), which has a masjid associated with it, has already two transitional stories on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian concave squinches and the other 16 sided with windows, and a melon-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 42, pl. 8c and 9<sup>b</sup>). Very similar is the turba of 'Izz al-Dīn of 626 (1228—1229) and several others (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 9<sup>a</sup>, fig. 34, 35; pl. 7<sup>b</sup>, pl. 10<sup>a</sup>). A more modest type is represented by the Kilidjiye turba of 645 (1247) built along with a madrasa for Saif al-Dīn Kilidj al-Nūrī. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch-area was sufficient, since with the help of pendentive consoles the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular consoles, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed tambour windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 10—12; cf. also fig. 47). Open Ḳubbas with four great gatearches are also found in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7c). As an example of rich inner decoration with stucco-relief may be mentioned the turba al-Ṣālihiye of the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12). As in Egypt so also in Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks the architectural form rapidly lost in vigour which was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, p. 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Tā'ūsīye of 784 (1382) betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window-storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 22<sup>b</sup>).



As the *ḡubba al-Turizī* of 828 (1424—1425) shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and 16gon (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 28a). The rich dome *muḡarnas* of Egypt is not to be found in Syria and here remained confined to the niches of the gateway. Outside of Damascus we may mention the double dome of *Khairbek* in Aleppo also known as the *ḡubba* of *Shāikh 'Alī* and *Kā'it-Bay* of 924 (1518) (Gluck-Diez, *K. d. J., Prop. Kg.*, p. 189 and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, p. 106).

The Ottoman *türbes* from 1517 A.D. offer as in Egypt little of interest and little variety. They are, as the *türbe* of *Derwish Pasha* of 987 (1579) shows, mainly octagonal with two *tambour* storeys in the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 55).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In *Saldjūk* Anatolia more than in other countries the association of *madrasas* with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In *Ḳonya* and the towns under its influence such as *Aḡserai*, we find in the open *madrasas* as in those with domed courts, at each side of the *ḡibla-iwan* in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room; exceptionally both are tombs (*Indje Minareli*; cf. above, article *MASDĠD*, iii. 385). In *Ḳonya* the transition to the dome is made partly still by fan-shaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (*Ḳara Tā'i*, 649 [1251—1252], *Indje Minareli*, 650—684 [1252—1285], *Sirdjeli Medrese*, 641 [1243—1244]). The earliest still clumsy trihedral console friezes shrink in the course of development to narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric sounding-off of the angels was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in woodwork. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like *Nigde*, *Ḳaṣariye* etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominate. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in *Ḳonya* to the *turba* of *Faḡhr al-Dīn 'Alī* (666—682 = 1267—1283) which was also built as a *madrasa* with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. Sarre, *Konia*, reprinted from *Pers. Bdkm.*). The independent *ḡubba*, usually called *turba* or *ḡunbād*, also *minareli*, forms in Anatolia and Armenia a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor, round in Armenia with pyramidal or conical roofs. A list of the more important *turbas*, so far as they have been published, follows. In *Ḳaṣariye*: *Çifte Gümbed*, 645 (1247); *Döner Gümbed*, 675 (1276); *Sirdjeli Gümbed*, 750 (1349); *'Alī Dja'far*, 750 (1349); *Amīr 'Alī* 751 (1350), all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof except the last named which is square (cf. Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The *Kösh-Madrasa* in the same town (740 = 1339—1340) has an octagonal *turba* standing in its court. The mosque of *Lala Paṣha* has an octagonal *turba* of the viii<sup>th</sup> century built on to it. In *Nigde* the mosque of *Sunḡur Bey* has an octagonal *turba* of the year 620 (1223) added to it. Outside of the town stands the octagonal *turba* of *Khudābanda* (712 = 1312—1313); there are

also several undated *turbas* in the vicinity (Gabriel, *op. cit.*). In *Siwas* is the octagonal *turba* of *Husain b. Dja'far* of 629 (1231—1232) and the square one of *Shāikh Hasan Beg* (*Guduk Mināre*) of 748 (1347) (cf. van Berchem, *M. C. J. A.*, in *Asie Mineure*, i., p. 17 and 39, pl. ii.). In *Diwrigi* are the octagons of *Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn*, 529 (1134—1135) and of *Amīr Shāhānshāh (Saiyida Malik)*, 529 (1134—1135), also an anonymous *turba* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 94, pl. xli.). In *Tekke*, a village near *Zara-Diwrigi*, is the undated *turba* of *Shāikh Marzubān*. In *Beishehir* the *Ashraf Rūm Djamī'* has a square *turba* attached to it with a conical roof the inner dome of which is decorated with unglazed mosaic such as we occasionally find in *Ḳonya*. These stone *turbas* are usually decorated on the outside with bands of relief and the entrance doorway with *muḡarnas* lunettes. Of the *turbas* in *Aḡshahir Sarre* mentions that of *Saiyid Maḡmūd*, 621 (1224) (*Klein-asien*, p. 22; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique*, 1894—1895).

In Armenia there are several *turbas* of structural interest on Lake Wan. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with *muḡarnas* lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in relief and Armenian two-sided niches with friezes of *muḡarnas* at the top. The combination of Turco-Islāmic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great *turbas* in *Aḡhlāt* date from the end of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century A.D., the small one from 862 (1457—1458), the *turba* in *Wostan 736* (1334—1335) (cf. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen* etc.; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 156 sq., 118 sq.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of *turbas* continued under the rule of the Ottomans without however new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with triads of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these *turbas* as a rule look plain and practical. In addition the inner chambers lose in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art and the want of preliminary work on the subject.

*'Irāḡ*, *Irān* and *Turkeṣtān*. In the *'Irāḡ* and *Irān* the normal type of *ḡubba* was preceded by indigenous tomb-buildings. In *'Irāḡ* these are the polygonal tombs with *muḡarnas* domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of *Saiyida Zubaida* near *Baghdād*. Others are *al-Nadīmī*, *al-Asiba*, *Imām Dūr*, *Imāmzāde Tuil* etc. This type was also taken to *Kūm* (fig. in Sarre-Herzfeld, *E.T.R.*; Sarre, *Pers. Bdkm.*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, p. 100—202; or p. 20, 72—74 and article *MUḲARNAS*, below). *Ḳūm* as one of

the holy places of Irān since the iind (viiith) century, still offers with its 16 ḳubbas still standing the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Irān. They are almost all octagonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glaze. They date from the viith-xth (xiiith-xvith) century. They are *Shāh-zāde* Ibrāhīm, an octagonal domed building with eight high deep niches, a Saldjūk (?) precursor of the similar Šafawid type (*Khōdja Rabi'*); *Shāh-zāde* Ibrāhīm near the Kāshān Gate of 721 (1321) and restored in 805 (1402); *Shāh-zāde* Ismā'il 776 (1374); 'Ali b. Dja'far 740 (1339); 'Ali b. Abi 'l-Ma'ālī near the Kāshān Gate 761 (1359); *Khōdja* Imād al-Din near the Kāshān Gate 792 (1389); *Khōdja* Djamāl al-Din near the Kāshān Gate, *Shāh* Saiyid 'Ali outside the Raiy Gate; *Shāh-zāde* Aḥmad outside the Raiy Gate; *Shāhār* Imām-zāde outside the Raiy Gate; *Shāh-zāde* Dja'far 707 (1307); *Shāh-zāde* Aḥmad (*Khāk-i Faradj*); *Shāh-zāde* Aḥmad Ḳāsim; *Čihil Akhtarān* 905 (1499); *Shāh-zāde* Ḥamza; *Shāh-zāde* 'Abd Allāh (*Preliminary Report on the Tombs of the Saints at Qumm* by A. U. Pope, in *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, vol. iv., No. 1, 1935; the publication of these buildings undertaken by Faradj Allāh Bazl is announced for the next No. of the *Bull.*). The Imām-zāde Karrār in Buzūn dated 528 (1134) east of Isfahān was published by Myron B. Smith and E. Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, vii., March 2, 1935). It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Irān along the Elburz chain in place of the normal ḳubba we find in the xth-xiiiith century cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called *mil* or *gumbād*: *Djurdjān*, *Raiy*, *Radkān*, *Damghān*, *Demāwend*, *Kishmar*, *Wāramin*, *Nakhčewān*, *Marāgha*, *Bostām*, etc. (fig. in Sarre, *op. cit.*; Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.* and *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, etc.). The type is found with variations beyond Irān as far as Turkeṣtān (Old Urgendj). These towers are mediæval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppes for their tribal chiefs and leaders. In form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Diez, *Persien, Islam. Bkst. in Persien*, p. 51—55, 73 sqq.). A particular type which is closer to that of the normal ḳubba developed in the province of Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal tower-roofs mainly belonging to the xiiith-xivth century A. D. and are undoubtedly descendants of an older native type of wooden building (fig. in Sarre, *Pers. Bdkm.*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 98, 99 or 73). The ḳubba proper was already latent in the old square building of stone with squinch dome with which however it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sāsānian domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older, Irānian type of house (cf. the eastern Irānian, Sāsānian domed building, *Ribāt Sefid* in Diez, *Persien* etc., fig. 1). Domed buildings of the ḳubba were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islāmic period.

The oldest ḳubba in the 'Irāk is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the *Ḳubbat al-Šulaibiya* in

Sāmarrā, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the Caliph Muntaṣir, in which Mu'tazz and Muhtadī were perhaps also buried as three graves were found: a domed building quadrangular in the interior, while outside the corners were cut off by the corridor-like octagonal pathway round it. The transition to the (now destroyed) dome was made by an octagonal series of squinches with niches, of which only fragments survive. There are four gates at the ends of the axes. The building followed the *Ḳubbat al-Šakhrā* in Jerusalem and its Christian predecessors (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster Bericht... von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, p. 28—31; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911, i. 83—86).

The oldest remaining ḳubbas in Turān and Irān date from the third (ninth) century and in contrast to Sāsānian domes show an innovation in construction which opened up new possibilities of development: the corners are bridged over with keel arches instead of with the clumsy funnel shaped squinches proper. These, in smaller buildings, as in the ḳubba in Sāngbāst, might be closed up with a filling of bricks arranged in a pattern, in larger buildings left open to the gallery passage behind, whereby the intramural passage which already existed in the great Sāsānian domes in Fārsistān in the squinch storey was now made visible for the first time and given an aesthetic function for the inner articulation of the chamber and the external articulation of the façades. The oldest ḳubba still preserved is the tomb of Ismā'il in Bukhārā of 296 (907), i. e. in Turān; the most celebrated and largest is the turba — as Yāqūt calls it — of the Saldjūk Sulṭān Sindjār (511—522 = 1117—1157) in Merw. The building is of colossal dimensions. The square lower part with walls 20 feet thick and sides 90 feet long is 45 feet high and is crowned outside by a gallery 17 feet high behind which rises the drum with the dome, originally covered with blue glaze, to a height of about 100 feet. The drum shows signs of its original concealment by a wall of niches, in the empty niches of which only the Buddhist idols are lacking to complete the resemblance to the stupas of similar structure — for example in Balkh which is not far away. The direct connection between this decoration of the exterior of the ḳubba and the equally imposing stupas is undoubted. The gallery is ornamented with reliefs in brick and stucco. The interior walls are painted with ornamental designs, and have a frieze in Kūfic script around the top. The keel arches bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The spandrels between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with muḳarnas. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fanshaped and criss-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tendril patterns (Diez, *Persien; Isl. Bk. in Ch.*, p. 93 sq.; Cohn-Wiener, *Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar*, in *Fb. d. As. Kunst*, xi/i. 925; do., *Turan, Islāmische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarakhs on the Harirūd in Russian Turkeṣtān is a ḳubba similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (Schukovskij, *Rasvalini Starago Mervu*, fig. 33). Two others in the region



of the Murghāb and Zarafshān oases are Talkhātān Bābā and Mazār Sulṭān Ismāʿīl in Bukhārā, both of the viith (xiith) century (Schukovskij, *op. cit.*, fig. 30—32). Its squinches are still funnel shaped like the Sāsānian and without a gallery. Like Sindjār they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Merw oases area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small ḡubba with its richly decorated interior belonging to the former Ribāṭ of Sāngbāst in Mashhad is probably an outlier of this style on the Irānian highlands (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, p. 52 sq., pl. 14—18; *K. I. Prop. Kg.*, p. 292—293). The ḡubba of Sindjār opens the important series of Turanian-Irānian mausoleum ḡubbās of the xiiith—xviih centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinch area. We see the process completed in the ḡubba of New Sarakhs on the Persian side of the Harirūd, which was restored in the xivth century, but probably dates from the beginning of the viith (xiiiith) century (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, p. 62 sqq., pl. 20—22; *K. I. Prop. Kg.*, p. 291). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter and also the dome higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum formed by corner arches. This intermediate storey, however, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the ḡubba of Tūs almost contemporary with that of Sarakhs (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, p. 55, pl. 19—20; do., *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, coloured plate; do., *Persien, Bauk. in Chur.*, fig. 40; *K. I. Prop. Kg.*, p. 291). In Tūs the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader and still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. *Chur. Bdkm.*, fig. 26, cut). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally this is a fusion with combined effect, i. e. a step towards the decorative islāmisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Tūs is not dated (viiiith = xivth century?), we cannot fix the time-relation of this ḡubba with the Western Persian of Sulṭān Muḥammad Uldjaitū Khudābanda (703—716 = 1304—1316) in Sulṭāniya. In the interval a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latent since the ḡubba of Sindjār. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Texier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant imitated in Irān. The interior gallery with corridor has here become a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey,

which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight mināret-like pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terrace to buttress the dome (cf. the pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker* and Dieulafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bdkm.*). We shall return to this type of ḡubba under India. Another ḡubba, the only one of its kind in Irān, is the Djebel-i Sāng near Kirmān, an octagonal building of cement with dome and tambour of brick, which resembles the Syrian turbas (Diez, *Persien, Bkst. i. Chur.*, p. 97 and fig. p. 79; Creswell, *Persian Domes before 1400 A. D.*, in *Burl. Mag.*, vol. xxii, 1915, p. 208, pl. ii.). With the sepulchral dome of Uldjaitū the ḡubba in Irān reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction there was a second which began probably as early as the Saldjūk, but certainly in the Timūrid period; this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double shelled dome. In both cases the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The ḡubba-i Sābs in Kirmān is the oldest — at latest middle of the xiiiith century — sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 115). The models for these towered domes may possibly be found in the equally tower-like stupas of Afghānistān and the Tarim basin with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Timūr's ḡubba, Gūr-i Mīr in Samarḡand of 808 (1405), the dome of which structurally resembles the ḡubba-i Sābs, is the next monument of this style still standing; after it come the ḡubbās of the Timūrids at Shāh Zinda near Samarḡand and others in Herāt and Turkeṣtān (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 116, 119). Gūr-i Mīr has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, is it possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herāt there were once many ḡubbās, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, fig. 163, 164); others east of Herāt (fig. 182—184).

The last phase of evolution in Irān was reached in the Ṣafawid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khodja Rabf of 1030 (1621) near Mashhad and Kadam-gāh of 1091 (1680) east of Nishāpūr (*Chur. Bdkm.*, pl. 23, 39) are octagonal ḡubbās with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with Hesht Bihišt in Isfahān shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the ḡubba of Shaikh Djām which has a court mosque and madrasa adjoining in Turbet-i Shaikh Djām near the Afghān frontier as an example of a mazar on a large scale (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, p. 78 sqq., pl. 35—37). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imām Riṣā in Mashhad with the domed sepulchre of the Imām (Diez, *Persien*, in *Bk. in Chur.*, fig. 44—56). In Afghānistān the mazārs of Khodja

Akashī in Balkh and Mazār-i Sharīf with domed tombs may be mentioned (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p. 64 sqq.).

India. The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak, a former slave of Muḥammad Ghōrī who was installed by his master as viceroy in Dehli and on the latter's death declared himself independent (602 = 1206). It is only with this dynasty of the "Slave-Kings" or Sultāns of Dehli that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the xiii<sup>th</sup> century however, the building of tombs in the Muslim countries of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islām over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more kubbās than in the other lands of Islām. The influences interacting within the peninsula were very varied; the main genetic principle in the style of the kubbā, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native, Arabo-Turkish-Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of kubbā. In the course of the general development we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, or local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (*Arch. Survey of India*, reports iii, iv.): 1. The Indo-Pathān, which began with the Slave dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of corbelled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sultān Iltutmish in Dehli (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 228, 187). 2. The style of the Khaldjīs of the second dynasty (1290—1320 A.D.) or decorated Pathan style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Tughluqid, called after the third Pathan dynasty (1320—1412) with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horse-shoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red limestone are panelled with white marble frames: kubbā of Tughluq Shāh in Tughluqābād (*op. cit.*, fig. 226, 168); also brick buildings inlaid with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukn al-Dawla in Multān. Later we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco which was probably decorated and painted: kubbā of Firūz in Firūzābād. 4. The Afghān style, called after the Afghān dynasties (1414—1554) with perpendicular walls; mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shēr Shāh (*op. cit.*, fig. 224, 173); decorated with coloured stucco or with strips of glaze: kubbā of Bahlol Lodi near Chirak-Dehli; the octagonal mausoleums of Sikandar in Old Khairpur and others in Mubārakpur-Kotila and Khairpur. Later a coating of different coloured stones was preferred to the covering of stucco: mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Husain Khān in Sahsaram. 5. The Pathān style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faience work: tombs in Hazrat Pandua (1368) and Gaur with curved brick roofs. 6. The Pathān style of the Sharḳids in Djawnpūr (1394—1500) a provincial style similar to 1 and 2: tombs in

Djawnpūr. 7. The early Moghul style comprises the buildings of the reigns of Akbar and Djahāngir (1556—1628). With the tomb of Humāyūn finished in 1572 the Persian style established itself. In Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vihāra type), to reappear in Djahāngir's tomb in Lāhore — in the faience which decorates it at least — (about 1630). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Moghul style under Shāh Djahān (1628—1659) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tādj Maḥall which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.

To this list may be added: 9. Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes in and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Afghān dynasties who founded Muḥammadan rule in the Deccan. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Dehli was the first to establish himself here in 1294 A.D. Half a century later the Bahmānids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (1347—1526). Their capital was Kulbarga. At the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century began the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the 'Imād Shāhs in Berar (1484—1572), the Nizām Shāhs (1490—1595) in Aḥmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhs (1492—1609) in Bidar, the 'Adil Shāhs (1489—1686) in Bidjāpūr and the Kuṭb Shāhs (1512—1687) in Golkonda. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Kulbarga, the oldest capital, then Bidjāpūr, Bidar and Golkonda; Bidjāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of them like Ibrāhīm Rawḍa, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II (1579—1626) and the incomplete Rawḍa 'Alī II of the last 'Adil Shāh in Bidjāpūr are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone, in Bidjāpūr and elsewhere also we frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome was here again effected from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentivelike arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening course. By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest kubbā in the world, is that of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh (1626—1660), the celebrated Göl Gumbāz in Bidjāpūr (pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, p. 223 and 171; *Prop. Kg.*, p. 319 and many others works); a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, i.e. larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basis of about 105 feet in diameter on which rises the dome — leaving an inner gallery open — about 130 feet in diameter; the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives but is counteracted by the weight of the dome so that it was not necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Kulbarga which was the capital of the Bahmānids from 1347—1514, still stand the simple kubbās of the early rulers of this dynasty, among



them the tomb — here reproduced — of its founder Ḥasan Gangū ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (1347–1358). The kubbās of the later Bahmānids from Aḥmad Shāh Walī (1421–1435) are at Bidar and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated: especially the mausoleum of Aḥmad Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each, of which the central ones on the N. S. axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal mihrāb. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Khōdja Rabi’ (Khurāsān; see above) as does the frieze of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned but without decoration in the interior is the kubbā of Maḥmūd Shāh II (1482–1518). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khudābānda Shāh in Sulṭāniya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Ḥalīl Ullāh Ḥusain, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmān. The tombs of the Barids who followed the Bahmānids are open kubbās standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Kutb Shāhīs of Golkonda lies outside the town in a large walled garden, the kubbās of the last rulers of the dynasty, ‘Abd Allāh (1635–1672) and of Abu ‘l-Ḥasan (1672–1687) who died in Moghul captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bidjāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the pictures). In the country around are kubbās of prominent families and saints, like the *Čahār Gumbād* reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last great group to be mentioned is: 10. the style of Guḍjārāt with Aḥmadābād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sulṭāns of Guḍjārāt, Aḥmad Shāh I (1411–1443 A. D.); his descendants ruled till 1552. Aḥmad Shāh’s kubbā or *rawḍa* in the centre of the town beside the Djamī’ Masḍjid, a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by pillared halls. The preference for rich pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cenotaphs and fillings of the windows. In kubbās outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Darya Khān of c. 1453, we again find the Turco-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 214 and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. The description of the most notable Moghul tombs, which are only mentioned above, is reserved for a separate article.

**Bibliography:** The general works quoted under MANĀRA also serve for KUBBA. — Special references are given in the text. In addition to the usual abbreviations of the *E. I.* the following have been used: *K. d. i. V.*, p. x (for the first), p. y (for the second ed.) = E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, in *Hdb. d. Kw.*; *Chur. Bdkm.* = Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*; *Islam. Bkst. i. Chur.* = Diez, *Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churasan* (Folkwang Verlag 1923); *K. d. I., Prop. Kg.* = Glueck-Diez, *Die Kunst*

*des Islam, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*; Sarre-Pers. Bdkm. = F. Sarre, *Persische Baudenk., mäter*; Briggs, *M. A. E.* = M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924; Marçais, *Manuel* = G. Marçais, *Manuel d’Art Musulman*; *L’architecture Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*, 2 vols., Paris 1927. — Cf. also Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien*. The vols. of the *Archaeological Survey of India*. (E. DIEZ)

**KURRAT AL-‘AIN**, the Bābī heroine and one of the original apostles of the Bābī faith. The date of her birth is uncertain and the sources are not very explicit with regard to the order of the events of her life. Her father, Ḥādjī Mullā Muḥammad Šālih, was an influential *muḍj-tahid* of Qazwin, but he was at one time the friend of Ḥādjī Saiyid Kāzim of Resht, the chief disciple and the successor of Shaikh Aḥmad Aḥsārī, founder of the Shaikhī sect (*Nuḥḥat al-Kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne, *G.M.S.*, xv., 1910, p. 139). It was from the Saiyid that she first heard of the new teachings and from him that she received the title of Kurrat al-‘Ain, by which she is most generally known, having previously been called Zarrin Tādj. From childhood she had been brought up in an atmosphere of theological learning and imbibed a great deal of knowledge, so that she was able to take part in the discussions of her father with her uncles and her cousin, all of them ‘ulamā’ of some standing. It appears that at an early age she was betrothed to the *muḍj-tahid* Akhūnd-i Muḥammad Taqī of Baragan (*sic* Mirza Kazim Beg; *J. A.*, 1866, vol. vii., p. 473) although she was subsequently married to Mullā Muḥammad, the son of her father’s brother, Ḥādjī Mullā Muḥammad Taqī, another leading divine of Qazwin.

There is general agreement amongst Bābīs and Muslims alike that she was possessed of great personal beauty and endowed moreover with an intellect and strength of character beyond the ordinary. She acquired great proficiency in Arabic, became learned in the *ḥadīth* and also studied the science of the variant readings of the Qur’ān, so that she came to be regarded at Qazwin as a veritable prodigy. There was an element in the Shaikhī doctrines which appealed to her imagination and sense of freedom, and, possibly because they gave to persons of her sex the same rights as men and permitted them the liberty of appearing in public without the veil, she embraced them.

When Saiyid Kāzim died (1259 = 1843–1844) she wrote to Mullā Ḥusain of Bushrawaih, his principal follower, declaring her devotion to the cause and her belief in a certain mysterious “Manifestation” which formed part of his doctrines and concerned what was to come after. Mullā Ḥusain for his part set himself to discover the significance of this part of his master’s teaching and in the course of his wanderings in search of knowledge came at last to Shirāz. There he met Mirzā ‘Alī Muḥammad, with whom he discussed the matter and who declared himself to be the prognosticated “Manifestation”, the new prophet of the movement and the “Bāb”. Mullā Ḥusain accepted his claims to leadership and also produced the letter from Kurrat al-‘Ain promising her support. The Bāb was greatly impressed by it and at once enrolled her amongst the nineteen *Ḥurūf al-Haiy* — one of them being himself —

who formed the hierarchy of the faith (*Tārīkh-i dīādīd*, transl. E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1893, p. 269 sq.). That event occurred in 1264 (1848). It does not appear that she actually met the Bāb at any time in her life.

As soon as she embraced the Bābī doctrines, she discarded the veil and began to preach openly at Qazwīn, to the great scandal of her relatives and to the detriment of her material and social status. The report of her activities spread abroad and the efforts neither of her friends or her opponents could turn her from the path she had chosen. In a short time she had collected a numerous following and Qazwīn was divided into two camps, the one led by herself and the other by the guardians of traditional Islām. How a woman — a creature not regarded as of any great account in Persia, and particularly in Qazwīn, where the *‘ulamā’* wielded great power — could organize so large a body of “heretics”, is a matter for astonishment. By the orthodox historians her influence is regarded as due to sexual attraction. But it cannot be doubted that amongst her followers she inspired the most profound confidence and regard, and that her discarding of the veil was of a piece with her general attitude towards the question of personal liberty (Kazim Beg, *loc. cit.*).

After a time she set out on a pilgrimage to Kerbelā’ and there instituted a course of lectures for *Shāikhīs* and others in which women seated behind a curtain, as well as men, listened to her. Inspired by hatred, many of the local fanatical *Shī’a* reviled her, but her adherents increased enormously and subjected themselves to a rigid discipline, part of which consisted in the refusal to purchase cooked foods from the bazaars. She herself claimed that she was “The Place of Manifestation” (*mazhar*) of the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima, with the power of whose gaze she was endowed (*Nuḡḡat al-Kāf*, p. 140 sq.). The claim attracted the attention of the Turkish authorities. The governor of Kerbelā’ determined to have her arrested and, in reply to her challenge that she should be allowed to confront the *‘ulamā’*, both Sunnī and *Shī’a*, with a view to proving that she was the “Place of Knowledge”, he said he would communicate with Baghdād and gave orders that in the meantime she was not to leave Kerbelā’. These orders she disobeyed, contriving by some means to pass the guards at one of the gates with some of her friends, and so proceeded to Baghdād.

There she obtained an interview with the chief Muftī and roused him to such wrath by her arguments that she stood in danger of her life, while the Pasha of Baghdād thought it well to send to Constantinople for instructions on the case. He was told to find some excuse for expelling her and seeing that she was sent into Persia. On the way there she appears to have entered into debate with various of her companions and some of them wrote to the Bāb complaining about her attitude and questioning whether it was seemly for a woman to preach publicly to men. The reply was in her favour, not only sanctioning all she did but bestowing on her the title of “*Djanāb-i Ṭāhira*”.

On arrival at Kirmānshāhān and again at Hamadshān, she preached and made a considerable number of converts. From the latter city she proposed to go to the capital with the purpose of

converting Muḥammad Shāh himself. This proposal however was frustrated by her father, who sent servants to intercept her and persuade her to return to Qazwīn. There he used all his powers in the effort to make her abandon her faith and her adherence to “this *Shīrāzī* youth” and to return to her husband. But he failed. She continued to preach and to practise her own way of life.

Then (1264 = 1848) occurred the murder of Hādījī Mullā Muḥammad Taqī (“*Shahīd-i Ṭhālith*”), her uncle and father-in-law. He had publicly cursed the Bāb and his teaching; in revenge for which three Bābīs fell upon him and assassinated him. The outcry which followed was tremendous. The murder was ascribed to Kurrat al-‘Ain and her friends, and she, with seventy or more of her followers, was arrested, one of her chief accusers being her own husband (*Tārīkh-i dīādīd, loc. cit.*). There is no proof however that she was a party to the assassination, for had she been so she would scarcely have been released, as she was. But she was compelled to leave the city, and, with the intention of going to Khurāsān, she set out for Ṭeherān. From there she was turned back towards Māzandarān and at Badaḡht she met other leading members of the Bābī faith, including Mirzā Yaḥyā (Ṣubḥ-i Azal), then a boy, Mullā Ḥusain of Bushrawāh and Hādījī Mullā Muḥammad ‘Alī of Balfurūsh (Gobineau, *Religions et philosophies dans l’Asie Centrale*, p. 180 sq.). At the meeting, which is of some importance in Bābī history, she entered into controversy with the latter and others, also taking the part of the Bāb in a dispute with the *Shāikhīs*, whose arguments she confuted in some thousands of verses (*Tārīkh-i dīādīd, loc. cit.*).

From Badaḡht she went to Nūr, taking Ṣubḥ-i Azal with her, while the others entrenched themselves with their following in the tomb of *Shāikh Ṭabarsī*, the centre of the great Māzandarān insurrection, and she remained unmolested at Nūr until the suppression of the rising, when she was given up by the inhabitants to the central authorities. On her arrival at Ṭeherān she was brought before Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who was pleased by her looks and gave orders that she was not to be molested. Accordingly, she was placed in the care of the Chief of Police (Gobineau, p. 292 sq.), remaining in his house until the Bābī attempt on the life of the Shāh in August 1852. Her imprisonment had not been rigorous and her life had hitherto been in no danger. But in the reign of terror which followed she had no hope of escape, except, perhaps, by abjuring her faith, and this way she rejected. She was condemned to death and met the cruel fate allotted to her with “superhuman bravery” (J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 353).

Although Kurrat al-‘Ain achieved considerable fame as a poetess, very little is known which can with certainty be ascribed to her. Professor E. G. Browne, the historian of the Bābī movement, succeeded in obtaining only “two short but very beautiful *ghazals* and a long *mathnawī*” which are almost certainly her work. Of the *ghazels*, one was published by him with a translation in the *J. R. A. S.* (vol. xxi., 1889, p. 936 sq., 991, 1002) and the second in his *Traveller’s Narrative*, Cambridge 1891, ii, p. 314 sq.

*Bibliography:* To the works quoted add: Lisān al-Mulk, *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, part iii.



of the Ḳaḍjariya volume, events of the year 1264 (p. 45 sq., 57) and supplement (1268 A. H.), p. 28; Marie von Najmayer, *Gurret-ül-Eyn*, Vienna 1874, a poem in honour of the heroine; and various works by E. G. Browne in addition to those quoted (cf. especially, *Traveller's Narrative*, ii. 173 sqq.). (R. LEVY)

**ḲUTUBA.** [See CORDOBA.]

**KUTB.** [See BADAL, TARIḲA, TAṢAWWUF, WALĪ.]

**ḲUWWA** (A., plur. *ḵuwwan*) is a word of many meanings in philosophical language used to translate *δύναμις*; according to the context it can be translated predisposition, aptitude, power, ability or possibility. The many meanings — whether they have a common foundation or not — may be best considered from two points of view. The concept *δύναμις* has two opposites in the writings of Aristotle: 1. *ἀδύναμια* (*lā-ḵuwwa* or *ḍaʿf*, inability or weakness); 2. *ἐνέργεια* (*ʿiʿl*, activity, reality). *Ḳuwwa* in the former sense is dealt with in the *Categories* and *Metaphysics* (v. 12), in the latter mainly in the *Metaphysics*, viii.—ix. It may be here observed that inability is to be distinguished from impossibility (*ἀδύνατον* = *mumtaniʿ* or *mustaḥīl*).

i. *Ḳuwwa*, to be more accurate *ḵuwwa ṭabʿiyya* (productive ability), being the second species of the category of quality (*ποιόν, kaif*; cf. MAḲŪLĀT) is defined, with Aristotle, as that arrangement by which some one or some thing comes into action quickly and easily, while *lā-ḵuwwa* predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly. Activity and passiveness are here to be conceived as opposites, which exclude one another. They cannot be present at the same time in one and the same subject. *Ḳuwwa* in this sense is the positive capability for a definite activity or, as the Stoics expressed it: the qualities of things are active forces, agencies. The orthodox *kalām* referred this doctrine only to the activity of God. Muslim theologians said for example — cf. Christian dogmatics! — that God's qualities (*ṣifāt*) are the sources (*maṣādir*) of his actions. The philosophers however referred it in the first place to the workings of nature. Nature is endowed with many forces and abilities and each ability has a corresponding inability. Inability, however, is nothing positive but a deprivation (*στέρησις, ʿadam*) or a decay (*φθορά, fasād*). *Lā-ḵuwwa* is not an absolute nothing but a non-existence of what according to Aristotle belongs to a thing from its nature. It is especially emphasised that the transition from *ḵuwwa* to *lā-ḵuwwa* (or from active to passive) takes place not continuously but without intermediary, i.e. suddenly, timelessly. The Muslim philosophers are, for the rest, usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle. In the *Logic* (categories) these are with reference to living beings health (ability) and sickness (inability), with inorganic matter hardness and softness. In addition, in other branches of knowledge, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness as the non-existence of good, and so on. All these deprivations (*στέρησις*) are regarded with Aristotle as accidents of matter. Hence the practice (at least since Ibn Sīnā [cf. *Tisʿ Rasāʾil*, p. 64] who probably follows a Greek exposition) of distinguishing 'adam as accidental principle from the essential principles: matter and form.

ii. Fārābī (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 87, fr. 11) first discussed the question — probably following the example of a Greek expositor — whether suffering (*πάσχειν*), as the term is used under the category of quality, meant the same as suffering as the last (10<sup>th</sup>) of the categories. Perhaps he was led to this by a passage in Aristotle (*De anima*, 417<sup>b</sup>) in which "suffering" is said to have two meanings: 1. it is a kind of decline (*φθορά*) through the opposite (see above); and 2. the preservation (*σωτηρία*) of the possible through what is active, and in this way that thereby a natural basis is evolved for its own being. Instead of a decline we have here a question not only of a mere survival but also of a higher development, a suffering *in bonam partem*, an endurance (passive, receptive, contemplative) of higher influences [cf. ATHAR].

More important than the contrast between *ḵuwwa* and *lā-ḵuwwa* for the history of philosophical terminology became the distinction between *ḵuwwa* and *ʿiʿl*, or, to use the language of the schools, power and action, commonly found in the formulae *bi ʿl-ḵuwwa* (*δυνάμει*) and *bi ʿl-ʿiʿl* (*ἐνέργεια*). Both expressions are closely connected with the two fundamental conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy, matter and form. Power is peculiar to matter, action to form. Power and action are called *ὑπάρχοντα* (Arab. *lawāḥiḳ*, attributes) of matter and form. Aristotle sought in this way to reconcile a static with a dynamic consideration of the world. Matter and form [cf. SABAB] are names for the constituents of the existing, power and action for the stages of development of the becoming. These fundamental conceptions cannot be defined more exactly. Like Aristotle the Muslim philosophers endeavour to illustrate them by examples.

The development from power to action presupposes a continuous world of becoming, time and change. According to one principle of Aristotle, which was taken over by the Muslim thinkers, at least with reference to the world, the infinite cannot be real. But in time, especially if it is conceived without beginning and without end, lies the unending possibility of all that possesses its limited reality in any particular moment. Under definite conditions if there is no obstacle in the way the possible advances to full realisation by stages. Possibility and realisation are to be regarded as termini of a development taking place within time. This process, the development from power to action, is called by Aristotle motion (*κίνησις, ḵaraka*) which is defined as the realisation (*ἐνέργεια*) of the possible as such. The end (to be *bi ʿl-ʿiʿl*) is called in Arabic also *ḵamāl* (perfection) just as Aristotle uses *ἐνέργεια* and *ἐντέλεια* synonymously.

The concept of an originally pure (i.e. without quality) possibility which can in course of time become everything, is according to Aristotle a conceivable abstraction. Everything becoming is already more or less formed, realised; deprivation is an accident of matter, not as the neo-Platonists asserted, matter itself. Aristotle himself did not succeed in carrying through logically his distinction between the principle of deprivation ('adam) and matter as pure possibility. The Muslim thinkers who were under neo-Platonic influences were naturally still less able to do so. They often identified 'adam and *ḵuwwa*. Usually however, they endeavoured to represent our world of becoming

as a hierarchy of positive forces or powers. The process of becoming is then to be conceived as a co-operation, a working into one another of active and passive. With Aristotle, the Stoics etc. they talk of active and passive, moving and moved, ruling and serving forces, which by no means rule one another out. Two aspects of one and the same process are thus described. One and the same power may therefore be active, moving, ruling with respect to what is below it in the order of stages of being but passive, receptive, contemplative with respect to those above it. In other words *kuwwa* and *fi'l* are used in the correlative sense exactly like matter and form. A material more or less formed, e.g. clay, is matter for bricks and the formed brick is material for a building. Similarly in the sperm there is the potentiality to become a boy, in a boy a potentiality to become a man. In other words the sperm possesses the immediate potentiality for a boy, a remote potentiality for a man.

The whole theory is closely connected with the dynamic view of the existence of the world. Thus as in Aristotle, in the Muslim philosophers physics including psychology are developed into a hierarchical system of natural forces and faculties of the soul. In place of faculty we sometimes find parts of the soul (*μέρη*, *adżiẓā*; Platonic terminology, also used by Aristotle). Galenic influences may be traced, especially in the doctrine of the faculties of the soul and their localisation (in Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ghazālī). Fārābī deals with this in his *Fuṣūṣ* (i. e. *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 72 sqq.; wrongly ascribed to Ibn Sīnā in *Tis' Rasā'il*, p. 42 sqq.); cf. his "Model State" (ed. Dieterici, p. 34 sqq.). Ibn Sīnā (*Kitāb al-Naǧāt*, Cairo 1913, p. 258 sqq.; cf. *Iṣḫārāt*, ed. Forget, p. 123 sqq.) enumerates some 25 *kuwa* from the highest faculty of the reasoning soul to the powers of the simplest bodies. Ghazālī (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Index) is acquainted with over 30 *kuwa*; but some are synonyms. Further details regarding the faculties of the soul are briefly indicated in the article "Soul" in Hastings, *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*; cf. *De Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, 1921, Index.

As briefly explained above, in the world of becoming *kuwwa* is earlier in time than *fi'l*, but *fi'l* — so his Muslim successors teach following Aristotle — is always the earlier in the sense of the higher. What is potential cannot of itself devolve into actuality. God who is the perfectly real, according to the Muslim philosophers, brought the world from non-existence (*adam*) to existence (*wuǧūd*) or from *kuwwa* to *fi'l* (*ikhṛādī*). The spirits (*uḫūl*) which act as intermediaries between God and the world are usually called real. It is the activity of the last heavenly spirit, the *'aḳl fa'āl*, which as Ibn Sīnā, following Fārābī, expresses it, gives everything earthly its form (*wāḫib al-ṣuwar*; cf. for this expression *Enneades*, v. 9, 3), or, as Ibn Ruṣḥd prefers to say, brings everything potential here into actuality. This is however not a distinction in principle between the two philosophers: with Aristotle they regard matter and form as substances, potentiality and activity as their attributes (*lawāḫiḳ*).

On the amalgamation of the doctrine of potentiality and activity with speculations on possibility, chance, free will and determinism cf. the article *MANṬIḲ*. Here it need only be observed that Ibn Sīnā very strongly emphasises the idea of con-

tingency in Aristotle, Ibn Ruṣḥd on the other hand — in this case agreeing with Ghazālī — inclines to the view that the conception of the possible has only meaning with regard to what is actually realised.

iii. In the Theology of Aristotle (ed. Dieterici, p. 94) is the following remarkable passage: "In this (sensual) world action is preferable to potentiality, in the higher (intelligible) world however, potentiality is preferable to action". This pregnant sentence is not found, so far as I know, in the *Enneades* but corresponds completely to the utterances of Plotinus (*Enn.*, v. 1, 6 sq.; 3, 15 sq.; 4, 1 sq.; 5, 13 sq.). According to a general principle of Plotinus — not however always logically carried through — the categories and main conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy are only to be referred to the sensual world. If they are applied to the spiritual world, they have another but higher meaning. The higher *kuwwa* is an intensification of the productive faculty discussed under i. In addition there is an exchange of value in the factors potentiality and actuality.

According to Plotinus, the first and only principle of all things (in the "Theology of Aristotle" = God) is raised above the logos of the Stoics (*kalima*, active force) and above the *energeia* of the Peripatetics (*fi'l*). It is true that one can say of the *νοῦς* (*'aḳl*), the first created thing, it is *λόγος καὶ ἐνέργεια* of the First, but the First himself is from his nature *δύναμις*, i. e. power, all-power. With the uniqueness of the First (elsewhere also, as by Plato, called the absolute good) only one quality, that of omnipotence, is compatible. All activity however, whether it is thinking or acting, presupposes multiplicity and effort, which cannot be ascribed to the absolutely simple Being. On this definition of the First as *Dynamis* cf. Plato's utterance (*Soph.*, 247 E): "I define the being of the existing in this way, that it is nothing but a *Dynamis*".

Excluding the Mu'tazila, it may be said that this emphasis on the omnipotence in the being of the Unique (God) must have been much more natural to the Muslim theologians — although traditionally they deal with God's knowledge before his power — than the Aristotelian view that God is pure *energeia*, which manifests itself only in thinking. This is so often and clearly expressed, that no examples need be quoted. But from the earliest times the theologians used the word *ḳudra* to describe divine omnipotence. There was however nothing to prevent neo-Platonising mystics from taking *kuwwa* into their rich vocabulary. Djili, for example (*al-Insān al-kāmil*, ch. 19), calls God's *ḳudra* a *kuwwa dhātīya*, an attribute of being, which belongs to God alone, because he produces the existing from non-existence.

In conclusion it may be observed that in theological terminology the word *fi'l* usually refers to the activity of beings possessing knowledge and volition and that God is by preference referred to as a *fa'āl*, a doer, than as a being *bi'l-fi'l*.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources mentioned in the text: I. Madkour, *La Place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, esp. p. 122 sqq. (on the intellect and other faculties of the soul); M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, 1907 sqq., esp. p. 250—275; S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, 1924, esp. p. 67 sqq., 204 sqq. (TJ. DE BOER)



## L

**LĀDHIQIYA**, in French usually Lattaquié or Lattakié, became the capital of the autonomous "gouvernement de Lattaquié (État des Alaouites)", created on Aug. 31, 1920 by the French mandatory administration; its constitution was promulgated on May 14, 1930 by the Haut-Commissaire. Since that date the town, which under Turkish rule before the World War looked ruined and filthy, has developed into a clean and flourishing town. It has about 25,000 inhabitants including about 18,000 Sunni Muslims, 400 Orthodox Greeks, 1,000 Armenians, 500 Maronites, 300 Roman Catholics and 370 Protestants. The 'Alawī state covers an area of 6,500 sq.km. (out of the 160,000 sq.km. of the whole French mandated area) with 260,000 inhabitants and stretches from a line running roughly from Rās el-Basīt to *Djisir esh-Shughr* on the Nahr al-'Āṣī (Orontes) southwards for 100 miles to the Nahr al-Kebir (Eleutheros); the eastern boundary which runs at an average of 40 miles from the coast coincides in part with the course of the Nahr el-'Āṣī and continues roughly in the direction of its tributary the Nahr Sarūt. The state comprises two sandjaks, Lattaquié and Tartūs, a municipe, Ruwād, and an autonomous municipalité, Lattaquié. The sandjak of Lattaquié consists of 5 *qaḍās*: Lattaquié, *Djebble*, Maṣyāf, Bāniyās and el-Haffe (south of Babennā, in the northeast of Lattaquié). The *qaḍā* of Lattaquié has 53,000 inhabitants including about 25,000 Sunnis, 20,000 'Alawīs, 4,300 Orthodox Greeks, 1,200 Armenians, 600 Maronites, 450 Protestants (mainly local converts

of the American missionaries) and 300 Roman Catholics. The 'Alawīs live mainly in the mountains while the population of the coast around Lattakié is a mixed one.

The modern Lattakié lies to the east of the old town, the double walls of which are still recognisable in places. In the northwest of the town not far from the Boulevard Billotte is the necropolis described by Renan in 1860 stretching for about 1,000 yards. To the north of the town are the ruins of a large church and in the east those of an ancient aqueduct. The castle (*Chateau de la Liche* from the name given by the Crusaders to the town) stood on a hill to the east of the old and northeast of the present town. The most important ancient monument within the town is the Tetrapylon which stands at the intersection of a colonnaded street running north-south with a smaller street running east and west; 500 yards away is a building with Corinthian columns which is known as the "Temple of Bacchus", and the Keniset el-Mu'allaka which was formed from an old church.

The ancient harbour in the west of the town has a narrow entrance and is commanded by towers built by the Crusaders out of ancient materials in the 15th century. The ancient harbour stretched farther east and south than the present one and was in part cut out of the rock.

*Bibliography*: P. Jacquot, *L'État des Alaouites (Gouvernement de Lattaquié)*, 2nd ed., Bairūt 1931. (E. HONIGMANN)

## M

**MA'ĀD.** [See *RUMĪ*.]

**MA'ĀFIR**, the name of a South Arabian tribe, the genealogy of which is given as Ya'fur b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Humaisa' b. 'Amr b. Yashdijib b. 'Arib b. Zaid b. Kahlār b. Saba'; they are included among the Ḥimyar. Their land coincided in the main with the former Turkish *qaḍā* of Ta'izziya and was divided into Upper and Lower Ma'āfir. Al-Hamdānī, who has the fullest information about the al-Ma'āfir, gives the following places in their area:

1. al-Djuw'a (the modern Sūk el-Dju'a between the *Djebel Selw* and *Djebel Bedu*) which was ruled by the family of *Dhu 'l-Mughallis* belonging to the tribe of Hamdān, who had control of the citadel of the town which had to be ascended by a ladder. At a later date it was under the Marrānians descendants of 'Umair Dhū Marrān, a *ḥail* of the Hamdān, to whom the prophet Muḥammad sent a letter; 2. *Djabā* (the modern Sūk *Djabā*) in the *ḥāṭ* of the same name in the defile between the *Djebel Šabir* and *Djebel Dhakhir* (the modern *Djebel Ḥabash*); according to E. Glaser, *Tagebuch*,

ii., fol. 15<sup>b</sup>, in the Bilād Akrūd south of the *Djebel Šabr*, between this and the *Djebel Sāmī*. The place was visited by Glaser in 1892 and is now a "miserable collection of kennels" in which only a large quadrangular old well (*Bir Saḥlūla*) survives as a reminder of its period of splendour, with fine square marble slabs in which can be clearly seen the traces of the winding of the rope which has been done there for centuries. In ancient times *Djabā* was the capital of the Ma'āfir territory and the residence of the reigning dynasty of the Āl al-Karandā; 3. *Ḥarāza* where striped cloaks were made; 4. *Šuhāra* (the modern Uzzla Sawwa). Here according to Maslama b. Yūsuf al-Kḥaiwānī were the palaces of the Ma'āfir, the ruins of which are mentioned by al-Hamdānī in the viii<sup>th</sup> Book of the *Iklīl*; 5. 'Azāza; 6. al-Dumama; 7. *Birdād* (correctly Ibn al-Mudjāwir in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 152; not Yazdād as in D. H. Müller's edition of the *Šifa* of Hamdānī, p. 99, 16). According to E. Glaser (*Tagebuch*, ii., fol. 14<sup>b</sup>) *Birdād* is north of *Djebziya*, barely three hours from Ta'izz, belongs to the Bilād Šabr and

lies between *Djebel Šabr* and *Djebel Ḥabash*, which probably corresponds to the *Djebel Dhakhir* in al-Hamdānī; *Birdād* denotes a district, not a place; 8. *Djizla*; 9. al-'Ansiyein (not al-'Ashash as in E. Glaser, *Šifa*, p. 99, 2; cf. the variant al-'Ushash, *Šifa*, ii., p. 100); 10. *Djabal Šabir* (the modern Šabr); 11. *Djabal Dhakhir* (the modern *Djebel Ḥabash*).

The lands of the Ma'āfir therefore lay between the Wādī Nakhla and the Wādī Ḥarāza and included a considerable part of the Ta'izzīya, the boundaries of which have been given by H. v. Maltzan. The Ma'āfir however did not form a compact body but, especially in the *Djebel Šabr* and *Dhakhir*, were much mixed with members of other tribes (the Azd, Saksak, al-Rakb, al-Ḥawāshib, al-Karb, Banū Maḍjīd and Wākīd). To this day their memory is preserved by the name of the castle of al-Ma'āfir in the Wādī Zabāb east of the *Djebel Ḥabash*. A part of this area (lower Ma'āfir) had an evil reputation on account of its magicians and sorcerers and the people there spoke a jargon. From the earliest times the Ma'āfir enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. No less a person than the Tubba' As'ad Kāmīl, who according to the legend was the first to cover the Ka'ba, is said to have hung it with Ma'āfir cloth, which is evidence of the value of these cloths. Muḥammad's corpse is also said to have been wrapped in Ma'āfir cloth. Besides weaving, the Ma'āfir made saddles which enjoyed as great a reputation as those from Ḥadramawt, which were also among the best in Arabia.

The history of the tribe of al-Ma'āfir can be traced far back into the pre-Islamic period. The old Sabaeen inscription Gl. 1000 A, the celebrated long text from Širwāḥ (c. 500 B.C.) which records the founding of the great Sabaeen kingdom, mentions at the beginning of the third line the tribe of Ma'āfir (מַעְפִּיר), whose towns were burned by the Sabaeen conqueror Kariba'il Watār. Their lands were presumably then incorporated in the Sabaeen kingdom. In the first century A.D. we find it mentioned under the name Μαφαρίται in the *Periplus maris erythraei* (§ 16, 22, 31). It was under a τύραννος Χάλαιβος (Kulaib) who lived in the town of Σαῖν, three days' journey from Μουζα (Mukhā). This Save, in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 42 Σαῖν βασιλείον, is however not, as C. Ritter (p. 771) assumed, Ta'izz, but the Swm (סוּם) of the inscriptions, which is to be sought southeast of Ta'izz and the name of which survives in Sawwā, the name of the region N.W. of the ḥā' Djabā, the chief town of which Yefrus is 7—8 hours from Ta'izz. As it is reckoned 3 days' journey by camel from Ta'izz to Mukhā, this agrees with the distance given in the *Periplus maris erythraei* between Muza and Save. Under the Maphririt *tyrannos* was not only the Ma'āfir territory, which he obviously administered as a prince of the Sabaeen empire, but also Ἀζαῖα (roughly Somaliland) on the African coast. The Ma'āfir, as A. v. Kremer (*Sage*, p. xiv.) already pointed out, were obviously identical with the Μαφαρίται of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 25, who are mentioned as neighbours of the Ὀμυρίται (Himyar) and the Σαπραρίται and Πασιῖται (people of Zafār and Redā'). E. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 28, 141 sqq.) also identified the Amphryans (Phyrai) of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 158) with the Ma'āfir and then sought to recognise in the Garindaei and Larendani of Strabo the regal family of Āl al-Karandā, but both these are very

doubtful. Of the further history of the Ma'āfir in the pre-Islamic period we are little better informed. We know from the inscription Gl. 424 that an embassy was sent from the town of Sawwā to the Sabaeen king Ilīsharḥ Yaḥḍīb and his brother to make submission to them and beg for peace. Sawwā at this time must have been on the side of Ma'āfir and its prince Shamir Dhū Raidān on the side of the Ḥabashāt, the enemies of Saba'. In Ramaḍān of the year 9 (Dec. 630), the Ma'āfir with the Dhū Ru'ain and Hamdān adopted Islām and received an epistle from Muḥammad with detailed instructions regarding their obligations, among which it is interesting to note that the poll-tax of a dinār of full weight of the Ma'āfir standard could also be paid in articles of clothing, obviously of those Ma'āfir materials already mentioned. At a later period the greater part of the Ma'āfir migrated to Egypt where with other South Arabians they played an important part in the building up of the country. At the building of al-Fuṣṭāt we find a Ma'āfir among the supervisors whom 'Amr b. al-Āṣ put in charge of the street-plan and who, it is interesting to note, were all from South Arabian tribes. Here the Ma'āfir, like the other South Arabian tribes (Šadīf, Khawlān, Madhīdī, Ru'ain, Saba', Wā'il, al-Kabaḍ, Ḥadramawt etc.), had their own streets (*khīṭat al-Ma'āfir*). Their memory is also preserved in the village of *Birkat al-Ma'āfir*, mentioned in 322 (934). The tribe produced a number of distinguished men and we find the *nisba* al-Ma'āfirī frequently not only in Egyptian local history but on Arabic tombstones in Egypt in the Museum of Arab Art in Cairo and in the Arabic papyri (e.g. Nrs. 646 and 736 of the *Ausstellung des Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* in Vienna).

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

#### MADĪNAT AL-KĪRTĀS. [See KĪRTĀS.]

**MAHSŪD**, the name of a Pathān tribe on the north-west frontier of India. The Maḥsūds inhabit the heart of Waziristān around Kāniguram and are shut off from British territory by the Bhattani country. On all other sides they are flanked by Darwesh Khēl Waziris. It is now generally accepted that they left their original home in the Birmal hills of modern Afghānistān sometime towards the close of the fourteenth century and gradually extending eastwards occupied the country in which they now reside. The tribe has three main branches: the Bahlolṣai, Shāman Khēl, and the 'Alizai.

Ignorant, illiterate and superstitious, knowing merely the externals of Islām, the Maḥsūd knows no law but his own passions and desires. Treacherous and dogged in the pursuit of vengeance he will not scruple to kill even a woman or a child. According to his customary law only the actual murderer should be punished, but theory is one thing, practice another.

The Maḥsūds have always been the scourge of the Bannū and Deradjāt borders. This was the case in the days of Sikh rule and, after the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849, they still continued to plunder and devastate the borders of British India. This and the fact that their rocky mountain fastnesses command the Gomal and Toti, two of the five main passes connecting India with Afghānistān, have compelled the British to resort to reprisals. On three occasions, in 1860, 1881 and 1894, the Maḥsūds became so troublesome that punitive expeditions had to be undertaken against them. On the conclusion of the 1860 expedition a temporary peace was patched up by which each of the three main sections of the tribe agreed to hold themselves responsible for outrages committed by their respective clansmen. From 1862 to 1874 various sections of the tribe were at one time or another placed under a blockade until, in 1873 and 1874 respectively, the Shāman Khēl and Bahlolṣai, finding their continued exclusion from British territory irksome, made full submission. The burning of Tank by a band of Maḥsūds in 1879 and other outrages brought about the expedition of 1881 when a British force penetrated Waziristān as far as Kāniguram and Makin. For

the next ten years British subjects were left practically unmolested and the whole of the Waziri border enjoyed a period of comparative peace. So peacefully disposed were the Maḥsūds that, in 1883, they even rendered assistance in the survey of the country around Khadjuri Kač, and, in 1890, were granted allowances for the watch and ward of the Gomal pass.

In 1894, under the influence of Mullā Powinda, a Shābi Khēl priest belonging to the 'Alizai section of the tribe, the Maḥsūds attacked the British boundary demarcation camp in defiance of the subsidized *maliks*. From this time the Mullā's influence steadily increased, and all efforts to uphold the authority of the *maliks* against his faction failed. Continued depredations along the British borders after 1897 called for reprisals. From December 1900 to March 1902, the Maḥsūds were subjected to a stringent blockade, but it was only after the blockade had been varied by sudden punitive sallies into the Maḥsūd hills that they were forced to come to terms. During this period there were two factions in the country, the one headed by the *maliks*, the other by their enemy, the Mullā Powinda (to whom also, in an effort at conciliation, a monthly allowance had been granted in 1900); and from 1902 onwards the Mullā's influence was paramount. After 1908 the Maḥsūd question became acute again, and a series of raids into British territory were traced to him. On his death in 1913, his place was taken by Mullā 'Abd al-Hākīm, who continued the policy of attempting to preserve the independence of the Maḥsūd country between British India and Afghānistān, by exploiting the marauding proclivities of the tribesmen. From 1914 to 1917 the history of the Dera Ismā'il Khān district was one long tale of rapine and outrage. Eventually, in 1917, troops marched into the Maḥsūd country, but were able to effect only a temporary settlement. British pre-occupations elsewhere delayed the day of retribution, and, during 1919 and 1920, the wind-swept *raghzas* of Waziristān witnessed the severest fighting in the annals of the Indian frontier.

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**AL-MAKŪLĀT** (A.), at first usually called *ḡāḡhūrīyās* or the ten words (*alfāz*), is the name given by the Muslim philosophers to the ten categories of Aristotle. Since Aristotle

κατηγορία and κατηγορεῖν (the latter also occasionally in Plato) have been referred to the kinds (γένει, *adīnās*) or forms (σχήματα, *ashkāl*) of predication in the judgment or the sentence, and at the same time, because correct judgment should correspond to being, to the kinds of being (*adīnās al-mawḍūʿāt*). The categories therefore have not only a logical but also — perhaps with the exception of relation — a real significance in the philosophical sciences.

In Plato's *Dialectics* logic and metaphysics were not distinguished, i.e. to him the highest concepts of thought were at the same time the highest forms of being. These are, according to the Sophists (254 Df.), being, movement and rest, the identical and the different (cf. *Enneads*, v. 1, 4; vi. 2, 8 and the *Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Dieterici, p. 108; see the article ANNIYA). Aristotle, however, was the first — induced perhaps by the arbitrary collocation of ten pairs of main concepts in the Pythagoreans — to make a logical system of the main concepts. This shows the influence of the Greek use of the sentence but is not taken over from an already complete grammar. The presentation preserved in the *Categories* is, it is true, defective and at the end corrupted by later additions; but it can be supplemented and understood from the use in the *Metaphysics*, *Physics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle.

The Stoics, although they added to the terminology, emphasised the metaphysical significance of the Categories of Aristotle and reduced them to the four kinds of being. For Aristotle being was a term of many meanings, but, according to the monism of the Stoics, being or the something (τί, *shai'*) is the conception of species which comprises everything, the kinds of which are as follows: 1. subjects (ὑποκείμενα), 2. essential qualities (ποιά), 3. accidental ways of behaviour (πῶς ἔχοντα), 4. the relata (πρὸς τί πως ἔχοντα). This emphasis on the metaphysical significance and the reduction to four exercised some influence on Arabic logic [cf. below].

An even more far-reaching simplification of the categories, the limitation to substance and accident (*ḍjawhar* and *ʿaraḍ*) to which was added, as a third, locality in space (*ḥaiyā*), found its way into the *kalām*.

The Neoplatonists followed an eclectic procedure in their doctrine of the categories. With Plato they made a distinction between the world of the senses and that of the intelligence. The above mentioned five Platonic concepts were applied to the world of the intelligence and the ten categories of Aristotle to the world of the senses — of course reduced to five and derived from the Platonic concepts (cf. *Enneads*, vi., ch. 1—3).

Already in the Neo-Platonic school (Porphyrios with his "Introduction to the Categories" taken over by Arabic logic) we find a return to Aristotle. The Neo-Platonic attempt at reconciliation may have made an impression on some mystics and theologians of Islām but the logic of the philosophers and the later theologians is overwhelmingly Aristotelian.

The *Categories* have at different times been edited in or translated into Syriac and Arabic. The most influential was the translation of Ishāḳ Ibn Ḥunain (d. 298 = 910—911). His terminology predominated from the time of al-Fārābī. The commentator Ibn Rushd adopted it completely.

A number of variants survived however which go back to the ixth century A. D. and probably are in the main based on the version of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḥaffāʿ. *ʿAin* in place of *ḍjawhar* (1st cat.; s. 'AIN); *niṣba* and *nisba* (in place of *waḍʿ*: 7th cat.; s. C. A. Nallino, *Del vocabolo arabo Niṣbah*, in *R.S.O.*, viii. [1920], 637—646); *ḍjida* and *milka* in place of *lahu* (8th cat.; s. Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 145; Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, iv. 66 sq.; Ibn Sinā, *Nadījat*, Cairo 1912, p. 339; Ghazālī, *Maḳāṣid*, Cairo 1912, p. 99).

Following Aristotle closely, the Arabic doctrine of the categories begins with the analysis of the sentence and with observations on the use of words, synonyms etc. Although the whole, i. e. here the sentence, is according to Aristotle's view earlier in being than the part, the word, the doctrine of the categories considers the single words abstracted from their connection in the sentence, viz. first the subject or substratum of which various things can be predicated but which is not itself predicated and is not in a subject. In the strict sense then the first category does not seem to be a category (predication) at all; but it includes within itself not only the nine accidental categories, but also — and this is its particular characteristic — the essential determinations of the concepts of species and genus.

Aristotle starts from the point of view of the concrete, the single individual substance close to us. Then come, in increasing abstraction, the quantum which is related to the material, physical; the quale or quality, similar to form; and the related or referred (relation) with which we are farthest removed from the individual concrete. In this order of succession, which is in keeping with Aristotle's intention, the categories are enumerated in chapter 4; the later treatment of quality after relation (ch. 7—8) is probably based on some mistake in the Greek tradition. The four categories mentioned already had pride of place in the Aristotelian system, especially after the Stoic criticism. Thus Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, iv., p. 66 sq., calls them simple (*basāʿiṭ*), the others composite i. e. reducible. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʿ* (Bombay, 1/iv. 95) call them roots (*uṣūl*), which here means the same thing. Fārābī also (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 91) mentions four simple categories but if the text is right, puts position (*waḍʿ*, 7th cat.) in the place of relation.

Categories 5—8 are closer determinations of the preceding and less important. They are cursorily illustrated by examples and, at least in the text that has survived, not further investigated. Only the two last (doing and suffering) were emphasised, particularly at the end, probably on account of their greater importance.

It is further to be noted that some of the main concepts of the Aristotelian philosophy, like matter and form, power, action and movement, are not enumerated among the categories. As already mentioned matter and form have contacts with the second and third category. Movement is specially connected with doing and suffering, but with power and action goes through all the categories. It might perhaps be said that the tendency of Aristotle to emphasise the many varieties and kinds of being, is to be seen in the doctrine of the categories even more clearly than in that of the principia.

Muslim philosophers from the time of al-Fārābī



have in logic reproduced the teachings of Aristotle as faithfully as possible. Fārābī was well conscious of many difficulties (cf. especially *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 84 *sqq.*); Ibn Sinā strongly emphasised the metaphysical and at the same time the psychical character of the categories, but he dealt with them in the logical parts of his *Shifā'*; Ghāzālī dealt with them (*Maḥāṣid*) only in his *Metaphysics*; Ibn Rushd followed the master most faithfully.

As already mentioned, the categories are intended to be the highest general concepts; they are therefore incapable of definition; they can only be described by analogy or from some peculiarity (*ἰδιον*, *khāṣṣa*) and illustrated by examples. Let us now examine them in order.

1. οὐσία, *djawhar*, single substance, e. g. a particular man, a particular horse etc.; it is first defined negatively by saying it cannot be a predicate and not be in a subject (*ὀυκ ἐκείμηνον, mawḍū'*); then positively as that which, although single in number, one and the same, can include opposites within itself. The most peculiar thing about the single substance, however, is that the concepts of species and kind can be predicated of it. The single substances are therefore primary; the kinds and species are called by Aristotle substances of the second order (*δευτεῖραι οὐσίαι, djawāhir thawānīn*). It costs him however a good deal of trouble to assert the substance character of the second kind. According to the view of the Stoics, it was customary to regard the second substance as essential quality (*ποιόν, kaif*; see cat. 3). The Muslim philosophers however hold Aristotle's view.

On substance in the metaphysical sense cf. DJAWHAR.

2. ποσόν, *kam* or more rarely ποσότης, *kamiya*, quantum and quantity, refers to what can be described as equal or unequal (*ἴσον, ἄνισον; musāwīn, ghair musāwīn*), e. g. something is two or three ells long. This category comprises two species: the discrete (*διωρισμένον, munfaṣīl*), like number and speech (*λόγος, kawl*, i. e. as sound), and the continuous (*συνεχές, mullaṣīl*), i. e. line, surface, body, time and space (in the *Physics* Aristotle adds motion). Space and time are here to be understood in a general sense; determined times and spaces come under categories 5 and 6.

3. ποῖον, ποιότης; *kaif*, more frequently the abstract *kaifiya*; quale and quality, differentiates by like and unlike (*ἴμοιον, ἀνέμοιον; shabih, ghair shabih*). Four kinds, without guarantee of completeness, are distinguished in this category: a. εἶδος and διδασκαί, *milka* and *hāl*, accomplishment and condition. Accomplishments are for example all acquired knowledge and virtues; conditions are warmth and coldness, health and sickness. In general — relatively speaking — psychical qualities are stronger, more lasting than physical qualities, which easily change into one another; b. δύναμις and ἄδυναμία, *kuwwa* and *lā-kuwwa*, natural endowments, abilities and the want of them [on this see the article *kuwwa*]; c. παθητικαὶ ποιότητες and πάθη, *kaifiyāt inf'ālīya* and *inf'ālāt*. The explanation attached is confused (cf. cat. 9 and 10); d. σχῆμα and μορφή, *shakl* and *khiṭka*, form and shape. Here the connection of the third category with the Aristotelian concept of form is seen (*εἶδος* and *μορφή* are synonyms).

4. πρὸς τι, *muḍāf* and *idāfa*, related and relation, presupposes cat. 1—3 and is furthest removed

from the concrete single substance. Anything can be compared in some respect with anything else as larger or smaller, greater or less etc. In the *Metaphysics* (iv. 15, p. 1020, b, 26), Aristotle distinguishes three main kinds of relations: a. the relation of time; b. the relation of productive power to the product, of the active to the passive in general; c. the relation of the measured to the measure, of the object to knowledge. In the *Categories* various matters of which it is difficult to give a survey are included under relation. This category might therefore be regarded as the most comprehensive with the exception of single substance. This is only apparent however; in reality it disappears in the other categories.

5. πού, *ain*, where, refers to the definite place in space, e. g. in the Lyceum, not to space itself; *makān* is often used in place of *ain*. The distinction of above or below falls into this category. *Haiyia* is used synonymously with *ain*, but this word often has a more general or more abstract significance, e. g. just as we say: in the sphere of, within the range of, etc. According to the atomist theologians, the incorporeal i. e. the atom without extension has *haiyia*. The same is usually stated of immaterial substances.

6. πότε, *matā*, when, asks after a definite time, e. g. yesterday, and bears the same relation to time that *ain* does to space; we also find *zamān* sometimes used instead of *matā*.

7. κεῖσθαι, *wad'*, position, e. g. seated lying.

8. ἐξείν, *lahu*, wearing, e. g. to be shod, to be armed.

9. and 10. ποιεῖν and πάσχειν, *yaf'al* and *yanfa'il*, he does and he suffers, e. g. he cuts, he burns; he is cut, he is burned. These two categories which Aristotle distinguishes from the logical point of view, are in reality, as he himself confesses, not to be distinguished in practice in most cases. Let us take for example the teacher and his pupil: the former is to be regarded as active or the most active, the latter as passive or at least the most passive. But the matter is not quite so simple. Disregarding altogether the many things which the teacher suffers, the pupil is in so far as he is actually taught, not purely passive or receptive but he is developing his own foundations for activity (cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, iii. 3, p. 202, b, 11 and *De Anima*, iii. 2, p. 426, a, 2).

After the ten categories come the so called post-predicaments: opposites, being earlier, later or together, motion and rest. What is given here under opposites (*ἀντικείμενα, mutakābilāt*) is however good Aristotle. Four kinds of opposition are given: 1. the related, e. g. double and half; the contraries, e. g. good and bad; 2. privation and possession, e. g. blindness and sight; 3. affirmation and negation (contradictory opposition); cf. the article DIDD.

*Bibliography*: S. Schüler, *Die Übersetzung der Kategorien des Aristoteles von Jacob von Edessa* (diss. Erlangen), Berlin 1897; G. Furlani, *Le categorie . . . di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nasioni* (Mem. R. A. L., series vi., vol. v., 1), Rome 1933; J. Th. Zenker, *Aristotelis Categoriae graece cum versione arabica Isaaci Honeini filii*, Leipzig 1846 (in the G.G.A., 1887, p. 916, Aug. Müller gave a number of emendations; a critical edition of the Arabic text is now available in M. Bouyges' *Averroès Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Maḥūlat . . . avec une recension nouvelle du*

*Kitab al-Maqoulat (Catégories) d'Aristotele* (Bibl. Ar. Schol., s. arabe, vol. iv.), Bairūt 1932; I. Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristotele dans le monde arabe...* (thèse), Paris 1934, esp. p. 75—96. — As an introduction to the Greek doctrine of categories we can still recommend: A. Trendelenburg, *Geschichte der Kategorienlehre*, Berlin 1846 (cf. thereon: H. Bonitz, *Über die Kategorien des Aristoteles*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1853; and O. Apelt, *Die Kategorienlehre des Aristoteles*, in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. gr. Philosophie*, Leipzig 1891, p. 101—216). (TJ. DE BOER)

\*MALTA, p. 213<sup>a</sup>, l. 2 *infra*: correct to "the Muslims who) having landed in 827 at Mazara in Sicily had probably already occupied the island of Malta".

P. 213<sup>b</sup>, l. 15: in place of "Vassalli" read "Michel Antonio Vassalli".

Add: Among the facts which show infiltration of the Italian language in syntactical construction we may note the absence occasionally observed of the article in the adjective which follows a noun (e.g. *il-lisien malti* "the Maltese dialect"), the not infrequent use of the adjective before the substantive (e.g. *iz-zghayyer guerrier malti*, "the smallest Maltese combatant"), the absence which may be occasionally noted of the relative pronoun (*šila*) in phrases like *dāk li 'ednā fuq* "what we have said above". Many Maltese expressions, especially in educated speech, are purely and simply reproductions of Italian expressions with Maltese words.

As a result of amendments introduced into the Maltese constitution by the Imperial government in 1932 and 1934, the teaching of Italian has ceased in the elementary schools. Maltese has become the official language in the law-courts and is used in teaching for a certain number of subjects even in the university.

Add to the *Bibliography*: Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Florence 1854—1872 (2nd ed. revised and extended by the author with notes by C. A. Nallino, two volumes so far publ., Catania 1933—1935); C. F. Schlienz, *Views on the Improvement of the Maltese Language and its Use for the Purposes of Education and Literature*, Malta 1838; G. P. Badger, *Historical Guide to Malta and Gozo*, 5th ed., Malta 1872; Fāris al-Šhidyaq, *Kitāb al-Riḥla al-mawsūma bi 'l-wāsiṭa ilā Ma'rifat Mālīta* etc., Tunis 1283; T. Zammit, *Malta. The Islands and their History*, Malta 1926; A. Cremona and P. Saydon, *The Development of Maltese as a written Language and its Affinities with other Semitic Tongues* (*Congrès des Orientalistes à Oxford 1928*), Malta n.d.; P. Saydon, *Il Malti u l-ilnsa s-semin*, Malta 1929; A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del Hispano-Arabe y de los Arabismos en el Ibero-Románico y el Siciliano*, Madrid 1932 (observations on the archaic character of Maltese, p. 86); E. Rossi, *Storia della Marina dell'Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme, di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome 1926; do., *Corrispondenza tra i Gran Maestri dell'Ordine di San Giovanni a Malta e i Bey di Tripoli dal 1714 al 1778*, in *R.S.O.*, x. (1923—1925), p. 414—432; do., *Le lapidi sepolcrali arabo-musulmane di Malta*, in *R.S.O. Jahr* (1929—1930), p. 428—444; do., *Lingua italiana, dialetto maltese e politica britannica a Malta*, Leghorn 1929; do., *Relazioni*

*tra i Gran Maestri dell'Ordine di Malta e i Bey di Tunisi dal 1642 al 1756*, in *R.T.*, N.S., No. 10, 2nd quarter 1932, p. 193—216; C. L. Dessoulavy, *Modern Maltese Literature*, in *B.S.O.S.*, vii., part 4, 1935, p. 791—798; E. F. Sutcliffe, *Grammar of the Maltese Language*, Oxford 1936. (ETTORE ROSSI)

ʿĀISHA AL-MANNŪBIYA, a Tunisian saint of the seventh (thirteenth) century, whose full name was ʿĀisha bint ʿImrān b. al-Ḥādīdj Sulaimān. The *nisba* under which she became famous is taken from her native village Mannūba (La Manouba des Cortes), 5 miles west of Tunis. Especially in Tunis she is frequently also given the honorific *al-Sayyida*. The contemporary historians of the Ḥafṣid dynasty under whom she lived, at least those now available to us, make no mention of her at all although they several times mention her native village. But we have a little collection of her *manāḳib* edited, like many of its kind, by an anonymous half-educated man in very popular language: the editor seems to have used another collection compiled in the lifetime of the saint or shortly after her death by an imām of the mosque of Mannūba. While still a girl, ʿĀisha al-Mannūbiya anticipated her future vocation by a certain number of *karāmāt*. When she became of suitable age her parents wished to marry her to a cousin german. Her mystic ideal made her reject this union and she fled to Tunis. She took refuge in a *ḳaisariya* (at this period in Tunis a kind of caravanserai) outside the old gate of Bāb al-Fallāk (S. E. of the town, later Bāb al-Gurđjānī). This she made her home henceforth, while wandering round the streets of the neighbouring quarters of al-Murḳād and al-Šaraf. During her lifetime she enjoyed, especially among the lower classes, a great reputation for sanctity. Some doctors of the law were therefore hostile to her and, according to the *Manāḳib*, had the worst of it. — Oral tradition says that al-Mannūbiya received Ṣūfī teaching from the very celebrated Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Šādḥulī, who, we know, was in Tunis at the time she lived. It is therefore not a priori impossible. But neither the *Manāḳib* of the saint nor those of the "forty disciples of Abu 'l-Ḥasan" (*al-arbaʿin al-Šādḥulīya*) make any allusion to it. As to the historians of the Ḥafṣid period (Ibn Khaldūn, al-Zarkashī, etc.), they say nothing at all about the life, teaching and entourage of the illustrious Ṣūfī. — ʿĀisha al-Mannūbiya is said to have died at an advanced age, 76 according to the *Manāḳib*, on the morning of Friday 21<sup>st</sup> Rađjab 655 (April 20, 1267). The modern historian al-Bādji al-Masʿūdī however, after mentioning this date also gives another, the 16<sup>th</sup> Shawwāl 653 (Nov. 19, 1255) which, according to an anonymous source, was that inscribed on the tombstone of the saint in the cemetery of the Bāb al-Gurđjānī. He adds that on this stone the name given to al-Mannūbiya was ʿĀisha bint Mūsā b. Muḥammad. In any case, we do know that the saint was buried in this cemetery known in her time as *Maḳbarat al-Šaraf*. At the beginning of this century an ardent admirer claimed to have discovered her tomb there. He built a mausoleum in wood over it which has rapidly become a place of pilgrimage for the women of Tunisia. But the place where ʿĀisha took refuge and settled continues to enjoy great popularity with the faithful, particularly women, and is still known as al-Mannūbiya. It is a charming



hillock situated some 300 yards southeast of the cemetery of al-Gurdjāni dominating the whole of a part of Tunis, the lake which separates the town from the sea, and the *sabakha* of al-Sidjūmi (popularly called es-Sejjūmi). Around the ancient *kaisāriya* there grew up in course of time a little centre including an oratory, rooms for the visitors, private houses and even a few shops. Some modern buildings have increased its importance. Popular imagination readily connects all the surrounding country with the life of the saint. This is why for example the opening of an abandoned silo has become the place where she hung her spindle when weaving. Thursdays are reserved for men and Mondays for women for the performance of pious rites in common (*mi'ad*). — The house in the village of Mannūba where the saint was born was also the object of particular veneration, especially in the reign of the Ḥusainī Bey Muḥammad al-Šādiḥ (1859—1882). It was then transformed into a massive building including a *sāwiya*, private apartments and a large covered court for the holding of meetings of religious brotherhoods. At the present day the cult of saints having begun to decline, the buildings of Mannūba not having been kept up are in a state of complete dilapidation. — There is a literature of pious poetry in the popular dialect composed in honour of al-Saiyida Lellā 'Ā'isha al-Mannūbiya. Sonneck has given a specimen in his *Chants arabes du Maghreb*. — The prenomens al-Mannūbiya and al-Saiyida are frequently given to girls in Tunisia, especially in Tunis; and from the *nisba* under which the saint, the most popular in Tunisia, is venerated there is also a prenomem al-Mannūbi for boys.

*Bibliography*: Anonymous, *Manāḳib al-Saiyida 'Ā'isha al-Mannūbiya* (44 p., Tunis, al-Nahḍa press, 1344 [1925]; there are several MSS. of this work, in Tunis also); Muḥammad al-Bādī al-Mas'ūdi, *al-Khuṭaṣa al-naḳīya fī Umarā' Ifriḳīya*, p. 64 (Tunis 1323 = 1905); Sonneck, *Chants arabes du Maghreb*, i. 5—7; ii. 36—39; H. H. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb, *Shahirāt al-tūnusiyyāt* (Tunis 1353 = 1934), p. 77—78. (H. H. 'ABDU 'L-WAHHĀB)

\***MARTOLOS**. iii. 307<sup>a</sup>. It may be added that in the *Historia Turchesca* of Donado de Lezze (ed. Ursu, Bucharest 1910, p. 151) we are told that the *martolossi* were like the *aganzi* (= *akindjī*), i. e. the pioneers and sappers, who formed the advanced guard of the Ottoman army, with the difference that the *martolossi* were Christians; they were also used in Anatolia during the wars against the Ḳaramān and Uzun Ḥasan.

The word *martolos* is used in the *Ta'rikh* of Rāshid (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., iv. 72) in which there is a reference to a certain Topal 'Othmān Agha, head of the *martolos* (*ser-i martolos* in the heading and *martolos bashī* in the text) in Rūm-ili in the year 1715. (ETTORE ROSSI)

**MAŠĤAF RASH**. [See KITĀB AL-DJILWA.]

**MASTŪDJ**, a village, fort, and district in the upper Yārkhūn valley at present included in the Dir, Swāt and Čitrāl Political Agency of the North-West Frontier Province of India. It apparently formed part of the ancient territory of Šyāmāka (M. Sylvain Lévi, in *J.A.*, xi., vol. v., p. 76; and Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, 1930, p. 29 sqq.). Stein identifies Mastūdī with the territory of Čü-wei or Shang-mi which was visited

by the Chinese pilgrim Wu-K'ung in the viii<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (*Ancient Khotan*, i., foot note on p. 15—16; *Serindia*, i. 18). An inscription discovered at Barenis points to the fact that Mastūdī was included in the dominions of the Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waihand.

The history of Mastūdī is closely connected with that of Čitrāl. British relations with these two states arose as a result of their relations with Kashmīr, which state recognized British suzerainty in the year 1846. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton it was deemed expedient, in view of Russian military activities in Central Asia, to obtain a more effective control over the passes of the Hindū Kūsh. With this object in view the Māharādja of Kashmīr was encouraged to extend his authority by means of peaceful penetration over Čitrāl, Mastūdī and Yāsīn. (The fullest account of early British relations with these states is to be found in Foreign Office MSS. N<sup>o</sup>. 65, 1062). After the introduction of Lord Curzon's tribal militia scheme, Mastūdī became the head-quarters of the Čitrālī irregulars.

*Bibliography*: J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, 1880; *Public Record Office*, London, Foreign Office MSS. N<sup>o</sup>. 65, 1062; A. Stein, *Serindia*, i. and iii., appendix C.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**MEHKEME**. In this article we shall briefly discuss the limitation and organisation of jurisdiction for the principal lands of Islām and shall have to leave out of consideration the special regulations for non-Muslims and foreigners.

On Morocco, see vol. iii., p. 593<sup>a</sup>.

On Algeria, see vol. i., p. 275<sup>a</sup>.

On Tunisia, see vol. iv., p. 861—862.

In Egypt in the time of Muḥammad 'Alī there was in Cairo a chief *ḳāḍī* sent every year from Stambul who delegated the bulk of the business to the deputy he brought with him from Stambul. The plaintiff had as a rule to bring with him a *fatwā* from the Ḥanafī *muftī*, who belonged to the country and held permanent office there; the *muftī* for his part investigated the legal disputes and the *ḳāḍī* was usually satisfied with confirming the *fatwā*. Simple cases were decided at once by the *ḳāḍī*'s deputy or by one of the official witnesses, to whom application had first of all to be made. Cases of a more complicated nature were brought before the chief *ḳāḍī*, his deputy and the *muftī* together. In addition to this chief court of justice there were subsidiary courts in Cairo and in the suburbs at which official witnesses of the chief court laid down the law as deputies and under the supervision of the chief *ḳāḍī*. In the country towns there were also *ḳāḍīs* who were usually supported by *muftīs*. Their sphere of jurisdiction covered the whole civil law. Jurisdiction in criminal cases and the investigation of complaints in the old sense were exercised by the chief administrative office, *al-Diwān al-Khedīwī*, at the head of which was the Kikhya as representative of the Pasha; the chief of police (*ḡābīf*) and the *muhtasib* had also considerable powers of punishment. Egypt was not affected by the *Tanzīmāt* legislation of the Ottoman empire and not even the *medjelle* was introduced there. After an endeavour had been made in 1855 under Sa'id Pasha to codify the criminal law, which only resulted in a confused compilation based mainly on the *sharī'a*, there came the great juridical reform under Ismā'il Pasha

in connection with the introduction of the mixed tribunals (1876). In 1874 a native system of civil jurisdiction was introduced with different *madjālis*. In 1883 this organisation was replaced by the native courts (*maḥākim aḥliya*) (the system was not completely carried through until 1889), and at the same time new civil, criminal and commercial codes were proclaimed with new regulations for civil and criminal processes (the criminal code was brought up to date in 1904), which were based on French models. In the meanwhile the reorganisation of the *shari'a* tribunals had begun. By a law of 1880 the tribunals in Cairo and Alexandria were given colleges of three judges, the tribunal in Cairo was made a court of appeal from the verdicts of individual judges, and against the verdicts of these two courts an opportunity of appeal to the Ḥanafī (chief) *mufti* was given; in cases of doubt the tribunals were referred to the competent *muftis* but in general were independent of them. The competence of the *shari'a* tribunals was confined to family law and the law of inheritance, a part of the law of property including foundations and (for the courts in larger towns) cases of capital crimes referred to them by the *madjālis niẓāmiya*; at the same time the procedure was revised. As early as 1875 the Egyptian government had published a codification of family and testamentary law prepared by Muḥammad Qādiri Pasha (*al-Aḥkām al-shari'iya fi 'l-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*; also official French and Italian translations); this work however was only intended to meet the increased need for a convenient summary of the law administered by the *shari'a* tribunals, caused by the institution of mixed and native tribunals, and had no authority of its own even with these courts; this is also true of a private work of the same author, in which the law of pious foundations (*awḳāf*) is codified (*Kānūn al-ʿAdl wa 'l-Inṣāf li 'l-Qaḍā' alā Muḥkilat al-Awḳāf*, first ed., Būlāḳ 1893—1894). A further step in advance was marked by the *Règlement de Réorganisation des Mehkémehs* of 1897, modified in 1909—1910; between the two versions came the *fatwas* of Muḥammad ʿAbduḥ [q.v.] on the reform of *shari'a* jurisdiction of 1899. Both versions anticipate an organisation of the *shari'a* tribunal in three stages: *sommaire* (*djuzʿiyya*), *de première instance* (*ibtidāʿiyya*) and *suprême* (*ʿulyā*) according to the terminology finally adopted; in the first single judges sit, in the others colleges of judges, according to the earlier version, always three, according to the later, three judges in the intermediate and five in the highest tribunal in Cairo. The court of appeal is the next highest tribunal; the more important cases are at once brought before the court of first instance. The earlier arrangement gave the *muftis* definite places on the bench of the collegiate courts; in the later arrangement the vice-president took the place of the *mufti* except in Cairo. The sphere of the *shari'a* courts had in the meanwhile been limited, either by direct limitation or by definition of the spheres of the other courts, to family law and law relating to inheritance and to pious foundations (questions of minority come before the *madjālis ḥasbiya* created in 1896). The last *Règlement* of 1931 again brought the number of judges in the highest court down to three. As regards method of procedure, in the *Règlements* since 1897 there has been an increasing endeavour to do away with the oral evidence of

witnesses and acknowledgment (*ikrār*) as means of proof and to prefer documentary evidence. Since 1920 legislation has considerably interfered even in content with the legal rules to be applied by the *shari'a* courts: in general the Ḥanafī code is predominant, a legacy from Ottoman times, although a considerable section of the populace is Shāfiʿī or Mālikī.

In the Ottoman empire, in which Muslim law according to the Ḥanafī school attained the greatest importance in actual practice that it had ever had since the earliest times, the *shari'a* courts were from the first competent to deal with both civil and criminal cases; there was one under a *qāḍī* in the chief town of each *ḥaḍā* and all were under the authority of the chief *mufti*, the *shaiḫ al-Islām* [q.v.], who also dealt with complaints against their decisions but himself hardly ever exercised judicial functions. In the judicial hierarchy, which was carefully organised as a unit, the *qāḍī-asker* or the two *qāḍī-askers* of Rumelia and Anatolia held the most prominent position. Besides the judges the military and police authorities in the person of the *sü-başı* or *muḥtasib* also dealt with criminal law and they administered it with due regard for the material demands of the *shari'a* to some extent, in the belief that thereby they were helping to enforce the sacred law. The criminal law administered by the *qāḍis* was modified by the *kānūn-nūme's* [q.v.], formal laws which were not thought to render the sacred law invalid or to contradict it but only to fill gaps in it. The period of the *Tanzimāt* [q.v.] brought a change in the organisation of the administration of justice: from 1840 commercial courts were created on the French model and in 1864 was begun the organisation of "ordinary" courts (*mehkimi-niẓāmiye, ḥukūḥ mehkemeleri*), which received their final form in the law of the constitution of courts of 1879. They had power to deal with civil and criminal cases with the exception of commercial cases which went to the special commercial courts and the matters left to the *shari'a* courts (family, inheritance and pious foundations and disputes over talio or blood money [cf. *ḲİŞÄŞ*]). At the same time progress was made with the creation of tone codes of law, the commercial code of 1850, the law of property of 1857, the definitive criminal code of 1867 (after two previous attempts), which however suggests an untenable position as it professes both to maintain and drop the *shari'a*, and notably the civil code, the *medjelle* [q.v.] of 1869—1876. This deals with the law of contract and of private property entirely on the basis of the *shari'a* but in the paragraph form borrowed from Europe and with modifications in detail, particularly in the bringing of proof. With the awakening of Turkish nationalism the tendency towards secularisation of the *shari'a* courts gained in strength: in 1917 the connection of these courts with the *shaiḫ al-Islām* was broken and they were placed under the Ministry of Justice, and in the same year the *shari'a* was substantially modified by a law regulating family affairs (repealed later however) (transl. by Bouvat, in *R. M. M.*, vol. xliii.). The Turkish republic in 1924 abolished the *shari'a* courts in connection with the abolition of the caliphate, and in 1926 introduced the Swiss civil law and law of contract and the Italian criminal code. (E. Pritsch has collaborated in this section of the article).

In the Arab lands separated from the



Ottoman empire the relation between religious and secular jurisdiction remained essentially what it had been at the time of the separation; in the 'Irāk a certain consideration was given to the Shī'īs. In Arabia proper, where Mecca itself had afforded a typical example of the existence of the two kinds of courts side by side, under the influence of the Wahhābī movement a revival of the religious law is perceptible. In Sa'ūdīya Arabia justice is administered only according to the *sharī'a* and in the sultānate of al-Shīhr and al-Mukallā the secular court has been abolished (cf. O. M., 1934, p. 458 sq.).

In pre-constitutional Persia religious and secular jurisdiction existed side by side without rigid definition of spheres; the latter dealt with questions of constitutional and administrative law, and to some extent with commercial and criminal cases but had no fixed standards, precedents or rules of procedure. The constitution of 1907 sanctioned this dualism but did not define exactly the spheres of the two systems. As a result there was seen in legislation the continual endeavour to dispose of parts of the *sharī'a* recognised as impracticable by ingenious interpretations of it, to remodel it or supplement it and gradually to narrow down the competence of the religious courts. The least difficulties were offered by the reform of the constitutional and administrative law and the commercial law; the new civil and testamentary law of 1928 is in form and substance based very much on the *sharī'a*; the law of marriage was not affected by legislation and remained a matter of religious law; the criminal law and its administration were in practice completely emancipated from religious law by the criminal code of 1926 and a law of 1931. In the field of civil law also the competence of the *sharī'a* courts was more and more limited until by a law of 1931 they were made special courts with powers given them by acts of parliament; the cases to be decided by them are allotted them as occasion arises by the ordinary courts; a *mudjtahid* sits in them alone (cf. Frank, in *Islamica*, ii. 171 sq.), the *sharī'a* court in Teherān is a court of appeal for them. Their powers are limited to certain questions of the law of marriage and guardianship. Their power to deal with disputes which can only be decided by the formal procedure of evidence and oath of the *sharī'a* has become meaningless with the increasing adoption of the evidence of documents in procedure.

On India, cf. INDIA, section 4.

On Indonesia, cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding* (3rd ed.), p. 323 sqq. and PANGULU.

*Bibliography*: Egypt: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. iv.; art. KHEDĪW, section 2; Schacht, *Sarī'a und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten*, in *Isl.*, xx. 209 sqq.; the texts of the laws and ordinances in the *Journal Officiel du Gouvernement Égyptien*, and separately, e. g. *Lā'ihat al-Mahākīm al-shar'īya*, Būlāk 1297 (1880); *Règlement de Réorganisation des Mehkemehs*, Cairo 1910; *Madjma'at Kawānīn al-Mahākīm al-shar'īya wa 'l-Madja'lis al-hasbiya*, Cairo 1926; Sammarco, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, iv. 265 sqq.

Ottoman empire: the literature in the articles KĀDĪ, TANZĪMĀT and MEDJELLE. Also on the judicial hierarchy: Husain Efendi Hezār-fenn (wrote in 1081 H.), *Talkhīṣ al-Bayān fī Kawānīn Al 'Oṭmān* (e. g. Paris, Ancien Fonds

turc 40, 1); on the *kānūn-nāme's*: Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i. 13 sqq.; Schacht, in *Isl.*, xx., p. 211 sq.

Arabia: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. ii.; do., *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*.

Persia: J. E. Polak, *Persien*, i. 325 sqq.; J. Greenfield, *Die geistlichen Schiagerichte in Persien und die moderne Gesetzgebung*, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xlviii. 157 sqq.; do., in *Rechtsvergleichendes Handwörterbuch*, i. 427 sqq.; M. Habib, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. vii. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

**MERW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN**, the principal town and centre of culture in the rich oasis which occupies the lower course of the river Murghāb; in the period of the Arab geographers it was called Merw al-Shāhidjān to distinguish it from Merw al-Rūd (a little town on the Upper Murghāb).

As a result of the work of V. Joukovsky (*Razvalini starogo Merva*) and W. Barthold (*K istorii oroshenija Turkestana*, vol. v., Murgab), we are better informed on the history of Merw than on that of any other town in Irān or Central Asia. Literary sources alone are not sufficient to enable us to fix the date to which history goes back in the valley of the Murghāb. Archaeology alone could supply the information but the archaeology of this region has not yet been studied. We are therefore only able to give the following facts. In the Achaemenid period (vith—ivth century B. C.) we find a highly developed agricultural community in the region of the Murghāb incorporated in the Persian state. Details on this point are given by Greek writers of antiquity, the geographers and historians of the campaigns of Alexander the Great (336—323 B. C.). The Greeks found in this region not only a settled population but also a rural society practising agriculture on a very high level. They grew the vine and made good wine. There were, however, no towns there. It is not till the time of Antiochus I (280—261 B. C.) that the foundation of the town of Merw is dated. To the same date belongs the building of the wall intended to protect the agricultural zone from the nomads of the steppe, then inhabited by the predecessors of the Turkish people. There is no reason, it seems, to doubt the date of the foundation of Merw but only archaeology can settle the question definitely. To what date does the earliest building in the area of Merw, that is, the citadel, belong? The fact that already several centuries before our era we find agriculture highly developed shows that the valley of the Murghāb had a system of artificial irrigation. The rapid development of the oasis of Merw was due not only to this but also to the fact that in the Parthian period the great caravan route which linked Western Asia with China passed through Merw. The caravans from Western Asia went from Merw to Balkh, thence via the Darwāz and the northern part of Badakhshān, then on to the Alāy, Kāshghār and finally to China. In the Sāsānian period the trade-route was moved farther north. Caravans went from Merw to Čardjūi, Samarkand and the land of the Seven Rivers. Merw was not only an emporium on the trade-route but a great industrial city. It is, however, only after the Arab conquest that history gives us ample details of the life of the city.

By utilizing the information supplied by the

Arab historians and geographers we obtain a fair picture of what Merw was like in their period and in antiquity. To understand the part played by Merw in the economic life of Western Asia and Central Asia we have to study all that the Arab geographers of the x<sup>th</sup> century tell us about the system of irrigation.

The oasis of Merw was supplied with water by a rather complicated system of irrigation. The essential part of it was the dam on the Murghāb. It had a hydrometer, an enormous bar of wood on which were marked various levels at intervals of about an inch (*sh'yrat*).

It is to the vii<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century A. D. that the great economic prosperity of the oasis of Merw belongs. In the x<sup>th</sup> century under the conditions of a feudal system of production, the feature of the economic life of Central Asia was a highly developed system of exchanges. In the oasis of Merw numerous technical cultures were developed, except wheat, which was imported from the valleys of Kashka-Daryā and Zarafshān. The people cultivated the silkworm. Shortly before the coming of the Mongols, there was at Kharak to the S. W. of Merw a "house" called al-Diwekush, where sericulture was studied. Al-Istakhri says that Merw exported the most raw silk (*B.G.A.*, i. 263); its silk factories were celebrated. The oasis of Merw was also famous for its fine cotton which, according to al-Istakhri, was exported, raw or manufactured, to different lands. The district of Merw also contained a number of large estates which assured their owners considerable revenue. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii. 1952 sq.), in the vii<sup>th</sup> century whole villages belonged to one man. In the absence of legal documents little is known of the life of the peasants. It is evident, however, that they were bound by feudal bonds to their lords (*dihkān*) and paid them at the time of the Arab conquest in kind and in the vii<sup>th</sup>—x<sup>th</sup> century in kind and money. No evidence of the amount of these payments has come down to us. The town, built in the centre of a highly cultivated area, was destined to have a brilliant future. If we also remember that it had become one of the great emporiums on the caravan routes between Western and Central Asia and Mongolia and China we can easily realise how the city grew so rapidly with its manufactures, markets and agriculture. At the present day within the area of the old region of Merw (now the Soviet Union of Turkmenistān) in the environs of the sovkhov of "Bairam-ʿAlī", we can see three sites of ancient towns: 1. Gaūr-Ḳalʿa, corresponding to the town of Merw of the Sāsānian and early Muslim period; 2. Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa quite close to the preceding on the west side. This is the Merw of the vii<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century, which was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221; lastly 3. ʿAbdallāh-Khān-Ḳalʿa south of Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa—Merw, rebuilt by Shāh Rukh in 1409. This is all that remains of the famous city, including its nearer environs.

The citadel of Merw, contemporary with the town built on the Gaūr-Ḳalʿa area, goes back to a date earlier than that of the town itself. The latter (Gaūr-Ḳalʿa) must be recognised as the earliest site (called *shahristān*); it grew up around the castle of a great feudal lord (*dihkān*), i. e. around the citadel itself, for there is no doubt that it must have been the abode of some feudal lord. The *shahristān* can hardly be earlier than

the beginnings of the town of Merw, the building of which is attributed to Antiochus I (280—261 B. C.), but it will only be by excavation that the problem of the date of the earliest habitations in the citadel will be settled.

The Arabs on their arrival found the western quarter so much increased that it was now the most important part of the town. It is to this part that the Arab geographers give the name of *rabad*. The market was at first on the edge of the *shahristān* near the "Gate of the Town", not far from the western wall, and one part of it extended beyond this wall as far as the Razik Canal. The great mosque was built by the Arabs in the middle of the *shahristān* (*B.G.A.*, iii. 311). Little by little with the moving of the life of the town towards the *rabad*, the administrative and religious centre of the town was moved thither also. On the bank of the Razik Canal was built the second mosque which at the beginning of the iii<sup>th</sup> (ix<sup>th</sup>) century was allotted by al-Ma'mūn to the Shāfi'is. In the middle of the ii<sup>th</sup> (viii<sup>th</sup>) century, in the time of Abū Muslim, the centre was moved still farther westward to the banks of the Mādjan Canal. At this date the town was gradually occupying the site of the *rabad*. The town of Merw in the vii<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> centuries was therefore no longer Gaūr-Ḳalʿa, but the town of which ruins still exist to the west of the latter, now known as Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa. But the *shahristān* did not lose its importance at once. The site of the old town on Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa is in the form of a triangle, elongated from N. to S., with an area equal to that of Gaūr-Ḳalʿa. It is surrounded by a fine wall built of unbaked brick with several towers and other buildings belonging to the fortress. The latter was built by order of Sulṭān Saldjūk Malikshāh in 1070—1080. It is one of the most splendid buildings of the period.

In the time of the Arab geographers, the two towns with their suburbs were surrounded by a wall, remains of which still exist. As regards the wall built in the time of Antiochus I (280—261 B. C.) its remains were still visible in the tenth century and are mentioned by Istakhri under the name of al-Rāy (*B. G. A.*, i. 260).

The social structure of the town of Merw in the period when it took the place of Sulṭān-Ḳalʿa changed a great deal like the social and economic life of Western and Central Asia generally. The growth of cities, the development of urban life, the exchange of city products for those of the country and those of the nomads of the steppes, the expansion of caravan traffic, now no longer limited to the trade in luxuries, all these encouraged the growth of new classes of society. It was no longer the *dihkāns* who were the great lords of the town of Merw in the vii<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century. In Gaūr-Ḳalʿa however, their "*kushks*" existed down to the end of the xi<sup>th</sup> century; it was the rich merchants and an aristocracy of officials who were masters. Although both were connected with the local aristocracy, it was no longer agriculture but trade and property in the town which were their sources of wealth. Similarly a change was taking place in the position of the artisans who had long ceased to be the serfs of the *dihkāns*. Down to the ninth century, however, a number of men still paid feudal dues to the *dihkāns*. From the ninth century they seem to have been free. The appearance of the town also changed as regards



both topography and buildings. While in the *shahristān* (Gaūr-Kal'a) the *bāzār* was at the end of the town and in part outside of it, when the *rabad* attracted urban life to it, the markets and workshops became the centre of the town. Merw (Sultān-Kal'a) became in the xth century a commercial city of the regular oriental type. It was traversed by two main streets, one running north and south, and the other east and west; where they intersected was the *čarsū*, the centre of the market, roofed by a dome; the shops had flat roofs. It was there also that were to be found the little shops of the artisans and although the literary sources only mention the money-changers', the goldsmiths' and the tanners' quarters, there also must have been the quarters of the weavers, copper-smiths, potters, etc. It was not only the administrative and religious centre, for it also contained the palaces, the mosques, madrasas and other buildings. For example, to the north of the *čarsū* was the great mosque, already built in the time of Abū Muslim, which survived till the Mongol invasion, if we may believe Yāqūt. It must, however, have been frequently rebuilt. Yāqūt also says that beside the great mosque was a domed mausoleum, built on the tomb of Sultān Sandjar; its mosque was separated from it by a window with a grill. The great dome of the mausoleum of turquoise blue could be seen at a distance of a day's journey. Within the walls which surrounded the mosque was another mosque built at the end of the xth century which belonged to the Shāfi'is. In the period of Yāqūt it seems that the domed building erected by Abū Muslim in baked brick fifty-five cubits in height with several porticoes — which is said by al-Iṣṭakhri to have served as a "house of administration" — no longer existed. It used to stand close to the great mosque built by Abū Muslim. The town of Merw in this period — in addition to its great wall — had inner ramparts which separated the different quarters of the town. The city was famous for its libraries.

Merw also played an important part in politics. In the Sāsānīan period the town was the residence of the *marzban* of Merw. In 651 (the year of the conquest of the town by the Arabs), the last Sāsānīd ruler Yazdedjird III was killed near the town at the village of Raziḳ in the mill there. Al-Ṭabarī (i. 2881, 9) tells us that a Christian bishop (i. e. Nestorian) took the body to Pā-i Bābān on the lower part of the Mādjan Canal and buried it there. This last fact as well as other indications show that the Nestorian monastery of Maserdjāsān (Ṭabarī, ii. 1925, 13; Yāqūt, ii. 684, 11) was situated to the north of Sultān-Kal'a. From 651 to the Tāhirid period, Merw was the capital of the viceroyalty of the caliphate and it was from there that the conquest and later the organisation of Mā warā' al-Nahr began.

In the middle of the viiith century, Merw became the centre of a great social and political movement led by Abū Muslim [q. v.] who drove the Omayyad dynasty from power and put the 'Abbāsids on the throne. In the time of the Tāhirids (ninth century) Merw, while retaining its economic importance, ceased to be the capital which was transferred to Nishāpūr. Merw also continued to flourish under the Sāmānīds whose capital was Bn-khārā. In the second half of this century, as a result of the feudal reaction against Sāmānīd rule, Merw experienced a certain decline. Al-Muḳaddasī gives us the valuable information that in his time (end

of the xth century) a third of the *rabad* had been completely destroyed and the town's population much diminished (*B. G. A.*, iii. 311).

In the period of the Saldjūks (xth–xiith century) Merw experienced a great expansion and in the time of Sultān Sandjar (1118–1157) it again became the capital. In 1153 the Ghuzz plundered it, so that it did not recover for several decades, when it formed part of the kingdom of the Khwārizm-shāhs. In 1221, the Mongols completely destroyed it; the dam on the Murghāb was demolished and the flourishing oasis became a desert. This devastation destroyed the life of the great city. It only recovered its importance two centuries later, when Shāh-rukh in 1409 endeavoured to restore the system of irrigation on the Murghāb and to rebuild the city. What then remains of the town of the viiith–xiith centuries — in addition to the wall already mentioned? The whole site of Sultān-Kal'a is covered with mounds and hillocks, formed on the sites of ancient buildings. Everywhere one sees great piles of bricks, whole and broken, and fragments of pottery, plain and glazed. In the centre, like a memorial of the great past, rises the domed mausoleum of Sultān Sandjar mentioned by Yāqūt. This monument, one of the finest buildings of the xiith century, deserves the attention of scholars. The question arises whether it had any connection with the "house of administration" with a dome and several porticoes mentioned by Iṣṭakhri. The Merw of this period contains numerous buildings within the area of Sultān-Kal'a as well as outside its walls, especially the western suburb. Not one has so far been the object of serious archaeological study. In 1406 Shāh-rukh endeavoured to restore prosperity to this region, which had at one time been a flourishing oasis. Hāfiz-i Abrū gives us details of his scheme. The dam was rebuilt on its old site, the water restored to its old channel, but only a portion of the oasis could be irrigated. The town was rebuilt, but not on the old site because water could not be brought in sufficient quantity to Sultān-Kal'a. The town of Merw of this period corresponds to the old town of 'Abdallāh-Khān-Kal'a (popular legend wrongly attributing its building to 'Abdallāh-Khān [1595–1598]), the area of which was much less than that of Merw of the Mongol period, covering about three hundred square poles. The town of Merw of this period can not be compared with that of the pre-Mongol period. In time Merw and its oasis declined more and more. In the period of the Safavid kingdom, it was the object of continual attacks on the part of the Ōzbeks, which could not help affecting it. An almost mortal blow was dealt it at the end of the xviiith century when the Amir of Bukhārā Shāh Murād destroyed the dam on the Murghāb and drove away almost all the inhabitants of Merw. A little later an attempt was made to restore the dam but the results were insignificant. — In 1884 the town of Merw was occupied by the Russians and in 1887, three years later, the first serious attempt was made to restore irrigation to this once flourishing country. Two dams were built on the Murghāb — Hindu-kush and Sultānbend. But the only object of this was to create a rich estate for the Czar. There was no question of restoring these irrigated lands to the neighbouring Turkomans or Ōzbeks. The domain, called the "Murghāb domain", in 1910 covered 16,092 hectares (?) (*desjatin*) growing various

crops (principally cotton). At the present day all this region belongs to Turkmenistān, a member of the Soviet republic, and in place of the old imperial domain we have the best sovkhos in Turkmenistān known as "Bairam 'Alī", in which year by year the area of properly land is being extended.

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(A. JAKOUBOVSKY)

**METAWILA.** [See MUTAWĀLĪ.]

**MILIANA**, a town in Algeria (department of Algiers), 60 miles S. W. of Algiers. It is built on a plateau at a height of 2,400 feet on the flank of the Zaccar Gharbī (5,270 feet) and commands on the east and south the valley of the Shelif. Owing to the comparative mildness of the climate and the abundance of running water it is surrounded by gardens and vineyards tilled by natives, while European colonists have created on the adjoining slopes a vine-growing district whose produce is famous. It is an agricultural centre and market for the people around who are mainly the Berbers, who occupy the massif of the Zaccar. Miliana is also of some importance as a mining centre since the exploitation of the iron deposits in the vicinity of the town (100,000 tons a year). It is, besides, a place of pilgrimage for natives of the region and even for those of the Mitidja and Algiers who come to visit the tomb of Sidi Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a marabout who lived at the beginning of the xvth century and is celebrated among other things for his sarcastic sayings about the towns of Algiers. The population (census of 1926) is 9,770, of whom 2,784 are Europeans (2,186 French) and 6,996 natives.

Miliana is built on the site of the Roman town of Zuchabab, the ruins of which could still be seen in the time of al-Bakrī and some remains, noted by Shaw in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, still existed at the time of the French occupation. The present town dates from the tenth century A. D. Its foundation is attributed by al-Bakrī to the Ṣanhādja chief Zīrī b. Menād, who gave it as a residence to his son Buluggin. This writer describes it as a prosperous, populous town well supplied and with a busy bazaar. Idrīsī remarks on the abundance of water and the fertility of the surrounding country. After the fall of the Hammādid dynasty, Miliana passed into the power of the Almohads, was occupied for a short time by 'Alī and Yahyā b. Ghāniya, then for a century and a half disputed between the Hafsids and the 'Abd al-Wādid of Tlemcen, then between the latter and the Marinids.

In the xvth century, Miliana formed, like Medea

and Tenes, part of an independent principality founded by a Zayānid pretender, then became a dependency of Tlemcen when the son of this pretender had restored the unity of the kingdom. The inhabitants nevertheless, according to Leo Africanus, retained an almost complete independence. They lost it on the coming of the Turks. 'Arūdj seized Miliana soon after taking Algiers. Under Turkish rule, the town was included in the *dār al-sultān* that is to say the land directly administered by the Pāshā of Algiers. Several Turkish officers lived there, one of whom went round the Arabs every year to collect taxes with the help of troops sent for this purpose from the capital. After the taking of Algiers by the French, Miliana remained at first independent, then was occupied in 1834 by 'Abd al-Kādir who installed a bey there. The French in their turn took possession of the town on June 8, 1840 but were closely blockaded in it by the partisans of the emir till 1842, when the operations conducted in western Mitidja, Medea and the valley of the Shelif secured freedom of communications.

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**MOHMAND**, the name of a Pathān tribe on the north-west frontier of India. The territories inhabited by the Mohmands stretch from the north-west of the Peshāwar district across the Durand boundary into Afghānistān.

Towards the end of the xvth century according to local tradition, two large branches of Pathān tribes, the Khakhai and the Ghorīa Khēl, migrated from their homes in Afghānistān to the north-west frontier of India. By the opening years of the xvth century the Mohmands, who were a tribe of the Ghorīa Khēl, had reached the Khyber area. They were never really subdued by the Mughal emperors and in the reign of Akbar revolted under Djalāla, the Roshanāī.

Like many other frontier tribes, such as the Mamands, Bangash, and the Darwēsh Khēl Waziris, the Mohmands are to be found both in Afghānistān and in British territory. Those within the British sphere of influence can be divided into the Kuz (plain) Mohmands, whose lands lie to the south of Peshāwar within the British administrative border, and the Bar (hill) Mohmands of the semi-independent hills to the north-west. The Mohmands of the settled districts represent one of the many cases of fission, where a branch or section of the tribe has broken off from the parent stock and lost all connection with it. The Mohmands across the administrative border can be divided into three chief clans: the Tarakzai, Baezai, and the Khwaezai. In the thirty years following the annexation of the Pandjāb no less than six punitive expeditions were required to punish them for raiding into British territory. By the Durand Agreement of 1893 certain Mohmand clans were definitely placed within the British sphere of influence and by the year 1896 the Halimzai, Kamali, Dawezai, Utmanzai and Tarakzai, afterwards known as the eastern or "assured" clans, had accepted the political control of the Government of India (*Parliamentary*



*Papers*, 1908, Cd. 4201, p. 123). But this did not prevent them from joining in the Pathān revolt of 1897, when, under their leader, Nadīm al-Dīn, the Adda Mulla, they attacked the village of Shānkargarh and the neighbouring fort of Shāb-kadar in the Peshāwar district.

The factors underlying Mohmand unrest were geographical, economic, and political. The barren nature of their stony hills and almost waterless holdings forced them to raid the settled districts in order to obtain the necessities of life. Their position on the flank of the Khyber pass was a standing invitation to plunder the caravans passing between Peshāwar and Kābul. There was considerable uncertainty as to the exact location of the Indo-Afghān boundary near Smatai and Shin-pokh. Afghān intrigues also played their part and much of the unrest can be traced to anti-British propaganda emanating from Kābul.

At the close of the Zakka Khēl expedition of 1908 the Mohmands joined in the fighting but they were easily defeated, the eighteen-pounder quick-firing gun being used for the first time to disperse hostile *lashkars*. In April 1915, the Mohmands once more invaded British territory but were eventually dispersed and forced to pay a heavy fine. In August 1916, some Turkish emissaries arrived in the Mohmand country with money for the notorious Hādjī Shāhib of Turangzai, one of whose counsellors was Muḥammad 'Alī, a graduate of Cambridge and a teacher in the Amīr's college at Kābul. In 1919, during the Third Afghān War, when the Amīr Amānullāh proclaimed a *djihad* against the British, the Mohmands flocked to join his standards. From this time onwards the Hādjī of Turangzai and his sons have periodically disturbed the peace of the Indian frontier by agitation among the tribes. It is a significant fact that the Hādjī is a relative by marriage of 'Abd al-Ghaffār Khān, the leader of the "Red Shirt" organization which is linked up with the Indian National Congress. The Mohmand tribes still continue to disturb the peace of the Peshāwar district and as recently as 1935 the Government of India were compelled to undertake punitive operations against them.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

MU'ĀMALĀT. [See 'IBĀDĀT.]

MUBĀHALA, the name of a festival celebrated in very early times by the Shī'a on the 21<sup>st</sup> Dhu 'l-Hijja, to commemorate the historic interview which the Prophet had with the envoys of the Christians of Nadīrān (Balhārīth, clan of 'Abd al-Madān) at the end of the year 10 A. H. We know that this interview ended in a diplomatic agreement (*muṣālaḥa*); but what the Shī'is remember about it is that it was preceded

by a proposal for a trial by ordeal (*ibtihāl*: this is said to be alluded to in the Qur'ān iii. 54, according to most of the commentaries) — the Prophet summoning the Christians, who are said to have refused it, to a kind of divine judgment on the subject of the Incarnation, and designating as his hostages his "own people", those whom he covered with his cloak, under which therefore were the five *aṣḥāb al-kisā'* ("people of the cloak"): Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain (cf. the miniature in the Arabic MS. Paris No. 1489 of the *Āthār* of al-Bērūnī). — As a result of this episode, Shī'a law admits a ritual of execration between Shī'is which for the time abolishes the discipline of the arcana. The extremist Shī'is consider that this trial by ordeal proves the *taḍjallī*, divine transfiguration of the five "people of the cloak".

*Bibliography*: On the diplomatic agreement cf. Hamīdullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, Paris 1935, N<sup>o</sup>. 79—85 — supplementing Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 350—353 (year 10, § 73). — For the trial by ordeal besides the *tafsīrs* on Qur'ān iii. 54, see *R S O*, 1933, p. 103; and Majlīsi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, ix. 49—52. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

MUDJĀHID B. 'ABD ALLĀH ABU 'L-DJAIŠH AL-ĀMIRI AL-MUWAFFAK BI 'LLĀH, a Muslim prince of Spain of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, founder of the independent kingdom of Denia [q. v.] and of the Balearic Islands [q. v.]. He was a freed slave (*mawlā*) of Christian origin of the celebrated ḥādjīb al-Manṣūr Ibn 'Abī 'Āmir [q. v.], whose *nisba* he adopted.

Sent by the 'Āmirids in the reign of Hishām II as governor of the district of Denia, Mudjāhid, when the Cordovan caliphate broke up, was among the first to proclaim his independence in the year 460 (1009—1010). Very shortly afterwards he seized the Balearic Islands, and perhaps also Tortosa, which he later abandoned.

Anxious to retain, like the other *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*, the fiction of the caliphate in Spain, he had proclaimed Caliph in his own capital in 405 (1014) an Umayyad named 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'aitī but he was soon deposed. In 406 (1015) Mudjāhid undertook an expedition against Sardinia. Beginning well, this expedition ended in the following year in a serious reverse. His wife and his sons were taken prisoners.

We have few details of the reign of Mudjāhid, which lasted till the year 436 (1044—1045) when he died and was succeeded by his son 'Alī. The Arab chroniclers represent him as a man of considerable literary knowledge, a patron of belles-lettres and surrounded by poets and other literary men, whose productions he used to criticize severely. The Christian historians of the Middle Ages sometimes call him Rey Lobo. His fleet, the most powerful in the Mediterranean, spread terror along the coasts of Catalonia, Provence and Italy.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Haiyān, in Ibn Bas-sām, *Dhakhira*, MS. in Gotha, iii., fol. 2 sqq.; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamīs*, ed. Codera, *B. A. H.*, iii., p. 457—459; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, p. 116, 155—156; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 205 = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, p. 444; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar* (ed. Cairo), iv. 164; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Tib (Analectes)*, index; Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, i. 437; Roque

Chabas, *Historia de la ciudad de Denia*, Denia 1874—1876; do., *Mochéhid hijo de Yūsuf y Ali hijo de Mochéhid*, in *Homenaje a D. F. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, p. 141—424; Codera, *Mochéhid, conquistador de Cerdeña*, in *Centenario M. Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii. 115 sqq.; Alvaro Campaner, *Bosquejo histórico de la dominación islamita en las Islas Baleáricas*, Palma 1888; Codera, *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, Saragossa 1903, p. 249—300; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leyden 1931, index; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p. 34—36; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du X<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 154. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**MUFĀKHARA** (and *fikhār*). Noun of action from the verb *fākhara*, third form, having a reflected meaning as well as an active one of rivalry. *Mufākhara* (also *tafākhur*: Sūra lvii. 19) means a competition for glory, in boasting (cf. *√f-kh-r*). (Cf. among other terms: *tafādul*: Kuraṣhī, *Djamhara*, Būlāk, p. 170, l. 4). — The *munāfara* must have originally been a *mufākhara* the difference being of numbers only (cf. the word: *takāthur*: Sūra cii. 1 and the commentaries of Ṭabarī, Cairo 1321, xxx. 156; Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, Cairo 1315, p. 341. — Hassān b. Ṭhābit, *Diwān*, Cairo 1929, p. 227; Kūdāma b. Dja'far, *Naḥd al-Shi'r*, Constantinople 1302, p. 30).

The pre-Muḥammadan Arabs gave themselves up to *mufākharāt* and *munāfarāt* at definite times (usually fairs, especially the *sūḥ* of 'Okāz, whence the verb *ta'ākāza* [= *tafākhara*]) after the pilgrimage or at random. The Kuraish notably held them regularly in one of the ravines near Mecca (*Aghānī*, viii. 109). The *mufākhara* usually took place between groups: tribes and clans; occasionally between families and individuals.

In the *mufākharāt* where the orator and especially the poet played a prominent part (cf. *Aghānī*, iv. 8 sqq.; there was also the *safir*, the spokesmen of the group: 'Ikḍ al-farid, Cairo 1293, ii. 45), the Arabs were fond of boasting of all that constituted their honour ('ird; q. v.), i. e. of everything that contributed to their 'izza (power). To vaunt their titles to fame (*na'āthir*, *mafākhir*, *manāḳib*) and to dispute pre-eminence, the adversaries used to abuse one another most vehemently (role of the *hidjā*; q. v.). These literary tourneys (not to mention the fact that they contributed a great deal to the development of poetry and oratory) stirred up great excitement and ended in violent quarrels or even bloodshed which proved the beginning of wars (cf. e. g. *Aghānī*, viii. 109).

In steeping the Arabs from time to time in an atmosphere of mass exaltation, the *mufākhara*, or tournament of honour, performed an important social function. In a way it was a kind of religious ceremony. Indeed the religion of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs, a poor and ineffectual one, yielded place to honour in as much as the latter, thanks on the one hand to its sacred character and on the other to the *mufākharāt* (the elements or *leitmotiv* of which were connected on the psychosociological plane with strictly religious beliefs and practices), periodically revived in the Arabs this state of intense social life in which the individual forces are stimulated to the extent of bringing about a complete transfiguration of the individual.

This explains why the *mufākhara* was an im-

portant social institution. Did it not survive the oburgations of the Kur'ān and the reprimands of the Prophet (who however did not fail to attend them)? With Islām, however, to the elements that constituted pre-Islāmic honour there came to be added elements from the new religion or belonging to the new culture or the new social organisation. Sometimes in post-Islāmic times *mufākharāt* were held in the presence of the caliphs who were not ashamed to take part in them (sometimes kings and great lords presided over them). Finally we may note that the idea of *shu'ūbiya*, while protesting against the arrogant pride of the Arabs, was to assert in their eyes its claims to pre-eminence at the expense of their quarterings of nobility; not in gatherings like those of pre-Muḥammadan days, but with the pen and the word. This new kind of feud was no less violent than the old one: polemics, personalities and insults ('Ikḍ, ii. 85 sqq.; cf. Goldziher, *Muham. Stud.*, i. 167 sqq. — cf. besides the *Mathālib al-'Arab*). (One of the poets of the *shu'ūbiya*, Ibn Yasār, had already roused the wrath of the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik by celebrating exuberantly the memory of the 'Adjam: *Aghānī*, iv. 125).

Nevertheless the post-Muḥammadan *mufākhara* — revived for a time and under another aspect for the quarrel between Arabs and non-Arabs — was no longer anything more than a survival doomed to gradual extinction, because Islām had dispossessed it of its function, fought it in so far as it was a social institution, and broken it up by condemning a number of the elements of honour, notably *al-sharaf* (nobility) and *al-ḥasab* (the example of one's forefathers).

*Bibliography*: — Further references will be found in the detailed bibliography in B. Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islām*, Paris 1932, p. 11, 42, 51—52, 99, 161—162, 185—203, 212. — In addition to the dictionaries (art. *h-s-b*, *f-kh-r*, *k-th-r*, *n-f-r*), cf. especially: Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-'Arab fī Ahwāl al-'Arab*, Baghdād 1314, p. 299—338. (BICHR FARÈS)

**MUḤASSIN** b. 'ALĪ (now pronounced MUḤSIN). According to Shi'ī tradition, the truth of which is challenged by the Sunnis, he was the third son of 'ALĪ and Fāṭima, a still-born child whose mother gave birth to him prematurely during the search of the house ordered by the new Caliph Abū Bakr, and carried out by 'Umar and Ḳunfudh b. 'Umayr, who ill-treated her.

In the tenth century A. D. a *maḳām* was built in his honour at Aleppo. The Mukḥammisa Shi'īs (who include the Nuṣairis) have a particular devotion to Muḥassin. Under their influence the Persian *ta'ziyeh* representing the Last Judgment and the resurrection of the 'Alid martyrs end with the appearance of Muḥassin covered with blood in the arms of the Prophet; his grandfather raises him towards the heavens to call down divine justice.

Among the extremist Shi'īs, the triad Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥassin in the final cycle, are said to have appeared before in the Mosaic cycle as the three sons of Hārūn: Shabbar, Shubbair and Mushabbir.

This praenomen, now without *tashdid*, is particularly common in the feminine form Muḥsina and in the theophoric form 'Abd al-Muḥsin (e. g. 'Abd al-Muḥsin Sa'dūn, hero of Irāk autonomy).

*Bibliography*: Sobernheim, *Mélanges H.*



Derenbourg, 1909, p. 379—390; Sauvaget, in *R. E. I.*, 1931, p. 74—76; Massignon, *Les origines shī'ites... des Banū 'l-Furāt*, in *Mélanges Gaudefoy-Demombynes*, 1935, p. 38, N<sup>o</sup>. 2 and 3. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

AL-MUḤIBBĪ, the name of a family of scholars and jurists established at Damascus in the x<sup>th</sup>—x<sup>ith</sup> (xv<sup>th</sup>—xvii<sup>th</sup>) centuries, the descendants of Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, originally of Ḥamā (949—1016 = 1542—1608).

The most famous member of the family was his great-grandson, MUḤAMMAD AMIN B. FAḌL ALLĀH, born at Damascus in 1061 (1651). After completing his studies in Constantinople, he returned to Damascus in 1092 (1681) and engaged in teaching and literary work there until his death in 1111 (1699), except for a short interval during which he served as *nā'ib* to the *qāḍī* of Mekka and afterwards to the *qāḍī* of Cairo. His chief work is a biographical dictionary of notable men and scholars of the eleventh century of the *Hijra*, entitled *Khuḷāṣat al-Aḥar fī 'A'yān al-Qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar* (printed at Cairo in 4 volumes, 1284 [1867]), containing about 1,300 biographical notices and of considerable value for the social, political and intellectual history of his time. In addition to this work he compiled a supplement to the rhetorical biographical dictionary of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādī [q. v.], *Raiḥānat al-Aḥibbā*, under the title of *Nafḥat al-Raiḥāna wa-Rashḥat ḥilā' al-Ḥana*, and other grammatical and lexicographical treatises.

*Bibliography*: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrten-Familie Muḥibbi in Damascus*, Göttingen 1884 (translation of extracts from the *Khuḷāṣat al-Aḥar*, and containing on p. 24—27 an analysis of the sources of this work); do., *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, N<sup>o</sup>. 590; al-Murāḍī, *Silk al-Durar*, iv. 86—91; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 293—294.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

\*MUKĀN (MUGHĀN). In the important passage in Mas'ūdi, *Murūd*, ii. 5 (omitted in Marquart, *Eranshahr*, p. 119), it is distinctly stated that al-Mūkāniya conquered by the lord of Shirwān [q. v.] was situated near Kabala [cf. SHEKKI], i. e. to the north of the Kur, and was different from al-Mūkāniya on the shore of the Caspian Sea (cf. the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, with notes by Minorsky, in *G. M. S.*, 1937, p. 407). In the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, *Hist. de la Georgie*, i. 18) we read that Mowakan son of Thargamos received from his father "the north (*sic*) of Mtkwar (= Kur) from the junction with the Little Alazan (Iora?) to the sea and there founded the city (kingdom?) of Mowakneth". *Ibid.*, i. 397, the Shirwānshāh (in the xii<sup>th</sup> century) is called "lord of Mowakan and Shirwān". Prince Wakḥuṣht in his "Georgian Geography" (xvii<sup>th</sup> century) places Mowakan between the Kur and the Alazan. In Georgian the same term Mowakan is also applied to the Mughān situated to the south of the Kur (Brosset, *ibid.*, i. 161). These facts indicate that the original territory bearing the name Mukān (from the people *Mukal*, *Mochi*?) was of much greater extent.

As regards the Mukān south of the Kur, this is what the Arab geographers tell us: Iṣṭakhri, p. 182 (= Ibn Hawḳal, p. 239) mentions Mukān among the towns of Ādharbāidjān and (*ibid.*, p. 219) places it on the Gilān road to the Bāb al-Abwāb

[cf. DERBEND]. According to an additional passage (*ibid.*, p. 190g), the town of Mukān is separated from Bākū by a gulf (*fawḥat al-baḥr* = the Gulf of Kīzlī-Aghač) where they fish for the fish called *sūmāhi* (\**sūfmāhi*? = "hake"). On the shores of this Gulf (?) is Mukān which has many villages which had belonged to a tribe of Zoroastrians (*al-Madjiūs*). Muḳaddasi, p. 376, in enumerating the towns of Arrān mentions a Mughakān (between Shirwān and Bākū) but on the other hand, mentions a Mughān, p. 378, among the very prosperous towns of Ādharbāidjān. Mughakān was situated on the frontier (*'alā ra's al-hadd*) and on the high road (*al-sikka*), and indeed this name is found in the itinerary around the Caspian Sea (*ibid.*, p. 373 [cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 219]), from Sālūs (Cālūs) to Isbīdh-rūdh 1 *marḥala* and from there to Dūlāb (in the Persian Tālīsh) 10 *marḥala*, from there to Kuhan-rūdh 3 *marḥala*, from there to Mughakān 2 *marḥala*, from there to al-Kurr 2 *marḥala*, from there to Hashtādhar 2 *marḥala*, from there to Shamākhiya 2 *marḥala*. The itinerary, the distances of which are very short, could not have been far removed from the line of the shore. Mughakān should therefore be sought in the Russian Tālīsh (in the region of Lankurān [q. v.]). In any case the town of Mughakān (Iṣṭakhri: *Mūkān*) was not on the road which connected Ardabil with the seat of Arab government at Bardha'a, which crossed the whole region of Mukān from S. E. to N. W. This route (Iṣṭakhri, p. 192; Ibn Hawḳal, p. 251 [important details]; Muḳaddasi, p. 381) went by: Ardabil — 15 *farsakhs* — Barzand — 7 *farsakhs* — Balkhāb — 7 *farsakhs* — Warḥān — 7 *farsakhs* — Bailakān — 7 *farsakhs* — Yūnān (Yūmān, Tūmān etc.) — 7 *farsakhs* — Bardha'a. If we call the *farsakh* (?) miles the identifications would be as follows: Barzand = the village of Ḳal'a Barzand; Balkhāb = Bel-bulakh (a spring and a ruined caravanserai in the middle of the steppe; cf. Ibn Hawḳal, p. 251); Warḥān = Altan (ruins of a fort on the bank of the Araxes and a canal which runs towards the steppe); Bailakān = Mil (properly *Mil-i Bailakān*, near the ruined fort of Uren-ḳal'a; cf. Khanikov, in *J. A.*, August 1862, p. 72); Yūnān (?) = in the region of Bayat — Hind-arkhī [on Bardha'a see the article]. Now just to the east of this route (S. E. to N. W.) Ḥamdullāh, *Nuṣḥat al-Kulūb*, p. 181 gives a third itinerary (S. W. to N. E.): Ardabil — 8 *farsakhs* — Ribāt \*Arshak — 8 *farsakhs* — village of Vrnk (?) — 4 *farsakhs* — Bādjārwan (to which in Iṣṭakhri, p. 182, Djabarwan seems to correspond, perhaps by confusion with a place of this name to the south of Lake Urmīya; cf. the article NĪRĪZ) — 8 *farsakhs* — Belasuwar — 6 *farsakhs* — Djuy-i naw — 6 *farsakhs* — Maḥmūd-ābād-i Gawbāri. The fixed points are Ardabil and Belasuwar (Russian custom-house). Bādjārwan, which according to Ḳazwīnī was formerly the capital (*shahristān*) of Mughān, should be sought on one of the sources of the independent river Bolgaru which rises in the district of Uḍjarūd and ends in a lake to the south of the estuary of the Araxes.

*Bolgaru* is the Russian pronunciation; the element *-rū* is certainly "river"; in Olearius and Struys the name is written *Balharu*, which is more accurate; the name must be connected with that of the spring Balkh-āb (Bakh-lāb) [cf. above]. Ḥamdullāh specially notes that the road which he is describing passes one *farsakh* (towards the east!)

from Barzand [q. v.]. Now the river Barzand is the most westerly source of the Bolgaru. At one *farsakh* (3 miles) east of Barzand and parallel to the latter runs the river Diza. The village of Diza ("fort"; cf. Olearius: *Dizla*) is situated near the junction of the two sources of this river (which corresponds to the detail noted by Mukaddasī, p. 378 for *Mūghān*). The identity of the *shahristān* of Mūghān (which is to be distinguished from Mūghakān) = Bādjarwān = Diza seems fairly probable. The name Bādjarwān in the local Iranian dialect may mean the "market of Wān". The upper course of the Bolgaru is now actually called Bāzār-ṭai; and there is a considerable village there called Wān. The name "Bādjirowān" is borne by two villages in Russian Tālish, which perhaps represent colonies from the old town.

Hamdullāh, p. 89, deals with the *wilāyet* of Mūghān separately from Arrān. He indicates the extent of Mūghān as from the pass of Sang-bar-sang "which is opposite the *tuman* Pishkin" (now Mīshkin) to the Araxes. The said pass seems to correspond to the pass of Šalawāt (*Tash-dārū*) which separates the Kara-su from its right tributary the Sambur (district of Yāft) along which runs the most westerly road to the Araxes. Hamdullāh mentions five towns of Mūghān: 1. Bādjarwān (cf. above); 2. Barzand, on the western source of the Bolgaru, where at the present day there are still at least 7 villages called Barzand; 3. Bēlasuwār, called after a Būyid amīr (cf. Ibn Miskawaih, i. 401), whose name means "great horseman" (cf. in the dialect of Gilān: *pilla* "great"); Bēlasuwār was situated on the river of Bādjarwān (= Bolgaru); now Bēlasuwār is the Russian customs-station northwest of the Russian Tālish; 4. Hamashahra is an ancient fortress on the Russian Tālish about 12 miles S. E. of Bēlasuwār; 5. Maḥmūdābād built by the Ilkhān Maḥmūd (Ghāzān Khān?) was situated near the sea in the Gawbāri plain. Hamdullāh's itinerary (Bēlasuwār — 6 *farsakhs* — Djūy-i naw ["the new canal"] — 6 *farsakhs* — Maḥmūdābād) indicates for Djūy-i naw the environs of Kīzl-Aghāc, immediately south of the branch of the Araxes which flows into the sea, and for Maḥmūdābād, the environs of the village of Maḥmūdābād, about 12 miles south of Lankurān.

In the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* of Tawakkul b. Bazzāz [q. v.] (printed ed., p. 12), we find a somewhat obscure reference to a Kurdish army which set out from Sindjān, led by a king descended from Ibrāhīm Adham (q. v.; d. c. 166 = 783) and conquered Ādharbāidjān. It was then that the people of Mūghān, Arrān, Alīwān (?) and Dār-i Būm (?) who were all infidels were converted to Islām. There are certain reasons for believing that by the Kurds of Sindjān the author means the Rawwādī dynasty, representatives of whom reigned in Ādharbāidjān in the x<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century A. D. [cf. the articles MARĀGHA and TABRİZ].

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(V. MINORSKY)

**MUKĀRNAS**, the name for an ornamental frame or continuous bracket supporting an overhanging wall or concealing the transitions from one angle to another in Muslim architecture. The word is an arabisation of the Greek *κορνίσιον*, Latin *cornis*, Fr. *corniche*, Engl. *cornice*, Germ. *Karnies* (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 157, note 4). Zellenwerk,

stalactites, congelé, congélation, honeycomb work are common terms. The *mugharnat* is one of the most expressive forms in Muslim architecture and of its Weltanschauung, the spiritualisation of which it makes visible to the eye.

As a form the *mugharnat* is the transition from one cubical or spherical surface to the other. This transition is modelled essentially on static and cubistic lines and therefore only possible in a cubistic style of building like the Muslim (on the logical basis of the historical cubism in art see L. Coellen, *Der Stil in der Bildenden Kunst*, Traisa-Darmstadt 1921). The *mugharnat* as an agglomerate of units has therefore its roots in different forms of transition like niche-vaultings, squinches and pendentives which are usually all combined decoratively to form the *mugharnat*.

The squinch is the main root of the *mugharnat*. It is, as a general form, not of Persian origin, as hitherto supposed, but the transitional structure common to all cubistic vaulted architecture of the east, which, so far as we know, underwent different developments in Persia and Syria. The Persian squinch, as we first find it in Sāsānian buildings, bridges over a right angled corner of a wall by continuing the joint up in a curve which connects the two conical surfaces or spherical triangles, by means of which the wall folds over to the corner niche which leads to the circle of the dome. This construction originates in flexible brickwork, and had probably a predecessor in building in unbaked brick in Irān and Turkeṣtān, where such vaulting was rendered necessary by lack of wood (cf. Diez, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, p. 79). In Syria, a country of stone buildings, the corner of the wall was originally bridged over by a rafter of stone and this process repeated. This still primitive transition was however replaced here and in Anatolia very soon by bridging the corner with an arch (see for example St. Clement in Angora: Père de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'Archéologie anatolienne*, p. 113). The multiplication of this arch led as with the squinch to the *mugharnat*. The development led beyond these first primitive arrangements or accumulations of these two junctures by the combination of the Persian and Syrian forms of squinch (L. Hauteceur, *De la trompe aux mukarnas*). This was done by reproducing the Syrian squinch in brick and making it a facing for the Persian one. For this purpose the square brick was laid diagonally on the base so that its front half projected as a triangle. The squinches of the Dār al-Khalifa in Sāmarrā (ix<sup>th</sup> century) show this type which is also found in Tūr 'Abdin. In Sāmarrā the arch is already broken, i. e. it is a flattened pointed arch. This combined squinch then made its triumphal progress through the Muslim lands of the Mediterranean as far as Spain. There were developed two kinds of this squinch, one of which was in the form of a semi-cone or cul-de-four, the other a semi-cylinder with vaulting (cf. Hauteceur, *op. cit.*, p. 37). The multiplication of the single squinch into the *mugharnat* seems to have begun in the eastern lands generally in the xi<sup>th</sup> century A. D. In Persia the first demonstrable appearance of the *mugharnat* is in the gate lunette of the Gunbed-i Kābūs in Djurdjān of 1007 A. D. (Diez-Van Berchem, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, p. 39 sqq., 106; pl. 14). The next examples are the *mugharnat* niches in the domed sepulchral chamber of the Masdjid-i Djāmi' in Iṣfahān (fig.). In both cases they are pointed-arched



triple arches which arose out of the flanking of a squinch with two niches and then crowning them with a second squinch. In Egypt, according to Haute-coeur, one of the earliest example is in the church of Abū Saifain in Old Cairo (1074—1121) where a squinch of combined Perso-Syrian style is flanked by Persian keel arches with two niches. In the chapel of St. George in the same church an arrangement like this is crowned by a second squinch as in Iṣfahān, so that here also we have the triple mugharnat niche out of which the further agglomerations developed mechanically. The triple mugharnat niche next appears between 1100—1150 A.D. in almost all Muslim buildings in Cairo, which still survive, in Saiyida ʿĀṭika, Muḥammad al-Djāfarī, Saiyida Ruḳaiya and Yaḥyā al-Shahībi. The parallel development of the mugharnat from the squinch so far traced is to be explained as the logical result of the inherent tendency of the Muslim east to the ornamentalising of structural elements. The mugharnat was not invented by a people but grew out of the soil of a common Weltanschauung. Its further development was rapid. The next step is seen in the Imām Shāfiʿ in Cairo (1211 A.D.): the central squinch now appears flanked by two niches and above it are placed five narrower niches crowned with a main niche (Hautecoeur, *op. cit.*, fig. 12). Next, attached to the small pendentives which separate the niches and jut out over one another, were inserted the "stalactites", which justify their name as soon as they leave the wall of the niche. This was only a further natural step in its destined development and here again the place and time of its "invention" and all explanations of its construction are hypothetical. Irrationalisation of the structure and an increase in the effects of light and shade can alone be suggested as stimulating factors. As the earliest stalactites still in existence are in the mosques of Marrākeṣh, Kutubiya and Tinmāl (1153) and in Palermo, Zisa (1180) and Palestine, and thus frequent in the west, they must very probably have been known in Cairo before 1150. The Maghrib may have had a stimulating effect, as in the Kalʿat Benī Hammād (about 1100) we already have pure stalactites fully developed without connection with the squinch-mugharnat, such as are nowhere found in the east (Marçais, *Manuel*, i., fig. 79).

An inducement to the further development of the mugharnat, the real assimilating function of which thus becomes the more convincing, was given by Turkish expansion which brought the Turkish console or "Stützendreieck" (triangle turc), as Rosintal calls it, as a dowry. This primitive old Turkish method of bridging over a corner became mugharnatised as soon as it entered Arab lands, i.e. it was built up in rows of hollow cells and thus adapted to the colourist chiaroscuro scheme. Sometimes as in the entrance gateway to the mosque of Ḥasan in Cairo (1356), we also have pendentives which are resolved into dwarf squinches and niches i.e. are mugharnatised. In the sepulchral dome of the same mosque these mugharnat pendentives were added in wood, that is to say their function was purely decorative.

In the course of the xiv<sup>th</sup> and xv<sup>th</sup> centuries the pendentive-mugharnat began to predominate more and more over the squinch mugharnat, which gradually disappeared. These Muslim pendentives, are distinguished from the classical Byzantine-spherical by the fact that they are a combination of the

three transition methods, namely the true pendentive, the squinch and the supporting triangle. It is only with the xv<sup>th</sup> century when Byzantine influence spread through the expansion of Ottoman power that the Islāmic pendentive again approaches the Byzantine. And in the xv<sup>th</sup> century in Cairo the dome is again frequently put upon true, if mugharnatised pendentives (mosque of al-Ghūrī [1503] and others).

The local history of the mugharnat in the various lands of Islām takes us beyond our limits here. A fine example of its existence down to the xix<sup>th</sup> century is to be seen the country palace of Bāgh-i Firdūs near Teherān (fig.).

*Bibliography:* For the older literature see: J. Rosintal, *Pendentifs, Trompen und Stalaktiten*, Berlin 1912 and the French edition, Paris 1928; and supplementing this: A. Gayet, *L'art arabe*, 1893; K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt*; R. Phene Spiers, *Honey comb (Stalactite) vaulting in Architecture East and West*, p. 44—56; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*, 2 vols.; E. Pauty, *Contribution à l'étude des stalactites*, in *B.I.F.A.O.*, xxix, 1929; L. Hautecoeur, *De la trompe aux Mukarnas*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, July 1931, p. 26—51.

(ERNST DIEZ)

**MUKĀSAMA**, a system of land-taxation under the caliphs by which the *bait al-māl* received not an annual money-payment, irrespective of whether the land bore or not, but a share in kind of the crops actually grown. In Irāk the system was introduced under the early ʿAbbāsids (al-Mahdī or al-Manṣūr; cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ* ed. de Goeje, p. 272; Māwardī, ed. Enger, p. 136; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 276) instead of the older *kharāj* system of money-payments. The tax was levied on the principal crops only, wheat and barley, and not on the less important crops or on fruit trees or date-palms. These latter paid in money. According to Iṣṭakhri (p. 157) and Ibn Ḥawqāl (p. 217), part of the revenue of Fārs was derived from mukāsama. It was of two kinds: 1. where lands were held by the "Zumm" (not *Rumm*), the semi-nomad Kurds(?), Lūrs etc., who had made treaties with the early caliphs, the *bait al-māl* received a tenth, a third or a quarter, depending upon what arrangement was made; 2. where the villages had come into the ownership of the *bait al-māl* because of abandonment by the original owners or for some reason, the cultivators paid two-fifths of the crop or such other proportion as was agreed upon.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the works quoted, cf. Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, notes p. 86.

(R. LEVY)

**MUKHĀRIK**, ABU 'L-MUHANNA' MUKHĀRIK B. YAḤYĀ B. NĀʿŪS, one of the greatest singers of the early ʿAbbāsids. He belonged to Madīna (although some say Kūfa) and was the son of a butcher. ʿĀṭika bint Shudḥa, a famous singer and lutanist, whose slave he was, noticed that he possessed a good voice, and taught him singing. By her he was sold to Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804) [q.v.], the *doyen* of the court musicians, who furthered his musical education. Ibrāhīm said that a youth with such talents had a great future, and he heralded him as his successor. One day Mukhārik was sent by Ibrāhīm to Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī.

and his sons al-Faḍl and Dja'far to sing to them some of his (Ibrāhīm's) latest compositions. The Barmakids [q. v.] were fascinated by the audition and Mukhārīk was gifted to al-Faḍl al-Barmakī [q. v.], who in turn, presented him to Caliph Hārūn. This must have taken place before 803, the date of the fall of the Barmakids. The Caliph, who was equally charmed by Mukhārīk's voice, gave him his freedom and heaped rewards on him. He would even dispense with the customary curtain which divided him from the court musicians, and invite Mukhārīk to share his seat. The *virtuoso* continued to be favoured at court until his death during the reign of al-Wāthiq [q. v.], who was a composer himself and looked to Mukhārīk to sing his composition. The Caliph was disappointed however, because Mukhārīk indulged in a practice, then "the rage", of altering the notes of the melody or rhythm according to his whim. Indeed, it was said that he did not sing the same melody twice alike. This was one of the innovations of a school led by the *amir* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 839) [q. v.], to which Mukhārīk and others attached themselves. It is this movement that is blamed by the authors of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *ʿIqd al-farīd* for having been the cause of the loss of the old traditional music. Mukhārīk died at Sāmarrā in 844—845.

In spite of this blame that is attached to Mukhārīk, his fame as a singer stands very high. His voice captivated everyone, not only because of its rare beauty, but on account of its exceptional power. Mukhārīk himself was well aware of his gifts and, not being above *étalage*, seems to have enjoyed the sensation that he sometimes created. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940) [q. v.] names seven of the leading musicians of Hārūn's court, and places three of them, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ibn Djamī', and Mukhārīk, in the first rank. By the time of al-Ma'mūn (813—833) [q. v.], the two first-named were dead, and Mukhārīk was *facile princeps* at court as a singer, and could stand comparison with Ishāk al-Mawṣilī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and Allūyah (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi. 227, 234). When the poet Di'bīl [q. v.] lampooned the musical *amir* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī after his failure to secure the caliphate, he said: "Were Ibrāhīm fit to reign, the Empire had devolved by right to Mukhārīk, Zalzal, and Mārik (= Ibn al-Mārikī)", the court musicians. These lines alone show the eminence to which the great artist had arrived at this period. Ibn al-Taghribirdī said that whilst Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Ishāk sang well to the accompaniment of the lute, in pure vocal work Mukhārīk outshone them both. The best testimony comes from al-Fārābī (d. 950) who only mentions two musicians of the 'Abbāsīd period: Ishāk al-Mawṣilī and Mukhārīk. Among his best known pupils were Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'l-'Alā' and Ḥamdūn b. Ismā'il b. Dāwūd al-Kātib, the begetter of a family of good musicians.

*Bibliography:* *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, xxi. 220 sq., and Guidi's *Index*; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo, 1887—1888, iii. 190; Ibn Khallikān, *Biogr. Dict.*, i. 18, 205 (wrong *kunya*); Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, p. 30 (wrong *kunya*); Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 121, 148; D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i., *al-Fārābī*, p. 12. (H. G. FARMER)

**MULLAGORĪ**, the name of a tribe on the north-west frontier of India. They inhabit the hilly country around Tārtāra and

Kambela to the north of the Khyber Pass. Their territories are bounded on the north by the Kābul river; on the west by the Shilmānī country; on the south by the settlements of the Kuki Khēl Afridis; and on the east by the Peshāwar district. The tribe is divided into three clans: the Aḥmad Khēl, Ismā'il, and the Dawlat Khēl. Like the Šāfis and the Shilmānis they are vassal clans of the Mohmands. Neither the Mohmands nor the Afridis regard the Mullagoris as true Pāthāns. During the period 1879—98 they were constantly at feud with the Zakka Khēl Afridis (R. Warburton, *Eighteen Years in the Khyber*, 1900, p. 158). It was not until 1902 that the Government of India decided to construct a road from Shagai to Landi Kotal as an alternative route to the Khyber. In 1904 the Mullagoris in consideration of their good behaviour in connection with the construction of this road through their territories received an annual allowance of 5,000 rupees (C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. xi., No. xxxiii.; Lord Curzon's Budget Speech, March 30, 1904). From this time onwards the Mullagoris have been faithful to their engagements.

*Bibliography:* given in the article.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AL-MURĀDĪ**, the name of a family of sayyids and scholars established at Damascus in the xith—xiith (xviiith—xviiiith) centuries.

1. The founder of the family, MURĀD B. 'ALĪ AL-ḤUSAINĪ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, born 1050 (1640), was the son of the *naḥīb al-ashraf* of Samarkand. He travelled in his youth to India, where he was initiated into the Nakshbandī *ṭarīqa* by Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'šūm al-Fārūkī, and after extensive journeys through Persia, the Arab lands and Egypt settled in Damascus about 1081 (1670). He subsequently made several visits to Mekka and Constantinople, where he acquired considerable influence, and died in the latter city in 1132 (1720). He was an ardent missionary of the Nakshbandī order, and was instrumental in spreading it in the lands of the Ottoman empire, himself founding two madrasas for the purpose in Damascus. His literary works consisted mainly of treatises relating to the *ṭarīqa*, and included a work on Kur'ānic exegesis, entitled *al-Mufradat al-Kur'āniya*.

2. MUḤAMMAD AL-MURĀDĪ, born at Constantinople in 1094 (1683), son of Saiyid Murād, continued with marked success his father's missionary work in Syria and Turkey, and stood in high favour at the Ottoman court. He died at Damascus in 1169 (1755).

3. 'ALĪ AL-MURĀDĪ (1132—1184 = 1720—1771), and 4. ḤUSAIN AL-MURĀDĪ (1138—1188 = 1725—1774), sons of Saiyid Muḥammad, held in succession the offices of Ḥanafī Mufti and *ra'īs* of Damascus.

5. ABU 'L-MAWADDA MUḤAMMAD KHALĪL AL-MURĀDĪ, son of Saiyid 'Alī, succeeded his uncle as Ḥanafī Mufti and *ra'īs* of Damascus and was appointed also to the office of *naḥīb al-ashraf* there. He devoted himself to the collection of biographical notices of his contemporaries and their predecessors, and on the basis of the personal information and written works available to him composed in Arabic a biographical dictionary of the notable men and scholars of the twelfth century of the Hidjra, entitled *Silk al-Durar fī A'yān al-Karn al-thānī ashhar* (printed at Cairo in 4 volumes, 1291—1301). The work contains about 1,000



notices; in comparison with the work of his predecessor al-Muḥibbī [q. v.], it is more limited in range and somewhat more literary in style. A lengthier biography of his father and other relatives (*Maṭmaḥ al-wāḍiʿ fi Tardjamat al-wālid al-māḍid*) is still extant in MS. (Brit. Mus. Suppl. 659). Saiyid Muḥammad Khalīl deserves the credit also for encouraging al-Djabartī [q. v.] to undertake the composition of his history of Egypt (the statement in the article quoted and in Brockelmann [Bibl.], that al-Djabartī translated al-Murādī's *Silk al-Durar* into Arabic is apparently due to a misunderstanding of the colophon to vol. ii. of the printed text). He died in Aleppo in 1206 (1791).

6. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MURĀDĪ, son or cousin of the preceding, succeeded to the office of Ḥanafī Muftī of Damascus, and was put to death in 1218 (1803) on secret instructions from Djazzār-Pāshā [q. v.].

**Bibliography:** al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, i. 3–4; ii. 70–72; iii. 219–228; iv. 114–116, 129–130; al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāib al-Āḥkār*, ii. 233–236; Mikḥāʾil al-Dimashqī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥawādiṯ al-Shām wa-Lubnān* (ed. Maʾlūf, Bairūt 1912), p. 12–13; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 294. (H. A. R. GIBB)

**MÜRİŞTUS** or **MURȚUS**, a Greek author [?] of works on musical instruments that have only been preserved in Arabic. He appears to be identical with the Mūrīstus mentioned by al-Djāhīz (d. 868), and these works must therefore have been known in Arabic at least as early as the second (ninth) century. According to the *Fihrist* (ca. 988), Mūrīstus wrote two books on organ construction: 1. *Kitāb fi 'l-Ālat al-muṣawwitat al-musammāt bi 'l-Urghanun al-būki wa 'l-Urghanun al-zamri*; 2. *Kitāb Āla muṣawwita tusmā'u 'alā sittin Milan*. On the other hand, Ibn al-Kifṭī (d. 1248) speaks of one book dealing with both instruments mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz.: a *Kitāb al-Ālat al-muṣawwitat al-musammāt bi 'l-Urghanun al-būki wa 'l-Urghanun al-zamri yusmā'u 'alā sittin Milan*. Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) refers to a book that only deals with the second instrument mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz.: a *Kitāb fi 'l-Ālat al-musammāt bi 'l-Urghanun wa-hiya Āla tusmā'u 'alā sittin Milan*. The above description of the works of Mūrīstus does not tally with the three actual works attributed to him that have come down to us. These, in the British Museum and Constantinople MSS., carry the titles: 1. *Risāla li-Mūrīstus Ṣan'at al-Urghin [Urghanun] al-būki* ("Treatise by Mūrīstus on the Construction of the Flue-pipe Organ [i. e. the *hydraulis*]"); 2. *Risāla ... li-Mūrīstus Ṣan'at al-Urghin [Urghanun] al-zamri* ("Treatise ... by Mūrīstus on the Construction of the Reed-pipe Organ [i. e. the Pneumatic Organ]"); 3. *Risāla ... li-Mūrīstus Ṣan'at al-Djuldjul* ("Treatise ... by Mūrīstus on the Construction of the Chime[s]"). Copies of these works preserved at Bairūt have different titles as follows: 1. *ʿAmal al-Ālat allatī ittakhadhahā Mūrīstus yadhhabu Ṣawḥah sittin Milan* ("Making of the Instrument which Mūrīstus Invented the Sound of which Travelled Sixty Miles"); 2. *Ṣan'at al-Urghan[un] al-djāmiʿ li-Djāmiʿ al-Aḡwāt* ("Construction of the Comprehensive Organ for all the Sounds"); 3. *Ṣan'at al-Djuldjul* ("Construction of the Chime[s]"). This last named work mentions that the constructor of these chimes was a certain Sāʾātus or Sātus, who is mentioned in the *Fihrist* as the author of a

*Kitāb al-Djuldjul al-siyyāh* [or *ṣaiyāh*] ("Book of the Octave [or Clamorous] Chime[s]"). The Arabic texts of these three works have been printed in the *Mashriḥ* (ix.) under the editorship of Cheikh, but a new text is needed. Baron Carra de Vaux gave a part-translation into French of one text, in the *Revue des études grecques* (xxi.). Eilhard Wiedemann and F. Hauser gave a German translation of all the Mūrīstus treatises in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* (viii.), collating the Constantinople with the *Mashriḥ* text. H. G. Farmer, using the British Museum MS., which he collated with the *Mashriḥ* and Constantinople texts, produced translations into English of the two works on the *hydraulis* and the pneumatic organ in his *Organ of the Ancients: From Eastern Sources*.

Who was this Mūrīstus, Mūrȥus or Mīristus? As the author of such works as the above, he is unknown in Greek literature. Professor D. S. Margoliouth suggests that he is Ameristos (ca. 630–550 B.C.), the ancient Greek mathematician of whom we know through Proklos on Euklid (i. 65, 11–15), and seeing that we have such forms of this name as Mamertinos, Mamerkus, Mamertios (or Marmetios) in Suidas (sub "Stesichoros"), Freidlein's edition of Proklos, and Heiberg's edition of Heron's *Definitions*, there would appear to be some ground for this suggestion. Ameristos might very well have been the author of the work on the pneumatic organ but not that on the *hydraulis*. Carra de Vaux argues that the works have been wrongly ascribed to Mūrīstus owing to the fact that the Arabic scribes mistook the Arabic particle *li* to be the genitive instead of the dative, and that "by Mūrīstus" should be read "to Mūrīstus". He bases his argument on a passage in the Arabic version of Philon's *Pneumatics* (*Kitāb fi 'l-Ḥiyāl al-ruḥāniya*) where the dedicatee is a certain Riṣṭūn or Aristūn. In the Latin translations of this work this individual is called Marzotom, whilst in the same author's *Treatise on the Klepsydra* attributed to Archimedes, this dedicatee is also mentioned. This has led Carra de Vaux to argue that Mūrīstus, Riṣṭūn, Aristūn, etc. are all scribal malformations of Philon's friend Ariston or Aristos. Yet, whilst it is possible that Philon may have been the author of the treatise on the *hydraulis*, he could scarcely have penned the treatise that deals with such a primitive pneumatic organ as that described. On the other hand, as the present writer pointed out in 1926 (*J. R. A. S.*, p. 503), is not Mūrīstus a scribal error for Kṭēsibios? In the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated into Arabic by Yūḥannā b. al-Bitriḥ (d. 815), the inventor of the *hydraulis* is given as Yāyastayūs, Thāṣṭiyūs, Thāṣītūs or Tāsītūs in the various MSS., and the orthographical morphogony of Kāṭāsibiyūs (as Kṭēsibios would be written in Arabic) through the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* forms to Mīristus and Mūrīstus is certainly an intriguing suggestion. Even if we accept this suggestion, it is clear that only the treatise on the *hydraulis* can be ascribed to Kṭēsibios. That on the pneumatic organ deals with such a primitive instrument that it must belong to a writer who lived several centuries earlier.

**Bibliography:** Printed Books: Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteislamica* ..., ed. Fleischer, 1831, p. 156; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance* (N. E., xxxviii.

29, 38); do., *l'Invention de l'hydraulique* (*Revue des études grecques*, xxi. 338—340); do., *Notes d'histoire des sciences* (*J. A.*, Nov.—Dec. 1917, p. 449); H. Derenbourg, *Notes sur la musique orientale* (*La revue musicale*, vi. 192); Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients: From Eastern Sources*, 1931, see index; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 1930, see index; do., *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 1931, p. 21—22, 27—35; *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 270, 285; Gastoué, *L'Orgue en France de l'antiquité au début de la période classique*, 1921; Ibn al-Kiftī, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'* . . . , Leipzig 1903, p. 322; al-Djāhiz, *Madjmu'at Rasā'il*, Cairo 1324 (1906), p. 133, 143; V. Loret, *L'orgue hydraulique* (Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, Paris 1921 sq., i. 30 sq.); Wiedemann and Hauser, *Byzantinische und arabische akustische Instrumente* (*Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii. 140 sq.). — Muristus MSS.: British Museum, Or. 9649, St. Sophia, Constantinople, N<sup>o</sup>. 2755; Catholic University of Bairūt (see Cheikh, *Cat. Rais.*, in *M. F. O. B.*, vii. 289); Three Moon's College of Bairūt, N<sup>o</sup>. 364. — Further: *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Or. 3118, fols. 52<sup>v</sup>—53; Or. 6421, fol. 99; John Rylands Library, Manchester, Arab. 455, fol. 37. (H. G. FARMER)

**MURŪ'A** (A.) (also MURUWA). In the Arabic language there are a number of terms the meaning of which is indefinite (cf. Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣaḥībī* . . . , Cairo 1910, p. 34—38). The word *murū'a* is one of these. Indeed we are assailed on all sides by a host of differing post-Islāmic definitions and contradictory pronouncements (*aḳwāl*) regarding it. These definitions and pronouncements will be found in the various dictionaries and in Abū Maṣūf . . . al-Tha'libī, *Mir'at al-Murū'at*, Cairo 1898, 32 p.; al-Djāhiz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1311, i. 212; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925, i. 225, 296 sqq.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1339, i. 35; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd al-farid*, Cairo 1293, i. 221; Muḥammad b. Ishāq . . . al-Washshā', *al-Muwashshā'*, ed. Brünnow, Leyden 1886, p. 30 sqq.; Abū Ḥatim al-Bustī, *Rawḍat al-Uḳalā'* . . . , Cairo 1328, p. 205 sq.; al-Maidānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1342, i. 52; al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥaddarāt al-Uḍabā'* . . . , Cairo 1326, i. 145; al-Ḥuṣri, *Zahr al-Adāb*, 2nd ed. Zakī Mubārak, i. 89; al-Māwardī, *Adab al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*, Cairo 1921, p. 254 sq.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'* . . . , Cairo 1348, iii. 213; al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaffā'*, Cairo 1893, ii. 317—318; al-Muttaḳī, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, Ḥaidarābād 1312, i. 84, 162—163.

One might be tempted to quote derivatives (especially the present participle) of the Aramaic root *m-r-r'*, which indicate especially pre-eminence, the power and dignity of chief (cf. the dictionaries of Payne-Smith, Margoliouth, Brun and Brockelmann; cf. also Kurdāhī, *al-Lubāb*, Bairūt 1891, ii. 78; Yūsuf Dāwūd, *al-Lum'a al-shahiya* . . . , Mössul 1896, i. 361; cf. Bauer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1913, p. 342—344) in order to claim that the Arabic *mar'* means *saiyid* and that *murū'a* therefore means *siyāda*. One can support this conjecture by the fact that Ibn Ḳutaiba (*op. cit.*) places the chapter "murū'a" under the rubric "*al-siyāda*". Now Ibn Ḳutaiba only gives a single pronouncement in which *murū'a* presupposes *siyāda* and this is not pre-Islāmic. On the other hand, the term *mar'*

(or *imru'* [on the latter orthography see Fischer, *Imra'at al-qais* . . . , in *Islamica*, 1925, p. 1—41, 365—390] with *muray* as a diminutive: Ibn Duraid, *Iṣṭikṣāḥ*, Göttingen 1854, p. 229) in Arabic only means man in general (*al-insān*: *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, i. 117, *infra*; cf. the German Mensch). Proof of this is given in the Ḳurʿān (e. g.: Sūra ii. 96; xix. 29; xxiv. 11; lii. 21; lxxviii. 41; lxxx. 34) as well as in pre-Islāmic literature (e. g.: *Djāmhara*, ed. Būlak, p. 51, 91, 104, 118, 136; *Ḥamāsāt al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1927, p. 147, 148, 155, 178, 252, 281, 336, 342, 358; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Cairo 1926, p. 105, 107). In its turn, *imra'a*, fem. of *imru'* (*T. A.*, i. 117) means woman in general (cf. Sūra iv. 5; xxviii. 23; xxxiii. 49) or even wife (*ibid.*, xix. 59; lxvi. 10, 11).

There is then reason to believe that *murū'a* was not originally applied to pre-eminence (*siyāda*) to imply, by borrowing or extension, superior qualities (those of a *saiyid*) but rather it describes the sum of the physical qualities of man (*mar'*) and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities (cf. the similar word *raḍīul*: *T. A.*, i. 11—12). Indeed in the definitions and pronouncements already mentioned we may distinguish a conjunction of two contrary elements: one concrete (e. g. wealth and management of property), the other abstract, predominating. In the latter case *murū'a* would be identical with good manners; in the former it would take into consideration the material conditions of life. In our view the first meaning originates in the *Djāhiliya*, the second is Islāmic. The opposition between these two *murū'a* is clearly brought out in a characteristic story in *al-Aghānī*, xix. 143—144: A satirical poet of the Raṣhīdī period asks the governor of a city to help him to meet the demands of his *murū'a* (*djī'tuka li-tu'innanī 'alā murū'atī* = to appease my hunger to prevent me coveting the food of others; cf. for the interpretation of this phrase *al-Muwashshā'*, p. 32); the governor replies to him: "What can be the *murū'a* of one who disobeys God and devotes himself to calumny . . ." (it should be remembered here that Islām took a stand against poets for their diatribes; cf. the article *HIDJĀ'*).

It is in any case misleading to claim that *murū'a* in pre-Islāmic usage was based only on the material. In this period *imra'a* already meant in effect perfect woman (Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Faḥḥ*, Ḥaidarābād 1324, ii. 243; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1311, iv. 87). We even find these lines: *idha 'l-mar'u a'yathu 'l-murū'atu yāfi'an + famaṭlabuhā kaḥlan 'alaihi shadīdū* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 511; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1349, iii. 198, cf. a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, Cairo 1927, p. 371). The meaning of the word *murū'a* in this verse is obscure although it certainly has a moral significance (it is the same later, e. g. Abū Tammām, *Diwān*, Cairo 1292, p. 146; al-Buḥturī, *Diwān*, Bairūt 1911, p. 750; al-Mutanabbī, *Diwān*, Berlin 1861, p. 56). Besides, if the meaning of the word *murū'a* had been precise in the pre-Islāmic period the definitions and post-Islāmic statements relating to it would have borne some trace of their origin and have gravitated round the same centre. Still oscillating between the concrete and abstract, *murū'a* can only have been a vague term in the period of the *Djāhiliya*.

It appears that it was with Islām that *murū'a*



definitely became a term to define an abstraction. We are inclined to believe that the Muslims only identified murū'a with eminent virtues (*makārim al-akhḫlāq*; see *Mir'āt*..., p. 2; esp. Zurkāni, *op. cit.*) by relying on the following *ahādīth* (not canonical: communications by Prof. Wensinck; we may add that *Tha'libi*, in *Mir'āt*, esp. p. 6-7, does not give a single *hadīth* relating to the murū'a): a. *wa-'in kāna laka khuluḥun fa-laka murū'a* ('*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, i. 295; *al-Muwashshā*, p. 31); b. *lā dīna illā bi-murū'a* ('*Iqd*, loc. cit., attributed to al-Ḥasan in '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, loc. cit. '); c. *murū'at (al-mu'min) aḥluḥū* (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *Kitāb Makārim al-Akhḫlāq*, MS. Ar. Berlin, N<sup>o</sup>. 5388, p. 1<sup>b</sup>, cf. *Rawḍat al-'Ukalā'*..., p. 205 — this same saying is credited to the caliph 'Umar, with the variant: ... *khuluḥuhū*: Zurkāni, *op. cit.*; cf. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, p. 163).

After Islām, murū'a extended its meaning thanks to the now pre-dominant moral focus. Broadly speaking, with the orthodox caliphs it means chastity, good nature, observance of Qur'anic laws. With the Umayyads, it implies politics, diplomacy, work, dignity, compassion (on the last meaning cf. the *Diwān* of Bashshār b. Burd, Cairo, n.d., p. 70). With the early 'Abbāsids it implies merit (*al-faḍl*: *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Bairūt 1899, p. 266) and is contrasted with objectness (according to Aṣma'i; cf. *al-Adab al-kabīr*, Cairo 1331, p. 70) while with the moralists it is identified with *al-adab* in the meaning of good conduct (Ṣāliḥ b. Djanāḥ [cf. *al-Muḫtabas*, 1930, p. 649] wrote a work on ethics entitled *al-Adab wa 'l-Murū'a*, published in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, ed. Kurd 'Alī, Cairo 1913 [these two words are already associated in 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib quoted in the *Muḫḫadima* of Ibn Khaldūn, Bairūt 1900, p. 248, l. 10; cf. also *Mir'āt*..., p. 12, l. 12-13; p. 25, l. 4-6 *infra*]; but what is upsetting is that Ṣāliḥ b. Djanāḥ said that "murū'a in its origin means firmness [*al-ḥazm*], success [*al-ṣafar*] is its fruit": *Rev. acad. ar. de Damas*, vol. iv/i. 32). In time, among the lexicographers, murū'a means urbanity (*al-insāniya*: Djawhārī [d. 398], *op. cit.*), distinction (*al-sarw*: Ibn Sida [d. 458], *Muḫḫaṣṣa*, iii. 17; meaning borrowed from Abū Zaid [al-Anṣārī]) and ideal manhood (*kamāl al-rudjūliya*: Ṣāghānī [d. 650], quoted in *T. A.*, i. 117, 14). On the other hand, with the moralists murū'a was to find a place in Muslim ethics (Bustī [d. 354], *op. cit.*, p. 208), to be raised to an ethical notion covering a number of qualities, especially those of kings and lords (Tha'libi [d. 429], *Mir'āt*, p. 2), and in proportion as Muslim speculation developed, it was to occupy a place in the first rank in the theory of morals, including definite qualities and conditions which were elaborated in the abstract (Māwardī [d. 450], *op. cit.*). Continuing in this way in the path of ethical significance and becoming more and more abstract, murū'a finally came to mean virtue in the lexicographers (Faīyūmī [d. 770], *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munir*, Cairo 1912, p. 878) and the moralists (Djurdjānī [d. 816], *Ta'rīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, p. 223). On the other hand, in the legists it indicates the fact of abstaining from any act capable of offending religion although not constituting an illicit act (Fagnan, *Additions*..., Algiers 1923, p. 163). In Muslim Spain, assuming the forms *muruwwa* and *marū-wa* (with the adjective *marawī* [variant of the classical *marī*: *Ḳāmūs*, Bombay 1298, p. 18]),

it meant politeness and civility (Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista*..., Florence 1871, p. 184, 328, 424-425; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 578). As to murū'a in the spoken language of to-day, it means in Egypt nobility of soul and liberality (classical meanings); whence the Turkish form of the word *murū'atli* (obliging). It becomes *miriwwa* (*miriwwa*) in Egypt and *muruwwa* (*muruwwa*) in Syria, and means in effect energy, as in the expression "so and so has not the *m...* to accomplish such a thing" (cf. in the classical language: Tha'libi, *Aḥāsīn Kalīm al-Nabī*... [Syntagma Dictorum], ed. Valetton, Leyden 1844, p. 28).

Murū'a has further been developed in Ṣūfism. It was regarded as one of the "branches" of *futuwwa* (Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1330, p. 103, l. 2, 3 *infra*). In any case, there is no doubt that its meaning here is on the moral plane (we find them bracketed: *Mir'āt*, p. 15, l. 1, 2 *infra*; 23, l. 4; 24, l. 6; 25, l. 2; 26, l. 12; *al-Muwashshā*, p. 30, l. 13; Fleischer, *Al's Hundert Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837, p. 7, l. 1, 8; p. 15, l. 11; p. 25, l. 13; p. 29, l. 1; Ahlwardt, *Catalogue des Mss. de Berlin*, v., p. 30-31, N<sup>o</sup>. 17, 32 — Iṣbahānī, *op. cit.*, juxtaposes them). However murū'a is fundamentally distinguished from *futuwwa* and it has gone a long way outside Ṣūfism, both as a word and as an ethical idea (cf. against this Taeschner, *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1933, p. 11, 27).

This being the case, it seems difficult to agree with Goldziher (*Muḥam. Stud.*, i. 1-40, esp. p. 13) who connects the idea of murū'a with that of *virtus* (cf. before him: de Goeje, *Diwān poëtae*... *al-Anṣārī*, Leyden 1875, p. lxxviii, referring to a very doubtful text) among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In his view murū'a (opposed to the *dīn* of Islām) is their moral principle, from the fact that it presupposes certain obligations, viz. liberality, the protection of the *djār*, observance of the law of the vendetta and fidelity to one's plighted word. This thesis presents two disputable points: the first is philological: if we survey the semantic evolution of the word murū'a, it must be granted that on the one hand the word is only identified with virtue at a late date, and on the other, in the pre-Islamic period it was not yet an absolutely abstract term capable of being taken as a symbol. The second point is connected with the method: if one starts from an idea one has formed about virtue one cannot see all the aspects of a moral system the essence of which we do not understand because it is quite foreign to us. It is therefore better not to isolate a moral phenomenon from the atmosphere of ideas and facts in which it has developed. In grouping these facts and ideas and observing them one is led to substitute the term *'irā* [q.v.] for murū'a when seeking for a moral principle of the pre-Islamic Arabs (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, p. 32 sq.).

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(BICHR FARÈS)

**MUŠĀDARA.** 1. A term connected with land-revenue and used in the registers of the *diwān al-kharāj* (cf. *Khawārizmī*, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 92). 2. The name for a regular system of extortion practised by the caliphs (e.g. Muḫtadīr and Mutawakkil) in the time of the 'Abbāsīd decline. By it they obtained money for themselves and the *bait al-māl* from ministers

and others who had become rich at the public expense (cf. Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, i. 129, 141; Ṭabarī, iii., p. 374). The fine was sometimes accompanied by torture but was in any event not considered to be any great disgrace, sometimes ministers who had been dismissed from office and suffered it being afterwards re-instated (cf. Ibn al-Aṭṭār, vi. 8; viii. 116, 162). Parallel to this is the case of Niyāl-tagīn, treasurer to Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna, who, after having been mulcted of a large sum by his master, was sent to be governor of India (Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akḥbār*, ed. Nazim, p. 97). The system appears to have become an established one in the iiird century of the Hidjra for there was a regular *dīwān al-muṣāḍarīn* to which ministers were appointed as to other *dīwāns* (*Eclipse*, i. 21).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works quoted, cf. R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, i. 329 sq. (R. LEVY)

**MUŞALLĀ.** The architectural remains of this type of place of worship, the historical aspects of which have been dealt with by A. J. Wensinck s. v. (iii. 746), are extremely scanty and all in a ruinous condition. The reason for this may be found in the decline of the traditions of worship associated with the muṣallā, in Persia perhaps also with the increasing weakness of the Sunnī sect. Nevertheless the muṣallā at Meshhed was not built till the xviiith century.

The primitive place of worship known as muṣallā originated in pre-Muḥammadan Arabia where we have evidence of it, for example, in the story of the Prophet's extraordinary *ṣalāts* outside Medina in a place belonging to the Banū Salima (cf. iii., p. 746). Arabian muṣallās and masjids of the simplest kind, preserving the original type, were seen by the writer in and around Menāma, the capital of the island of Bahrain. They are *īwāns* of several naves built of rows of pillars with pointed arches which run parallel with the kībla wall. A jutting roof on octagonal brick pillars protects from the sun. The roofs consist of a layer of clay on wood. The kībla wall has no prayer-niche. There are no court or side-*īwāns* (Diez, *Die Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 1st ed., fig. 58; do., *Eine schi'itische Moscheerueine auf der Insel Bahrein*, in *Jahrb. d. Asiat. Kunst*, vol. 2, *Sarre-Festschr.*, p. 102).

As regards North African muṣallās, we have hardly any archæological data of value. One exception is the muṣallā of Maṣūra described by Marçais as consisting of four walls with traces of a *miḥrāb*, which has disappeared, in the kībla wall (*Manuel d'art musulman*, ii. 489). In Tunis the founder of the Hafsīd dynasty Abū Zakariyā (625–647 = 1228–1249) built a muṣallā which was provided with towers and pinnacles (Zarkashī, transl. Fagnan, p. 33, quoted by Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 526). Kairawān also had an old muṣallā and others are occasionally mentioned by old authors.

In the lands where the architecture is under Irānīan influence, the muṣallā became a substantial edifice, a high entrance *īwān* into the base of which the *miḥrāb* was built. The people stand arranged in rows in front of this great kībla and worship together. If we visualise the muṣallās of Bukhārā, Herāt and Isfahān, it looks as if these places of worship had been erected outside the city walls from lack of space. For in Bukhārā the *rigistān*, the open space in front of the citadel,

was originally used as a muṣallā (Pers. *namāzgāh*). When during the reign of the Sāmānid Maṣūr b. Nūḥ (350–366 = 961–976) the *rigistān* became too small to hold the believers on fast days in 971 A.D. a new place of worship was built outside the walls [cf. BUKHĀRĀ]. At this date there was also a Friday mosque here which had certainly only been moved outside the walls through lack of space. In Herāt also want of space for the great Timūrid building programme seems to have been the reason for the choice of a place N. W. of the city, henceforth called muṣallā, but it comprised a group of buildings, of which the most important were two medreses and two *tūrbes* of which there still survive a dome and 8 (?) minarets (cf. fig. 157 in Niedermayer-Diez, *Afganistan*). One of the two medreses, according to an inscription, was built from the proceeds of the estate of Shāh Rūkh's wife Gawhar Shād Āghā and is frequently called muṣallā in the narrower sense. From the description made when it was taken down in 1885 in connection with the building of fortifications it is evident that the building was in the form of the usual type of medrese around a court about 220 feet square reached by a high entrance *īwān*. Opposite to the entrance at the other end of the court was a domed hall also with a lofty *īwān* with a small second dome behind it. The great scale of this court makes it probable that this building was used as a regular muṣallā.

In contrast to this medrese-muṣallā is the *īwān-muṣallā* outside Meshhed on the Herāt road (cf. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, p. 76 sq., pl. 32 and 38). The building consists of a vaulted *īwān* of baked brick about 60 feet high, richly decorated with mosaic in glazed tiles and with two buildings at the sides which are used as chapels (*gushwār*) for women. There are three prayer-niches let into the back wall of the hall of the *īwān* and one in each of the chapels to which there are passages from the *īwān*. From the bands of inscriptions around the wall we learn that the building was erected in the time of Sulaimān Shāh (1077–1105 = 1667–1694) at the expense of Abū Ṣāliḥ Ṣadr al-Dīn. The building is expressly called muṣallā in the inscription and described as a "musterplace for high and low", i.e. for the whole people. Khanikoff calls attention to another similar muṣallā in Turuk near Meshhed which may have served as the model for this one (*L'Asie centrale*, p. 344). There is however no longer any such building in Turuk. The muṣallā of Isfahān in 1913 only consisted of remains of pillars and pieces of vaulting and a *miḥrāb* ornamented with forked branches in white and red which dates from the xviiith century. The pillar mosque type of building was thus used here too as a muṣallā. The writer knows of no other muṣallās. So the muṣallā appears to have been a religious building not sufficiently important to form an architectural type of its own.

*Bibliography*: in the text and above, iii. 746. (ERNST DIEZ)

**MUSHĀKA, MĪKHĀ'IL B. DĪJR DĪS AL-LUBNĀNĪ**, the most important modern Arabic writer on the theory of music, was born in 1800 at Rokhmaya, Lebanon. His family removed later (after 1807) to Dair al-Kamar, the residence of the famous Amīr Bashīr Shihāb [q. v.] who was favourably disposed towards the elder Mushāka. In 1819, the Amīr, having given offence to the Sublime Porte, was compelled to take refuge in



Egypt, and the following year Mikhā'il Mushāka also found it necessary, on account of the "subsequent disturbances", to leave for Damascus. In this town Mikhā'il lived for the rest of his life, following the profession of a physician and man of letters, save for a short period (1845-1846) spent in Cairo, where he studied at the Ḳaṣr al-'Ain school of medicine.

Mushāka's particular studies had been directed to mathematics, the physical sciences, and medicine, but about 1830 he began to take an interest in music (Parisot, *Mus. orient.*, p. 15). Piqued by the arrogance of Egyptian musicians, who were great favourites in Syria and boasted their superiority over the Syrians, Mushāka decided to study the theory of music (Collangettes, p. 380), and took lessons from the best masters, including the shaiḫ Muḥammad al-'Attār, "a master of several sciences and much learning", as Mushāka himself tells us. The shaiḫ had written a book on the theory of music, but Mushāka was dissatisfied with it on the scientific side, and having "a good knowledge of mathematics as well as much practical skill in music" (Smith, p. 174), he decided to write a treatise himself. The work was entitled *Risālat al-Shihābiya fī 'l-Sinā'at al-Mūsīqiya*, its name being due to the Amīr Muḥammad Fāris Shihāb to whom Mushāka attributed the germ of the work. We do not know the precise date of its composition, but as the oldest MS. is dated 1840, it must have been written at least as early as this year (cf. Ronzevalle, p. 2, 116). In 1847 (cf. Ronzevalle, p. 2; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 496) the work was presented in a free English translation by Eli Smith in the *J. Am. O.S.*, vol. i. Among the Arabs, the book circulated in MS. until 1899 when the Arabic text was given by Ronzevalle in the *Machriq*, and in an octavo volume (1900), which soon ran out of print. In 1913, other MSS. having become available for collation, Ronzevalle issued a fresh text, together with a French translation, in the *M.F.O.B.*, vol. vi. Mushāka's work became the text book on the theory of music in Syria and contiguous lands, and still holds that position. In the West, his theories have been much commented on by Land, Ellis, Parisot and Collangettes.

In the early 'forties' Mushāka came in touch with Eli Smith (his translator) and C. V. A. Van Dyck, two American missionaries in Damascus. He renounced the Melkite Greek Church, in which he had been reared, in favour of Protestantism, and was appointed the American consul. Mushāka was "a born controversialist" says Ronzevalle, and his gifts in this direction are displayed in his several brochures against the Catholics, including: *Adjwibat al-Indjiliyīn* (1852); *al-Dalīl ilā Tā'at al-Indjil* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1860); *Kakḥf al-Niḳāb 'an Wadḥ al-Masīḥ al-kadhḥāb* (1860); *al-Barāhīn al-indjiliya* (1864); *al-Radd al-ḳawim* (1869); *al-Shuhub al-thawāḳīb* (1870), and others. He also wrote a moral treatise entitled *al-Burhān 'alā Du'f al-Insān* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1867). He also penned *al-Djawāb 'alā Iḳṭarāḥ al-Aḥbāb*, which is a history of his family and his time up to the Druze massacres of 1860, which he escaped through the protection of the exiled Algerian Amir 'Abd al-Ḳādir [q. v.] who was then in Damascus. The second edition of this is entitled: *Mushḥad al-'A'yān bi-Hawādith Sūriyā wa-Lubnān* (cf. *Ta'riḫ al-Hawādith al-Shām wa-Lubnān* by Mikhā'il al-Dimashḳī, edited by P. Louis Malouf [1912]). For another work see

*Michael Meschāka's Cultur-Statistik von Damaskus*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, viii. — Mushāka died in Damascus in 1880.

*Bibliography*: E. Smith, in *J. Am. O.S.*, 1847, i. 173; *Machriq*, ii. 146; xiii. 137; Ronzevalle, in *M.F.O.B.*, vi.; Land, *Recherches sur l'hist. de la gamme arabe* (*Congrès Orient.*, 1883), p. 75; A. J. Ellis in Helmholtz, *Sensations of tone*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Engl. ed., p. 264, 285, 525; Parisot, *Musique orientale*, p. 15; *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Turquie d'Asie*, p. 21; Collangettes, in *J. A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1904, p. 380, 387, 411, 418; A. Z. Idelsohn, in *S. I. M. G.*, xv. 6; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 496; Hartmann, *Arabic press of Egypt*, p. 37, refers to other members of the family. (H. G. FARMER)

**MUSHA' SHA'**, a Shī'ī Arab dynasty of Ḥawiza [q. v.] in Ḳhūzistān. The town of Ḥawiza (or Ḥuwaiza; Ibn Battuta, ii. 93: حوزة) was situated in E. Long. 31° 25', Lat. 48° 5' on the old course of the Karkha [q. v.] where the latter turned west.

The founder of the dynasty, Saiyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, according to the genealogists, was a descendant in the fourteenth generation from the seventh imām Mūsā al-Ḳāzim. S. Muḥammad was born at Wāsiṭ and studied at Ḥilla with Shaiḫ Aḥmad b. Fahd, known for his leanings to mysticism.

The ixth (xvth) century is important in the history of the Shī'ī ghulāt (the risings in Anatolia of Börklüdjē Muṣṭafā and of Bedreddīn in 1416; the Mahdist propaganda of Saiyid Nūrbakhsh; the extremism of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu; the agitation conducted from Ardabil by the grandfather and father of Shāh Ismā'il). The career of S. Muḥammad which began in the immediate vicinity of the great Shī'a sanctuaries also fits into the same framework as these happenings. Aḥmad b. Fahd having heard some of the views which his pupil held on his messianic destiny excommunicated him in a *fatwā*. The "appearance" (*zuhūr*), i. e. the beginning of the mission of Muḥammad, took place in 840 (1436) [rather than in 828 (1424); cf. Caskel, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 64]. His propaganda was at first among the Arab tribes (Banū Sulāma, Ṭayī) of the marshy region of Wāsiṭ. In 844 (1440) he came into open conflict with the governor of Shawḳa (west of Shaṭra) but suffered a defeat.

The Mahdī then turned his attention to Ḍhawb (Dūb?) between the Tigris and Ḥawiza where he converted the Arabs of the Nais clan of the Ma'ādī tribe, whom he compelled to sell their buffaloes and buy arms (the reference is to the Ma'dān tribe, i. e. low caste Arabs who lived in the marshes and raised buffaloes). He undertook a series of expeditions (to Ḥawiza, to Wāsiṭ) and came into conflict with the "Moghul" (i. e. the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turks?). Finally on the 4th Ramaḍān 845 (Feb. 26, 1458), he settled at Ḥawiza which he took from Abu 'l-Ḳhair, the vizier of Mirzā Ibrāhīm, the Timūrid prince of Shīrāz.

The lord of Baghdād Ispand b. Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu then came to attack S. Muḥammad, who evacuated Ḥawiza, but after the departure of Ispand not only reoccupied the town but sent an expedition to Baṣra (without success) and attacked Wāsiṭ (858 = 1454).

About this time the principal role passed to Mawla 'Alī, son of S. Muḥammad. He took Wāsiṭ and Nadjaf, plundered the pilgrim caravan and ravaged the environs of Baghdād. Only the army

of *Djihān-Shāh* b. *Qara Yūsuf Qara-Qoyunlu* was able to force him to retreat. He then turned his attention to *Kū-gilū* [see *LURISTĀN*] which belonged to *Pir Budāk*, son of *Djihān-Shāh*, but here he was killed by an arrow (861 = 1456–1457) at the moment when, according to his custom, he had entered the *Rūd-i Kurdistan* to perform his ablutions (*ghusl*). After the death of *Mawlā 'Alī* the aged *S. Muḥammad* returned to active politics. The amir *Nāṣir Farḍj Allāh 'Ubadī* led an army from *Baghdād* against him but *S. Muḥammad* defeated him completely at *Wāṣiṭ*. The last years of *S. Muḥammad* were devoted to literary activity. He died in 870 (1465) (or, according to *Saiyid 'Alī*'s history, in 866 [1461]).

The doctrines of *S. Muḥammad*. As a result of the discovery of *S. Muḥammad*'s book, the *Kalām al-Mahdī*, we have now confirmation of his Mahdism, cf. the *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn*, etc. *S. Muḥammad* uses the regular terminology of the esoteric sects. He writes (see *Kasrawī*, p. 274): "Alī, alongside of the Prophet, was the Mystery which turned (*al-sirr al-dā'ir*) in the heavens and on the earth. Muḥammad in his apostolic path was the Curtain (*hidjāb*). The eleven imāms were his Angels (for communications) from Him ('Alī?) to them and from them to Him. *Salmān* was one of the people of the House. The House is the *ṭarīqa* and the *ma'rifa*. Whoever is raised to the mystic knowledge of 'Alī (*'irfānuhu*?) becomes *Salmān* in each century and epoch. The present *saiyid* who has appeared [in the world] enjoys the office of each prophet and of each *walī*, this in apparent fashion and by the weakness of human nature and not by the force of omnipotence. For Real Existence (*ḥaqīqa*) does not change place (*lā tantakīl*) but the Curtain changes its place and the body acquires [different] qualities, like *Gabriel* who transforms himself into a number of different bodies, while Real Existence is permanent in its state. God has need of nothing; God is exalted [*Kūr'ān*, xxxi. 11]."

The term *Musha'sha'* which is applied to the dynasty must have had its origin in the expression *sha'sha* [*\*sha'sha'a*?] which *S. Muḥammad* applies to the initial stages of his career (*sha'shat al-Ma'ādī*, *sha'shat al-Dawb*). In *Dozy's Supplément*, i. 764, *sha'sha'a* is explained as "radiation, irradiation"; but the examples cited by him, which relate to the effects of wine (*sha'sha'a al-sharāb fī ra'sihī*), rather suggest the meaning of "going to the head". It is possible that by this term the *saiyid* meant a mystic exaltation resembling intoxication. According to the *Madjālis*, the *Saiyid*'s adepts (*musha'sha'i*) practised a *dhiḥkr* [according to *Khwāndamīr* their cry was: '*Alī Allāh*] at the end of which they became capable of extraordinary things (e.g. supporting their bodies on the point of a sword without doing themselves any harm, etc.).

The life of the *Musha'sha'* community was strictly regulated by *S. Muḥammad* (*Kasrawī*, p. 32). Capital punishment was inflicted not only for crimes against morality but for all sorts of contaminations, for example if a man touched the oven with his foot or the butcher used a knife after dropping it on the ground.

The ideas of *Saiyid 'Alī* were more extreme than those of his father: according to the author of the *Madjālis*, he claimed to be the incarnation of 'Alī (*maḡhar-i ḥadrat-i amīr al-mu'minīn*) and the Divinity himself (*dāwā-yi khudā'ī*).

*S. Muḥsin*. The reign of *Sulṭān Muḥsin*, son

and successor of *S. Muḥammad*, marks the culminating point in the power of the dynasty. The possessions of *S. Muḥsin* extended from the environs of *Baghdād* to the mountains of *Luristān* (*Bakhtiyāri*, *Feili*; cf. *LUR*) and to the Persian Gulf. A number of learned men dedicated their works to him. This powerful prince died in 905 (1499) (according to *S. 'Alī*'s history; *Caskel* relying on a coin of 914 [1508] prolongs his reign to this date, but it is very doubtful if he is justified; see below). The history of *sulṭān Ya'qūb Ak-Koyunlu* (*Ta'rikh-i Amīnī*) by *Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān* (Paris, Bibl. Nationale, ancien fonds persan, N<sup>o</sup>. 101, fol. 143v–146v and 171v–172r) contains remarkable details of the misunderstandings between *S. Muḥsin* and his son *S. Ḥasan*.

The coming of the *Ṣafawids*. The end of the reign of *S. Muḥsin* coincided with the beginning of the rise of *Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī*. The two movements inevitably came into conflict. *Ismā'il*'s ancestor *Khwādja 'Alī* (794–830 = 1392–1427) had in his day visited *Khūzistān* in order to endeavour to turn the people of *Dizfūl* from their heretical ways (*kufr wa-zandaqa*) and to convert them to the *Shī'a* (cf. *Silsila-yi Nasab al-Ṣafawīya*, Berlin 1343, p. 45). The memory of this gave *Ismā'il* the right to intervene and besides he could hardly allow a rival *Shī'a* organisation to persist. After the capture of *Baghdād* (914 = 1508–1509) by *Shāh Ismā'il* the *saiyids* presented themselves before the new master, who had them executed on the denunciation of their rivals of *Dizfūl* (the *Rā'nāshī shaiḡhs*) who accused them of following the heresy of their uncle 'Alī. According to *Khwāndamīr*, the third brother *S. Faiyād* offered resistance in *Hawiza* and fell in the struggle (*Kasrawī*, *op. cit.*, p. 42 thinks that "Faiyād" was only a title of *S. 'Alī b. Muḥsin*?).

The *Musha'sha'* governors. The independent power of the *Musha'sha'* which had lasted 70 years was crushed by *Shāh Ismā'il* but as soon as the *Shāh* had left, *S. Falāḥ b. Muḥsin* seized *Hawiza*. His attitude of dependence on the *Shāh* found expression in the presents which he hastened to send him. He died in 920 (1514) just when the defeat at *Čaldīran* had weakened the power of the *Ṣafawids*, but his son and successor, *Badrān b. Falāḥ* (d. 948 = 1541), remained faithful to the *Shāh*. The war between the *Ottomans* and *Ṣafawids* still continuing involved the lords of *Hawiza* between two fires. In 1534 the *Musha'sha'* came to greet *Sulṭān Sulaimān* on his way from *Hamadhān* to *Baghdād* while in 948 (1541) *Saiyid Sadjdjād b. Badrān* paid his homage to *Shāh Ṭahmāsp* when the latter came to *Dizfūl* to punish the *Rā'nāshī* governor. *Sadjdjād* was confirmed in office as governor (*ḥakīm*) of *Hawiza*. His envoy is mentioned in connection with the accession of *Ismā'il II* (984 = 1576; cf. *Aḡsan al-Tawāriḡh*, ed. Seddon, p. 301, 484). In 992 (1584) *Alī Pasha* of *Baghdād* sent an expedition against *Hawiza* (described in the *Hünēr-nāma* of *Niyāzī*) at the end of which *Sadjdjād* entered into relations with *Constantinople* (*Caskel*, *op. cit.*, p. 81–83). According to the historian of the family, he died in 992 after which his son *Zanbūr* governed till 996. The latter's brother, *Ilyās*, who was a refugee among the *Ottomans* (*khān-i mültedji*), was *Yūsuf Sinān Čighala-zāde*'s political tool in his plans for the annexation of *Khūzistān*.

*S. Mubārak*. Very soon after this the power



passed to S. Mubārak b. Muṭṭalib b. Badrān (according to Caskel, Muṭṭalib was the son of Ḥaidar b. Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Falāḥ). He had passed his youth in the region of Dawraḡ and Rām-Hurmuz [q.v.] and was summoned to Ḥawīza by a section of the local Arabs in 998. In the next year he put Zānbūr to death. S. Mubārak took Dawraḡ from the Afshārs; in 1003 (1594) he occupied Dizful and laid siege to Shūshtar. In 1004 he was active in the *Djāz'ir* (marshes of lower Mesopotamia) and levied tribute on Baṣra. The attitude of Mubārak to Shāh 'Abbās was somewhat doubtful. He was even in correspondence with the latter's enemy 'Abd al-Mu'min Khān Özbek.

Mubārak's father had already displayed hostility to the doctrines of the founder of the dynasty. Mubārak summoned the learned 'Abd al-Latif *Djāmī* to him and with his help introduced the teaching of the Twelver Shī'a (*ithnā-asharī*) to Ḥawīza. Mubārak was the first to bear the title *khān*. His official rank was *wālī-yi 'Arabistān-i Ḥawīza* (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 644). His relations with the Shāh were confined to an exchange of presents. Mubārak died in 1025 (1616) and a few days later, his son Nāṣir who had married a Ṣafawid princess followed him to the tomb. The government passed into the hands of S. Rāshid b. Sālim b. Muṭṭalib, who was killed in 1029 (1620) by the rebel Banū Lām.

After a period of dissensions among the Musha'sha', Shāh 'Abbās sent S. Maṣṣūr b. Muṭṭalib to Ḥawīza in 1030 (1620). For having failed to give his help to the Shāh in the Baghdad campaign he was replaced in 1033 (1623) by S. Muḥammad b. Mubārak. On this occasion a *Kīzīl-bash* garrison was sent to Ḥawīza and stationed in the citadel to protect the *wālī*. He took part in the Persian expedition against Baṣra in 1037 (1627). In 1044 Shāh Ṣafī replaced him by the former *wālī* S. Maṣṣūr. In 1053 (1643) the latter was replaced by his son Baraka, a worthy representative of Arab chivalry (his adventurous youth has earned him a place in the Arab legends of Nadjīd; cf. Caskel, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 423). He was also a poet and Ibn Ma'tūk dedicated to him several of his panegyrics. In 1060 Baraka had to give place to S. 'Alī Khān b. Khālaf b. Muṭṭalib who was a man of education and well intentioned but incapable of controlling those around him. The Shāh temporarily gave Ḥawīza to the governor of Luristān, Minūčihr Khān, who ruled it for two years. 'Alī Khān died in 1088 (1677) (and it may be mentioned that the *kaṣīdas* which Ibn Ma'tūk dedicated to him every year come down to 1087).

Period of dissensions. 'Alī Khān left a large family. His sons intrigued at Isfahān, each on his own account. Mawlā Ḥaidar spent his life fighting with his rivals, and his death (in 1092 = 1689) provoked new divisions. His brother S. 'Abdullāh (the father of the historian) died in 1097. Another brother S. Faradj Allāh b. 'Alī Khān is known by his brief occupation of Ḳurna and Baṣra which he took from the Shaikh Mānī Muntafīk in 1109 (1697). Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain had authorised him to undertake this expedition but then sent another governor to Baṣra. In the end Faradj Allāh went over to the Ottomans and openly rebelled against the Shāh. In 1112 (1700) the historian S. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh received the *firmān* appointing him *wālī* but in spite of a certain

cleverness in his activities, he was dismissed at the end of 8 months by orders of the Shāh and imprisoned in the citadel where he remained till 1120.

At this period the Ṣafawid administration was completely disorganised by the imbecility of the Shāh and by the intrigues of his courtiers. In 1114 (1702) S. 'Abdullāh b. Faradj Allāh received the *firmān* of governorship but he had to defend himself against his father. Discord was rampant among the tribes. Baṣra was recovered by the Ottomans. In 1124 (1712) S. 'Alī reappeared on the scene and intrigued against S. 'Abdullāh. In 1127 (1715) he was appointed for a second time but, in view of his helplessness against the tribes, sought the help of the Ottomans. In 1719 his rival 'Abdullāh also came to Baghdad but then went to Isfahān. For some time the situation in Ḥawīza is obscure. In 1132 (1719), we find at Ḥawīza S. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh supported at first by a Persian garrison and after 1723 by the Ottomans. He maintained himself there in his fief until 1731 (?).

The Afghāns. During the Afghān invasion of 1135 (1722) a "khān of Ḥawīza" is credited with playing a despicable part: in spite of the specious promises he had given the Shāh, he entered into relations with the invaders and facilitated their operations. According to the report of the Dutch priest Alexander to Sigismondo, the traitor's name was 'Abdullāh Khān (cf. Dunlop's translation in *J. R. Central Asian Society*, Oct. 1936, p. 647-648). This would then be the old rival of S. 'Alī who must have till then been at the court. His treason was poorly requited for the Afghāns threw the "khān of Ḥawīza" into prison and appointed his nephew in his place (Krusinski). However by the terms of the peace between Ashraf and the Ottomans in 1140 (1727), the whole of Khūzistān was annexed by the latter.

Nādir-Shāh. In 1142 Nādir reoccupied Khūzistān and the lord of Ḥawīza came to pay homage to him. Under 1145 the *Ta'rikh-i Nādiri* (some MSS. only) mentions the name of S. 'Alī Khān, and it is possible that this is still the historian of the Musha'sha' (cf. above). But by 1150 (1737) Nādir appointed a governor for Khūzistān with his residence in Ḥawīza. The hereditary fief was thus lost and S. Faradj Allāh had to be content with the governorship of Dawraḡ (on the lower course of the *Djarrāḥī*). The disorders of the last years of the reign had their repercussions in Khūzistān and shortly before the death of Nādir (1160 = 1747), S. Muṭṭalib b. S. Muḥammad b. Faradj Allāh returned from Dawraḡ to Ḥawīza and defeated the government troops. Nādir's successor, 'Alī-Kulī Khān ('Adil Shāh), confirmed Muṭṭalib in his office. Muṭṭalib undertook several expeditions against the Āl-Kathīr Arabs (around Dizful and Shūshtar) and in 1175 (1761) in combination with 'Alī Pasha endeavoured to subdue the Ka'b but without much success. Muṭṭalib was killed in 1176 (1762) by Zakī Khān Zand, who after being defeated by his uncle Karīm Khān had gone to Khūzistān.

The Āl-Kathīr and the Ka'b. From this time on the Musha'sha' of Ḥawīza were more and more eclipsed by the growing power of the other tribes (the Āl-Kathīr and the Ka'b of Dawraḡ). Their power now only extended over an area 15 *farsakhs* square.

Muṭṭalib's successors in the time of Karīm Khān

Zand were his cousin Mawlā Djūd Allāh and after him Mawlā Ismā'il. 'Alī Murād Khān Zand appointed Mawlā Muḥsin to Ḥawīza. During his governorship a certain Hāshim built a canal from the Karkha above Ḥawīza. The whole river flowed into this canal and the ruin of Ḥawīza began. The discontented Arabs appealed to another son of Djūd Allāh Mawlā Muḥammad who built a dam and made the water return to its old bed.

The Kādjar̄s. Under Fath 'Alī Shāh the governors of Ḥawīza were Mawlā Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad and 'Abd al-'Alī Khān b. Muḥammad Ismā'il. In 1250 (1834) [according to European sources in 1833] the Karkha broke through the dam and flowed again into the Nahr Hāshim. This dealt the death-blow to Ḥawīza. In 1840 the town had only 500 inhabitants.

In 1257 (1841) the celebrated Minučīhr Khān [of the Armenian family of Yenikopolov], governor of Southern Persia, entrusted to Mawlā Faradj Allāh the governorship of the whole of Khūzistān. His successors were his sons M. 'Abdullāh and M. Muṭṭalib and later M. Naṣr Allāh b. 'Abdullāh, and his two sons M. Muḥammad and Muṭṭalib (according to Curzon, Muṭṭalib [b. Faradj Allāh?] was governor about 1883 and Naṣr Allāh about 1893?).

In the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh the Banū Turuf separated and left Ḥawīza. The Musha'sha' were approaching their end and the powerful Shaikh Khaz'al, from 1897 head of the Muḥaisin of Muḥammara (a branch of the Ka'b), gradually united under his authority all the lands of Khūzistān. He married a Musha'sha' woman and appointed his wife's brother in place of Mawlā 'Abd al-'Alī in 1910. In 1924 the new Persian government deposed Shaikh Khaz'al (d. Teherān May 25, 1936) and appointed a military governor to Khūzistān. At the same time M. 'Abd al-'Alī was recognised as head of the Musha'sha'.

Coins. The Musha'sha' exercised the right of coinage; several dirhams have been found at Sūsa struck at Shūsh̄tar and Dizful dated 914 (1508) and bearing the name of *al-Mahdī ibn al-Muḥsin* (?) which Caskel, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 93, restores as *\*al-Muḥsin b. al-Mahdī*, but they may really belong to a son of S. Muḥsin. Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, p. 94, mentions a coin of Ḥawīza dated 1085 (1664) with the Shī'a legend *'Alī walī Allāh*. The historian S. 'Alī mentions the case of S. Faradj Allāh who had sent to Isfahān coins ("Muḥammadi") struck at Ḥawīza without the authority of the Shāh (*dar in bāra idjāza az darbār-i shāh na-dāsh*). It should be noted that the coins called *hawīza* (and evidently struck at Ḥawīza) play an important part in the rites of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ [q.v.] which indirectly suggests bonds linking the secret mystic sects. It is possible that the old heresy of the Musha'sha', although officially condemned, persisted among the limited circle of the "faithful".

Conclusions. The interest of the principality of Ḥawīza lies in the first place in the personality of its founder and, as is the case with the majority of such mystic movements, in the circles of the people among which the sect of the *musha'sha'i* spread. The part played by Ḥawīza in the south of Persia is like that of Ardabil in the north. The Šafawids reduced this rival centre and reaped the benefit of its earlier successes. Within the sphere of the Turkish conquests the Musha'sha'

secured the contact of Arab and Persian cultures. In the Šafawid administration there were four wardens of the marches (*wālī*): of Georgia [cf. TIFLIS], of Kurdistān [cf. SENNA], of Luristān [q.v.] and of 'Arabistān (Ḥawīza). The position of the Musha'sha' wālī between Persians and Ottomans was naturally insecure but in its capacity as a buffer-state Ḥawīza was of much more use to Persia than to Turkey.

*Bibliography:* Layard, *A description of Khūzistān*, in *J. R. G. S.*, xvi., 1846, p. 33—66; A. Adamov, *Irak arabski*, St. Petersburg 1912, cf. index; W. Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts. Saijid Muḥammad ibn Falāh und seine Nachkommen, in Islamica*, iv/i., 1929, p. 49—93; do., *Die Wālī's von Huwēneh, in Islamica*, vi/4, 1934, p. 415—434; the author utilises all the sources available in Europe: the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* of Khwāndamīr, the *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn* of S. Nūr Allāh, cf. the *madjālis* viii., *djund* 16, and *passim* (based on the history of the 'Irāqī Ghīyāthī), the *Alam-āra-yi 'Abbāsi*, the *Tadhkira-yi Shūsh̄tar*, the *Djihan-nūmā* of Hādījī Khalifa; the *diwān* of the panegyrist Ibn Ma'tūq d. in 1087 (1676); the *Fārs-nāma* of Ḥasan-i Fasā'i etc. To the list of sources may now be added the *Ta'rikh-i Djāfari* (composed in 1447—1452), cf. Barthold (posthumous) in *Zap. Instit. Vostok.*, v., 1936, p. 23—25; Saiyid Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrizī, *Ta'rikh-i pānsadsāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehrān 1313 (1934), esp. p. 1—140, which contains a good deal of important unpublished information; Kasrawī utilises the *Kalām al-Mahdī* composed in imitation of the Qur'ān and arranged in *sūras* by Muḥammad b. Falāh himself (the MS. has been found at Zandjān), the history of the Musha'sha' by Saiyid 'Alī b. S. 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī Khān which gives the history of his family down to the time of Nādir; the *Takmilat al-Akḥbār* of 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min (contemporary of Shāh Tahmāsp I); various MSS. chronicles of the tribe of Ka'b; a synopsis of the *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'* and *Tuhfat al-Azhār*; official documents like the *firmāns* of the shāhs, census statistics etc. [cf. the review of Kasrawī's book in *B.S.O.S.*, viii./4, 1936]. (V. MINORSKY)

MUTAWĀLĪ (pl. MUTAWĪLA, popularly "Metoualis"). This name, which means "those who profess to love ('Alī)" has been applied since the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century to those elements of the population of Lebanon who belong to the Shī'a Twelver sect; at this date they liberated themselves from the suzerainty of the emirs of Lebanon under the leadership of three families: the Āl Naṣṣār in the Djabal 'Āmil, the Āl Ḥarfūsh at Ba'labakk and the Āl Ḥamāde in northern Lebanon. There is a tendency at the present day to extend the name *mutawila* to the imāmis of the Djāfar sect of other parts of Syria, notably to the 15,000 Shī'is of Aleppo, of Idlib (Fū'a, Nubbul, Nughāwila; the Banū Zuhra family, formerly *nuḡabā' al-ashrāf* at Aleppo), of Iṣlāhiye and the banks of the Euphrates; in the region of Damascus these Shī'is pass themselves off as Sunnis. In the Lebanon on the other hand, the "metoualis" (105,000 in 1924) form an officially recognised minority having deputies in parliament (they vote with the unitarian nationalist Sunnis). They are concentrated in the south (Djabal 'Āmil, Merdj-ayūn, Šūr and Šaidā), Kesrawān and Hermil. They are peasants and



traders, a little backward but with a certain gift for Arabic poetry; one of their number, *Shāikh* 'Aref al-Zain of Ṣaidā, has worked for 30 years through his printing press and his magazine *al-ʿIrḥān* with success in spreading education and modern culture among them, while remaining an ardent *Shiʿī*.

With the extremist *Shiʿīs* of the north (the bloc of 250,000 Nuṣairis), the Mutawālīs of the south represent the remnants of the old *Shiʿa* population of Syria, which had its great poets (Dik al-Djinn). They claim to go back to the preaching of Abū Dharr (cf. his *maḥām* at Ṣarafend, the ancient Sarepta) and are undoubtedly connected with certain Yaman tribes ('Āmila > 'Āmil) and the *Ḥamrā*, those arabicised Irānians of the Irāk whom Mu'āwiya transplanted to Syria for their military qualities and also to weaken the 'Alid party in Irāk to which they belonged.

**Bibliography:** Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 1928, vi. 251—258; Aḥmad 'Aref al-Zain, *Ta'rikh Ṣaidā*, 1331 (1913), 176 p.; and *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rikh al-Shi'a*, Ṣaidā 1914, 42 p.; H. Lammens, *Les "Perses" du Liban et l'origine des Métoualis*, in *M. F. O. B.*, xiv./2., 1929, p. 23—39; Ḥurr 'Āmilī († 1099 = 1688), *Amal al-Āmil fi 'Ulamā' Djabal 'Āmil*, the classical manual of Imāmi biobibliography, of which the first part deals with the *Shiʿī* 'ulamā' born in Syria, like the "first martyr", born at Djezzin, Muhammad b. Makki 'Āmilī († 782 = 1382) and the "second martyr", born at Djuba' near Djezzin, Zain al-Dīn 'Āmilī († 966 = 1558), like Kaf'āmī Djabā'ī, author of the *Djunnat al-Amān*, and the author himself (born at Mashghara); Tannūs b. Yūsuf al-Shidyāk, *Akhbār al-A'yān fi Djabal Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p. 359—361. — The old Imāmi "metoualis" authors belong rather to the conservative school of the *Akhbārīs* than to that of the *Uṣūlīs* [q.v.] (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

**AL-MUZANĪ**, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā (in the *Fihrist*: Ibrāhīm), a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, the "champion" of the Shāfiʿī school of law, was born in 175 (791—792) and lived in Miṣr. Although he compiled a celebrated compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) of the writings and lectures of his teacher, he was an independent thinker, who differed from his master on many points but not on the fundamentals (*uṣūl*), as the *Mukhtaṣar* eloquently shows (for example his master's views are bluntly described as wrong: iv. 26; v. 20 etc.). There is even mention of a special *madhhab* of Muzanī (Subkī, i. 243; Nawawī); in this connection reference may be made to the work of Ibn Suraidj (d. 305 = 917—918), *Kitāb al-Taḥrīb baina 'l-Muzanī wa 'l-Shāfiʿī* (*Fihrist*, p. 213). His pupils spread Shāfiʿī teaching in Syria, in the Irāk, and in *Khurāsān*; among others who attended his lectures was al-Taḥāwī later a Ḥanafī (d. 321 = 933). The *Malikīs* and *Zāhirīs* also conducted disputations with Muzanī (*Fihrist*, p. 201, 218). He died in Miṣr on Thursday the 24th Ramaḍān 264 (May 29, 878; so in Ibn Khallikān quoting Ibn Yūnus, *Ta'rikh*); the statements in the *Fihrist*: Wednesday, 29th Rabi' I and in Mas'ūdi: Thursday the 24th Rabi' I cannot be right as the days of the week do not fit) and was buried near the *turba* of Shāfiʿī in the cemetery of al-Qarāfa at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam.

His principal work, which Nawawī (p. 4) still regards as one of the five most important Shāfiʿī

works, is the already mentioned *Mukhtaṣar*; according to the *Fihrist* there were two editions of it: a larger which had fallen into oblivion by the time of the *Fihrist* and a smaller which was much read and annotated. The longer edition is printed on the margin of al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vols. i.—v., Cairo 1321—1322, and, as regards the first half at least, in the version transmitted by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Āsim (d. 599 = 911—912; cf. ii. 196, 219), and with additions by his son (?) Ibrāhīm (cf. i. 76 and *pass.*). Another version which offers a better text without these additions is given in the Gotha MS., Pertsch, *Katalog*, No. 938 (corresponding to the printed text, i. 3—iii. 254). — Of the shorter version, which may be the same as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mukhtaṣar* mentioned in *Shirāzī*, Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Taghribirdī, there exists only a fragment in the Berlin MS. Ldbg. 561 (corresponding to the printed texts, iii. 64—79 but very much abbreviated) and in a commentary (not the work itself as Ahlwardt No. 4,442 says) which belongs at the earliest to the fifth century. It has not so far been possible to identify it with one of the numerous commentaries mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, No. 11,628.

His other works, which have not survived, are, according to Ibn Khallikān and Subkī: 1. *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr* (also mentioned in Ibn Taghribirdī; quoted in the Ldbg. MS. 561, fol. 5<sup>b</sup> and 20<sup>b</sup>); 2. *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr* (also in Ibn Taghribirdī); these two works do not appear to be the same as the two editions of the *Mukhtaṣar* as Wüstenfeld thinks; 3. *al-Manṭhūr*; 4. *al-Mas'āl al-muta'birā*; 5. *al-Targhib fi 'l-ʿilm* (according to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, No. 2,934); 6. *Kitāb al-Waḥā'ik* (also *Fihrist* and Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, No. 14,174) perhaps identical with the book mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, iv. 47 on the *shurūṭ*. Subkī (i. 245) also had seen: 7. *Kitāb al-Aḥarīb* (also H. Khalifa, No. 10,315) in which Muzanī propounded 40 questions and which was handed down by al-Anmāṭī (d. 288—901); Subkī gives a few quotations; 8. *Kitāb Niḥāyat al-Ikhtiyār* in an MS. of the year 480 (1087); a very brief work giving for the most part Muzanī's own views: quotations are given by Subkī.

**Bibliography:** Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, Paris 1874, viii. 56; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 212; *Shirāzī*, *Ṭabaḳāt*, No. 120 (in MS.); Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, in *GMS*, xx., fol. 527r; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 775; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 71; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, i. 238—247; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 40; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, No. 30 (*Abh. G.W. Gött.*, xxxvi.); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* i. 180; Sarkis, *Mu'djam*, Cairo 1928, col. 1741. (HEFFENING)

**MZĀB**, a district of Southern Algeria, which geographically forms part of the northern Sahara and from the administrative point of view forms a native commune of the territory of *Ghar-dāya* (Territoires du Sud); it is situated in the south of Algeria in the strict sense, in the extension of the province of Algiers. It is called Chebka du Mzab or simply Mzab. It lies between 32° and 33° 20' N. Lat. and 2° 24' and 4° 54' East Long. Its area is about 3,000 square miles.

It is a country on a higher level than the adjoining lands. Its breadth is over 60 miles and its contours are clear cut except towards the south. The average altitude of the plateau which is roughly in the form of a desk (inclination

N.-W.-E.) varies from 1,000 to 2,500 feet, the average being 1,600 feet. In the south it is the network of the dunes of the Erg which stretch up to El Goléa. Wind and water have accumulated in these hollows "les déchets d'une érosion, qui s'est exercée pendant des âges géologiques". The general appearance of the Chebka bears evidence of intense erosion which has gone on for millennia among the dolomitic limestones. It recalls "a sea agitated by a violent storm and suddenly solidified". Strata or "têtes de chat" have been isolated, the action of rain and wind has cut out steep ravines running in all directions which give it the typical aspect which the Saharans call *shabka* (net). These waterless river-beds converge towards broad and deep channels in the general direction of N.W. to S.E.; one of the latter which is especially large, is the valley of the Wādī Mzāb (Ar. *mizāb*, channel, gutter). These valleys of Saharan wādīs run towards the basin of Wargla, which plays the part of a central reservoir collecting the waters of the *shabka*.

The climate of the country shows the torrid excess of heat in summer which classes it among the hottest in the Sahara, with that of El Goléa and Wargla. The maximum of daily variation is 18° C. in July. In the winter on the other hand, the temperature is much the same as that of the Algerian coast.

The persistent dryness and the great evaporation are characteristic of the climate. Much too rare downpours occasionally upset the general scheme but this is exceptional; indeed, the existence of human life in the country is very often threatened.

We know why the intransigent Khāridjīs "came out" of orthodoxy against 'Alī after the indecisive battle of Siffin. Organised in Arabia in groups of *shurāt* — "acquirers" (of future life) — they resisted the "state of secrecy". A supreme effort made by 'Abd Allāh b. Wahhāb ended in a general massacre. The few survivors gathered together again under the authority of *shaikhs*. One of them, 'Abd Allāh b. Abād, catechised the disciples, who were to carry the leaven of the new doctrine into 'Omān and Maṣṣaṭ and into Africa also (state of devotion). Their teaching was milder and more humane than that of the Sufri *khawāridj*, who were intransigent and cruel. The Abādis first took Kairawān, then established a more lasting rule at Tāhert (144 = 761); there they knew the "state of glory" of their sect. While their brethren of the Djabal Nafūsa lived in security in the heart of the mountains, which they still occupy, the heterodox imāmate of the Rustamids [q.v.] of Tāhert fell before the Fātimids and was destroyed after existing for a century and a half in 296 (908–909). At this period the Khāridjīs of Nafūsa had already found their way into the Sahara: the Wādī Righ and the Wādī Mya, with Wargla 435 miles S.E. of Algiers, had been converted to Abādism. Commercial relations had led their caravans as far as Ghāna in the depths of the Sūdān. "Uniting to the natural taste of the Berber for building a strong religious discipline, masons directed by monks, they were the colonists of the Sahara" (Masqueray). Sedrāta in Wargla or Isedrāten was in the ivth (xth) century a centre humming with activity. It grew out of fugitives from Tāhert who had been able, it is said, to bring along with them the last Rustamid ruler Ya'qūb b. al-Aflāh. The imāmate was nevertheless suppressed

and the sect entered into "the state of resistance". Isedrāten has however left the memory of its fame among the Abādis, and Paul Blanchet has been able to discover remains of unusual richness of decoration long gently buried beneath the dunes. They have revealed a real Roman art in Algeria of which the Abādis were never to forget the technique.

Sedrāta was not long in tempting the invader also; a lord of the *kal'a* of the Banū Hammād destroyed it as well as other towns of the Wādī Mya in 1075. The Abādis had to begin a new exodus and went this time into a still more inaccessible desert. This is the explanation of this paradoxical colonisation of the *hamāda* or rocky plateau of the Wādī Mzāb.

In the early days after their coming there the Abādis had no fixed settlements. The valley of the Wādī Mzāb appeared to them to be the site desirable for a permanent settlement. In 1011, al-'Aṭef, the oldest of the towns of the *shabka*, was founded. The population grew with the coming of successive bodies of immigrants. Bū Nūra was built in 1048, Malika was built not long after in 1053, the first houses at Ghardāya (396 miles from Algiers) were erected; Banū Isgen had been founded a little earlier. The pentapolis was thus complete and the five towns were built a few miles from one another, ready to shelter the last refugees from Sedrāta. This surprising arrangement may be explained from an examination of local conditions of existence and considerations of defence.

For several centuries the number of towns in the Mzāb did not increase. Then suddenly in 1631, some sections of Abādis driven from Ghardāya as a result of a quarrel, decided to migrate and established themselves at Garāra, 50 miles from Ghardāya, near a little *kaṣr*: al-Mabartakh, which had been founded at an earlier date by other Khāridjīs, the Awlād Bakha, driven from the pentapolis, and which was not long in being ruined by its new rival. In 1679, two fractions of Ghardāya created a new city: Barriān, the most northerly and most recent of the seven towns, 353 miles from Algiers.

As to Metlīlī, this town, built 20 miles south of Ghardāya and peopled by Sha'amba Berezga nomads, is not regarded as forming a part of the Mzāb confederation. In the past however, it arranged an exchange of families with Malika as pledge of peace. The three last named towns, the most modern, do not in any case belong to the Mzāb proper in the eyes of the natives. The Banū Mzāb going from Garāra or Berriān to Ghardāya say they are going to the Mzāb.

The founders and builders of these towns preserved the memory of the manner in which they were built: a *shaikh* celebrated for his piety and courage gathered round him a group (*halqa*) of devotees and they began by building a mosque on a hill-top which was at once storehouse, armoury and fortress. The laity (*'awāmmi*), usually relatives of the members of the *halqa*, built their houses around in the shelter of the citadel, arranging them in concentric circles, the last houses serving as ramparts or being themselves defended by outpost towers. Ibn Khaldūn, in the xivth century, says that the towns of the Mzāb "occupy the tops of several hills in the middle of a country burned by the sun" (*Hist. des Berb.*, iii. 304). The Abādi town is really a town built in a regular order, the result of a



pre-arranged plan, in striking contrast to the usual haphazardness of the Saharan architects.

The population of the *ḡūr* totals 40,277, according to the last official census (Dec. 1936). In comparing these figures with those of preceding censuses, we find that the figures are almost stationary.

In *Ḡhardāya* the density of the urban population is from 180 to 200 inhabitants an acre, for houses limited to one storey. These houses are distinguished even from a distance on account of their galleries with arcades which run above the courtyard diagonally forming a ceiling for the impluvium. This gallery which faces south is opposite a roofless part of the house: it is the *ikomar* opposed to the *tigherghet*. The towns of the heretical Mzāb owe to this special feature their particular appearance, which is completed by the pyramidal silhouette of the minaret (*‘assās*). The stones (limestone) of which they are built are bound together with a special mortar, *timshent*, of the colour of ochre. This pyramidal style on a square base is finished off with ornamentalations erected as terminals. The defensive towers, the outlook towers, the altars raised on eminences to local saints have also the same forms. The Mzāb style of building, which has been connected with the Libyan-Phœnician style, is specifically Berber; it is found throughout the Sahara and has spread into the Sūdān and the Nigerian plains.

Each town is duplicated in its immediate environs or a few miles away by an oasis (*ḡhāba*). Wells with inclined planes enable the date-orchards to be irrigated (the planting of these was an economic mistake for they cost more than they yield). It takes all the perseverance of their owners, who flock to the Tell to trade there, to win anything from this ungrateful soil. The rain-water is collected and run into canals with the greatest care according to traditional principles which have been codified. The Mzābis still migrate en masse to the oases, following a seasonal time-table which is meticulously observed. They stay there in villas of the same kind as the dwellings in the towns, closed by the same wooden locks but built on a less serried plan.

The administration of each town of the Mzāb used formerly to be divided between two *ḡjamā‘a*: the *ḡalka* of the *‘azzāben* or the *ḡolba* and the *ḡjamā‘a* of the *‘awāmm*. The first, presided over by the *shikh* of the *ḡolba*, had as its main function to lay down in *ittifāḡāt* scales of corporal punishment, imprisonment and other police regulations, which were administered by the *ḡjamā‘a* of the *‘awāmm*. The latter were assisted by a special *ḡjamā‘a*, that of the *mkārī*, a kind of police charged with the maintenance of order and a tyrannical surveillance exercised over individuals. The head of the *‘awāmm* was the *ḡākim*. They could have powers delegated to them by the *ḡolba* in order to give expression in documents to the general consensus and to look after the temporal affairs of the town. The ritual formula began: "The clergy and laity have decided..."

At the present day the *ḡolba* exercise a moral influence. They are recipients of the *ḡubūs*, benefactions which are highly developed in the Mzāb, being thereby accused of pauperism, but their head, the *shakh al-ḡalka*, no longer exists since the Abāḡī *ḡādīs* administer justice and the *ḡāid* has taken the place of the *ḡākim*. This evolution dates from 1882, i. e. since the annexation of the Mzāb

which from 1853 has been under French protection. The result has been, since the occupation, a marked predominance of the old *ḡjamā‘a* of the *‘awāmm*; it has now become the essential instrument for municipal administration. This social organisation is therefore characterised by democratic and representative tendencies.

The Bānū Mzāb are bound together by a deep religious sentiment [cf. *IBĀḌIYA* and particularly *KHĀRIDJIS*] and not by a common geographic origin. If the first occupants of the Wādī Mya came in part from *Djarba* und Tripolitania, their exodus to the Mzāb was not conducted in one great body. They must have found there Wāsili nomads representing the indigenous race, then the *ḡabā‘il* or native tribes forming the towns — *Ḡhardāya* for example — were increased by families, *‘ashā‘ir*, not only from *Sedrāta* but also from the west (*Djabal ‘Amūr*) and even from *Tāmesnā* and *Tāfilalet* (Morocco); the common feature to all these immigrants was that they were Berbers and schismatics. At the present day, each town has in addition groups of Arabs (*Mdābīh*, *Benī Merzūg* . . .) isolated, because they are Sunnis, in quarters on the outskirts; *Ḡhardāya* has in addition a very curious *mellāh*, and lastly nomadic tribes (*Awlād ‘Allūsh* and *‘Abd al-Ḡādir*) live on the south of the plateau with *Metlili* as their centre.

The Mzābis are also united by their dialect. It is called *Tāḡāwānt* or *Tamāzighit*. This dialect belongs to the *Zenāta* group; it is connected with the speech of *Warghla* and *Wādī Righ* as well as the dialects of the *Djabal Nafūsa*, and these survivals are explained, as has been pointed out, on historical grounds. "The language spoken in the *Djabal* was, for long after the Arab invasion, a literary language. The *‘akīda*, which is at the basis of the religious teaching among the *Banī Mzāb* and their co-religionists of *Djerba* and *Nafūsa*, was originally framed in Berber, in a language which was to become, so to speak, the official language of the brethren of the *Abāḡī* sect in the brilliant period of the *Rustamid imāmate*" (Motylinski). We see here one of the few examples offered in the Muslim world of religious works composed in a language other than Arabic.

Mzābi literature forms a constituent part of *Abāḡī* exegesis and dogmatics and it is not surprising that the chronicles and religious treatises held in honour among the *Khāridjis* of the middle ages have attracted these puritans. The conformists or "people of the agreement" are alone recognised, in opposition to those who do not belong to the schism (*mukhālifūn*).

The books of the sect, very rarely in Berber in the Arabic characters, are for the most part in the language of the *Ḡur‘ān*. *Abāḡī* literature in a survey given by *al-Barrādī* (ixth [xvth] century) is divided into works of "our comrades" of the East, of the Mountain (*Djabal Nafūsa*) and of the Westerns. *Abū Zakariyā‘* (born at *Wargla* in the vth [xith] century), *al-Dardjini* (*Kitāb Ṭabaḡāt al-Mashā‘ikh*), *al-Shammākhī* (d. 928 A.H., author of the *Kitāb al-Siyar*) and his pupil *al-Dammari* (Book of selected Pearls) are among the most esteemed historians and authors of the "exemplary biographies" of *Abāḡism* and of *shādḡaras*, genealogical lists of venerated teachers. In the Mzāb itself, the history of the sects, which is so useful to us to precede that of *Barbary*, was dropped in favour of *Ḡur‘ānic* exegesis. The author of the *Nail*, the

shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. in 1808 at Beni Isgen), is the one who enjoys the greatest reputation. His legal and doctrinal work is vast but his often impenetrable thought has required a commentator, Shaikh 'Atfiyish (d. 1914 at Beni Isgen, aged 94), to illuminate it. We owe also to 'Atfiyish a large commentary on the *Kur'ān* written in a simple fashion. The Mẓābis of Algeria have moreover encouraged the studies of their authors by publishing a number of religious and legal treatises.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. de Slane; Naphegyi, *Ghardaya*, New-York 1871; Ville, *Exploration géologique du Beni Mzab, du Sahara et de la région des steppes de la province d'Alger*, Paris 1872; Duveyrier, *L'oued Mzab et le chemin de Metlili* (*Bull. Soc. de Géogr.*, 1876); Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, transl. from the *Kitāb al-Sira wa-Akhhār al-'Imma*, Algiers 1897; al-Barrādi, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302 A.H.; al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo n.d.; Shaikh 'Atfiyish, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nail wa-Shifā' al-'Alīl* (8 vol.), Tunis; al-Bārūnī, *Sullam al-'Anma*, Cairo

n.d.; de Motylinski, *Guerara depuis sa fondation*, Algiers 1884; Dr. Ch. Amat, *Le Mzab et les Mzabites*, Paris 1888; de Motylinski, *Les Livres de la Secte abadhite*, Algiers 1885; Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie*, Paris 1886; Zeys, *Législation mزابite*, Algiers 1886; de Motylinski, *Notes historiques sur le Mzab*, Algiers 1889; René Basset, *Etude sur la Zenatia du Mzab*, Paris 1893; Brunhes, *Les Oasises du Souf et du Mzab* (*La Géogr.*, 1902); Dr. Huguet, *Les Juifs du Mzab* (*Soc. Anthr.*, Paris 1902); Morand, *Les Kanouns du Mzab*, Algiers 1910; Goldziher, *Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1910; Biarnay, *Notes d'Ethnographie*, Paris 1924; Zygmunt Smogorzewski, *Srōdla abadyckie*, Lemberg 1926; Marcel Mercier, *Etude sur le waqf abadhite*, Algiers 1927; A. M. Goichon, *La Vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927; Marcel Mercier, *La Civilisation urbaine au Mzab*, Algiers 1932; Milliot, *Recueil de Délibérations des djema'a du Mzab* (*Rev. Est. Islamique*, 1930).

(MARCEL MERCIER)

## N

### NAKKĀRA KHĀNA [See TABL KHĀNA.]

AL-NAWĀDJĪ, SHĀMS AL-DIN MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. ALĪ B. 'UTHMĀN AL-KĀHIRĪ, an Arab scholar, poet and man of letters, born in Cairo in 788 (1386) and died there in 859 (1455), a typical representative of the literature of the decline. Of his many teachers we may mention the *tadẓīd* authority al-Djazarī (1350—1429; cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 201, No. 6) and al-Damirī [q.v.]; he mentions the latter in the preface to his stylistics (Paris MS., de Slane, No. 4453); among his literary friends were Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Hamawī [q.v.] against whom he later directed his polemic *al-Ḥudjdja fī Sariḳāt Ibn Ḥidjdja* (Leyden MS., No. 509). His official position was teacher of *ḥadīth* in several of the madrasas of Cairo; he was closely connected with Ṣūfī circles. In addition to several journeys in Egypt, he twice made the *ḥajj*. As was the custom with scholars of the time he wrote a number of commentaries and glosses on well-known textbooks and several works on rhetoric and poetics. As a poet he made his way by panegyrics on high officials and many Maecenases richly rewarded him. In obedience to the taste of his patrons he compiled anthologies of poems on subjects which were particularly popular with the upper classes of his time; as usual some of these are on the borders of belles-lettres and erotics. The majority of these anthologies still exist only in manuscript (see *G.A.L.*, loc. cit.); the best known and perhaps the most important from the point of view of scholarship is *Ḥalbat al-Kumait*, "The Runners of the Bright Red", i.e. the poets who vie with one another in descriptions of wine (see his own explanation of the name, *Bulāk* edition 1276, p. 7, 17—19). It was finished at the end of Shawwāl 824 (1421) (p. 339 ult.) and first called *al-Ḥubūr wa 'l-Surūr fī Waṣf al-Khumūr*. Cf. *Ḳuṣṣ al-Surūr fī Awṣāf al-Khumūr*

by al-Ḳairawānī († 383 = 993 [*G.A.L.*, i. 155, No. 9]), a work often cited by al-Nawādjī, p. 6, 143, 163). Neither this change of name nor the last section which is devoted to the regret and shame caused by wine prevented the author from being vigorously attacked (see al-Sakhāwī in *Ḥājdjī Khalifa*, iii., p. 106—107, No. 4607); many regarded his book not only as frivolous but even as sinful. Al-Nawādjī continued the long series of anthologies on wine which from the ninth century onwards occupy a special place in Arabic literature. Ibn al-Mu'tazz's [q.v.] work *Tabashīr al-Surūr* (see *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1927, p. 1163—1170) was perhaps the earliest and was also used by al-Nawādjī (*ibid.*, p. 1169, note 6). Of his predecessors (in addition to the two mentioned he quotes not only purely literary but also scientific works: *Kushādjim* (d. c. 350 = 951), *Adab al-Nadīm* (p. 50, 158; cf. *G.A.L.*, i. 85, No. 4); al-Tanūkhī (q.v.; d. 384 = 994), *Nishwār al-Muḥādara* (p. 205); 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Zafīr al-'Askalānī (xiith—xiith century), *Badā'ī' al-Badā'ī'* (p. 239, 258; cf. *G.A.L.*, i. 321, No. 1); al-Tifāshī (q.v.; d. 651 = 1253), *Surūr al-Nafs bi-Madārik al-Ḥawāss al-khams* (p. 16; cf. *Ḥājdjī Khalifa*, iii., p. 597, No. 7157); Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī (q.v.; d. c. 685 = 1286), *al-Murḳib wa 'l-Muṭrib* (p. 281); Ibn Waṭwāt (*G.A.L.*, ii. 54—55; d. 718 = 1318), *al-Mabāhidī* (p. 204, 205, 212, 213); Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (q.v.; d. 768 = 1306), *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn* (p. 155, 218); Ibn Abī Ḥadjala (q.v.; d. 776 = 1375), *al-Sukḥardān* (p. 260); al-Ḡhuzūlī (q.v.; d. 815 = 1412), *Maṭālī' al-Budūr* (p. 205); Ḥasan b. Zufar al-Irbilī, *Rawḍat al-Djālis wa-Nuṣṣat al-Anīs* (p. 180; cf. *Ḥājdjī Khalifa*, iii., p. 500, No. 6641); Muḥammad al-'Anbarī, *al-Nawr al-muḍjānā min Riyāḍ al-Udabā'* (p. 15); Ibn Bukhtishū'ī, *al-Khawāṣṣ* (cf. 204; cf. *G.A.L.*, i. 483, No. 3); 'Alī b. Ḥazm



al-Kurashī (d. 687 = 1288), *Mudjris al-Kānūn fī 'l-Tibb* (p. 14; cf. Hādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 251, N<sup>o</sup>. 13399); al-Damiri [q. v.], *Hayāt al-Hayawān* (p. 16). — He also dealt with contemporary poetry and belles-lettres. His encyclopædia of wine contains 25 chapters and a concluding one, not always systematically arranged and often only loosely connected (for example the chapter devoted to the Nile or long poems of the *radjal*-type). With a critical sifting of his sources, the anthology may produce much not only of purely literary value but also of interest for the history of culture. In spite of vigorous attacks on it, the *Halbat al-Kumait* has always been very popular (cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix., Liege 1905, p. 59–60, N<sup>o</sup>. 70) and has exercised considerable influence. Even as late as the xviii<sup>th</sup> century the Mesopotamian scholar Amin b. Khair-Allāh al-'Umari (1737–1789; see al-Zurukli, *al-A'lām*, i., Cairo 1927, col. 129) continued his tradition in the anthology *Nawādir al-Minah fī Aḡsām al-Malāḥa wa 'l-Mulāḥ* (see Dāwūd al-Celebi, *Kitāb Maḥḥūṣāt al-Mawṣil*, Baghdad 1927, p. 50–52, N<sup>o</sup>. 65). In Europe also al-Nawādjī early attracted attention: in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century d'Herbelot (1625–1695) devoted an article to him in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Maastricht 1776, p. 657). In the xviii<sup>th</sup> Sir William Jones (1746–1794) wrote of his book “Est hic liber Athenaei Δεινσοφοιστραῖς simillimus, sed mea quidem sententia jucundior, ornatio, copiosior” (*Poeseos asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1777, p. 355). In the first half of the xix<sup>th</sup> century we often come across extracts and translations from his anthology (see Chauvin, *op. cit.*); it has now been thrust into the background by earlier works in Arabic literature.

*Bibliography*: The principal sources (including MSS.) are given by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 56, N<sup>o</sup>. 11 and J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1930, col. 1872; of special importance is al-Nawādjī's younger contemporary al-Sakhāwī (1427–1497; see *G.A.L.*, ii. 34, N<sup>o</sup>. 9); extracts from this work are given in Hādjdjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, iii. 106–107, N<sup>o</sup>. 4607 and 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiḡiyya*, xiii., Cairo 1306, p. 13–14. — See also Ibn Iyās, Cairo 1311, ii. 36, 49–50; Hādjdjī Khalifa, ii. 176; iii. 17, 106, 511; iv. 62, 341, 503; v. 487; vii. 1218; al-Zurukli, *al-A'lām*, iii., Cairo 1928, p. 885 (Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1912, p. 391 and Djirdjī Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-'arabiyya*, iii., Cairo 1913, p. 137–138 only repeat without alteration and a few inaccuracies the pertinent articles in Brockelmann's *G.A.L.*).

(IGN. KRATSKHOKSKY)

**NĪNAWĀ**, i. an extensive area of ruins on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite the town of Mōṣul, the ancient capital of the late Assyrian empire. The name is probably connected with that of the old Babylonian goddess Ninā, an incarnation of Ištar, who had her chief place of worship on Assyrian soil here. In the Assyrian inscriptions it is most frequently written Ni-nu-a; we also find Ni-na-a and Ni-nu-u. The Amarna tablets have the forms Ni-i-na-a and Ni-i-nu-u; the reproduction of the name by Ninuwa or Nenuwa in the Mitanni and Khatti texts shows that the Hebrew form with consonantal *w* is justified although the Ninewe of the Massoretic pointing would be better replaced by Ninuwa.

The very extensive area of ruins at Niniveh which is more than twice the size of the modern Mōṣul, is in the form of a trapezium lying N. W. to S. E., markedly narrowing to the south. It is clearly marked from the surrounding plain by the great walls which enclose the area of the ancient city, now used as pasture and agricultural land, in which the massive walls built by Sanherib can be recognised. They were pierced by 15 gates which have survived to the present day for the most part as gaps in the walls and some are still used by traffic. The good preservation of the old walls of Niniveh with the openings for its gates is expressly emphasised by the mediæval Arab geographers, Ibn Džubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (see *Bibl.*).

In addition to these walls round the actual city, Sanherib built an outer system of defences in front of the outworks of the eastern wall, which consisted of two parallel walls separated by a ditch, of about three miles in length. These can still be clearly recognised. Between the eastern city wall and the outer defences just mentioned can be traced a considerable ancient double canal with diagonal connections. The trapezium shaped girdle of walls of the inner city, according to the exact measurements taken by Jones, had a circumference of 7 1/4 miles, divided as follows: the east side 3 miles, the west 2 1/2, the north 1 1/4 and the south 1 1/2 mile.

The level of the city rises gently towards the east. This is due to the natural configuration of the ground and not, as might perhaps be thought, to the accumulation of rubble. Two mounds are included in the west wall: the larger in the north called Koyundjik and the smaller in the south called Nebī Yūnīs. These are not however to be regarded as entirely artificial creations. As the greatest natural elevations in the plain they had been heightened artificially in Assyrian times and made into terraces for the erection of great royal and state buildings (palaces, temples, storehouses etc.). After the destruction and decay of these buildings the height of both mounds was naturally increased by the accumulation of earth and rubble.

The city of Niniveh is traversed somewhere above its middle by the river Khōser which comes from the northeast (in the Arab middle ages: *Khawsar*; in the cuneiform inscriptions: *Khusr*). After entering through the old east gate it forms a wide curve, running past the east and south foot of the Koyundjik mound; it originally then flowed directly into the Tigris after passing the west wall, but now it runs for nearly a mile before reaching the point where it joins the Tigris. The Tigris at one time, as is certain from the cuneiform inscriptions and the finds on the site, flowed directly along the west side of Niniveh, not, as at the present day, 3/4 to 1 mile from it. By the depositing of a vast amount of silt which the Khōser carries in flood, the bed of the Tigris was thrust more and more to the west and in the course of centuries the present foreground was created by the alluvial deposits.

The larger of the two mounds rising from the ruins of Niniveh, which is now usually called Koyundjik (Kuyundjik) begins about 1,400 yards below the N.W. corner of the old city wall; it is in the form of an irregular oval. Its greatest breadth running from east to west measures about 700 yards; its greatest length, about 1,100 yards.

Its height above the bank of the *Khōser* is about 90 feet. On the northeast side of this mound, down to the beginning of the English excavations, there stood a little village called *Qoyundjik*. So far as I know, it is first mentioned by this name by Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 353, 368 (written: *Koinsjug*), then by Rich (*op. cit.*, ii. 36, 38, 55). According to Ainsworth (*op. cit.*, ii. 141), this village, inhabited by Yazidis, was almost entirely destroyed in 1836 by Rowāndūz Kurds so that when Layard in 1845 began his archaeological investigations at Ninive, only a few huts were left.

As regards the Turkish name *Qoyundjik* which means "lambkin", it has sometimes been interpreted to mean that the mound of this name was much visited by shepherds with their flocks (cf. Jones, in *J. R. A. S.*, xv. 325 = *Selections*, p. 430), an observation, which I at least can confirm from my stay in Mōsul in the spring of 1927 and 1928. The assertion of Perry (*Six months in a Syrian Monastery*, London 1895, p. 358), that *Qoyundjik* takes its name, said to mean "slaughter of sheep", from the massacre of the Yazidis there in 1836, is refuted at once by pointing to the earlier occurrence of the name in Niebuhr and Rich. Perhaps however, the suggestion most worth consideration is that the name *Qoyundjik* may be an abbreviation of *Kara-Qoyundjik* and may be a memory of the time of the *Kara-Qoyunlu* [q. v.] Turkomans who ruled nearer Asia in 772–873 (1375–1468; cf. M. v. Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*, ii. 190), as reminiscences of this dynasty are actually to be found in the topographical nomenclature of the Nearer East.

At one time the larger mound at Ninive was also known as *Armūshīya*; cf. Layard, *Discoveries*, p. 76; Jones, in *J. R. A. S.*, xv. 316, 325 = *Selections*, p. 422, 430; Thompson and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

It should be particularly noted that for the *Qoyundjik* mound the name *Qal'at Nunia* = "citadel of Niniveh" was also in use down to the 19th century (cf. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*; Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 55). It is still often called *al-Qal'a*.

About 1,000 yards south of *Qoyundjik* rises the second mound now usually called *Nebī Yūnis*. It is steeper and more crumbling than *Tell Qoyundjik* and less than half its size. It is in the form of an irregular triangle with the apex pointing to the east; from north to south it measures about 400 yards, from east to west about 600. A deep cleft splits the mound in two, the western part being occupied by the village and mosque and the eastern by the cemetery. *Nebī Yūnis* is somewhat lower than *Qoyundjik* but if the highest point of the minaret on it be included reaches a greater total height (c. 130 feet). The mound owes its name to the legend associating the prophet Jonah (Arabic *Yūnus*; q. v.) with it as with *Niniveh* in general. The Arab writers of the middle ages usually call it *Tall Tawba* (e.g. *Yāqūt*, *loc. cit.*; *al-Muḥaddasī*, in *B. G. A.*, iii. 136) or *Tall al-Tawba* = "hill of repentance", as they tell us, on account of the penitence and conversion of the people of *Niniveh* who destroyed the temple of their idol. The Syriac equivalent for this name is *Tellā de Taibūthā* (so Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac.*, Paris, p. 190, 17). In Ibn Baṭṭūta (Paris, ii. 136) we already find in place of this the name *Tall Yūnus* = "mound of Jonah", and at the present day, as we have already said, it is very generally known as

*Nabī Yūnus* or in the modern pronunciation *Nebī Yūnis*, i. e. prophet (-sanctuary) of Jonah; Turkish: *Yūnus Paighamber*. The official name of the sanctuary is however *Ninawā* (cf. H. Rassam, *op. cit.*, p. 304); this — or *Neinue*, *Neinua* — is frequent elsewhere also alongside of *Nebī Yūnus*.

As we learn from the Syriac work of *Yeshū'denah* written in the viii<sup>th</sup> century (entitled *Ḳetābhā de Nakpūṭā*, ed. Chabot, in the *Mélang. d'Archéol. et d'Hist. de l'École Française de Rome*, xvi., Paris 1896, offprint, § 27), dealing with the history of the foundation of eastern monasteries, a monk named *Yōnan* (a Syriac variant of *Yōna* = Jonah) founded a monastery on the mound of *Nebī Yūnis*, in the church of which he was later buried. In 671 the Nestorian Catholicos *Henanyeshū' I*, who died in it, was buried here (see *Mārī b. Sulaimān*, *Akhbār Faṭārikat Kursi 'l-Mashriq* [ed. Gismondi, Rome 1899, p. 65] or the revision of it by 'Amr b. Mattā [ed. Gismondi, Rome 1896], p. 59–60). The latter author, who lived in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, records as an eye-witness the interesting fact that the coffin of this Catholicos was opened 650 years after his death, i. e. in 1320, and the body found undecayed; at this date then the part of the monastery or of the church containing the sepulchres must still have been in possession of Christians. Several centuries earlier, about 850, the body of the saint *Mār Yeshū' zekā* who had died 200 years before, had been transferred from his destroyed monastery in *Adiabene* and buried in this church (see *Yeshū'denah*, *op. cit.*, § 47). According to the "Book of Monasteries" (*Ḳitāb al-Diyārāt*) of *al-Shābushtī* (d. 1000 A.D.), *Dair Yūnus* seems still to have been a Christian monastery in the tenth century; further evidence of this is that Jews were admitted here without difficulty; see the article *Dair Yūnus* in *Shābushtī*, Ar. Ms. of the Berlin Library N<sup>o</sup>. 8321, fol. 78<sup>a</sup> (abbreviated by *Yāqūt*, ii. 710 and cf. also *Sachau*, in *Abh. Pr. A. W.*, 1919, N<sup>o</sup>. 10, p. 13).

Against these records we have the specifically Muslim sources which make *Nebī Yūnis* a Muslim sanctuary already in the x<sup>th</sup> century (*Mas'ūdī*, ii. 93; *Muḥaddasī*, *op. cit.*, p. 146; *Yāqūt*, i. 866).

Most probably the founder of the monastery and saint *Yōnan* and the prophet *Jonah* whose legend is so closely associated with the ancient *Niniveh* became merged into one at quite an early period in the minds of the Christian community, at least in those of the masses, and the idea that the sanctuary on the second largest mound was specially dedicated to the memory of the latter's divine mission gradually came to be the predominant one. It may be noted that the Christian historian 'Amr b. Mattā speaks on the same page (*op. cit.*, p. 58, 19 and 14) of *Dair Yawnan* (= *Yōnan*) and *Dair Yawnan al-Nabī*, i. e. "of the monastery of the Prophet *Yōnan*", while his above mentioned later editor *Mārī b. Sulaimān* (*op. cit.*, p. 64, 18, 65, 3), like the Arabs, only writes *Dair Yūnūs*. Jews and *Muḥammadans* therefore only looked upon the old monastery of *Yōnan* as a building erected in honour of the Old Testament prophet, as he was and is the only personality with whom they were acquainted. It is noteworthy that in the mediæval Arab sources the tomb of *Jonah* here is never expressly mentioned, although this is at the present day the chief attraction for Muslim visitors, but only the special sanctity of the place, which rests on the fact that *Jonah* here prayed to God with his compatriots of *Niniveh* and his appeal was heard.



In the time of Ibn D̲jubair (c. 1184) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (c. 1328) the richly decorated cell in which the prophet was said to have lived was pointed out and the *miḥrāb* as the place where he prayed to God.

The great prestige which the alleged sanctuary of Jonah already enjoyed in the tenth century among Muslims is shown by the saying recorded by Muḥaddasī that seven pilgrimages to Niniveh were as valuable as the great pilgrimage to Mecca. On Fridays especially, the mound was visited by the people of Mōṣul in large numbers; see Muḥaddasī, Yāḳūt and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*).

The monastery and church perhaps remained in Christian hands down to the end of the caliphate and there arose, perhaps in the tenth century, quite a small mosque inside the walls of the monastery for the requirements of Muslim visitors, as on Sinai [q.v.]. It is however certain that under Mongol rule the whole group of church buildings passed into the hands of the Muslims and the old church was turned into a mosque.

Nebi Yūnis is at the present day the most esteemed Muslim sanctuary in the northern part of the modern state of 'Irāḳ and the chief place of pilgrimage for Sunnis of this kingdom. Pious Muslims are often brought from a distance to be buried here. The cemetery occupies the eastern half of the mound, but there are also graves below it in the western plain. The so-called 'tomb of Jonah' is however not an object of veneration to Muslims only, but is held in equally high respect by Jews and Christians of the Mōṣul area. Down to the end of the World War access to it was strictly forbidden to non-Muslims. Jews acquainted with the customs of the country not infrequently visited it in secret and in disguise. Occasionally distinguished Christians (e.g. Tavernier, Moltke, Badger's wife, Layard, Hyvernat and Müller-Simonis, Herzfeld with the Duke of Mecklenburg) were allowed to visit it with the permission of the Turkish Pāshā or the approval of Muslim clergy of Nebī Yūnis. It is no longer difficult at the present day to gain admission: I was able to enter the interior of the sanctuary twice (in 1927 and 1928).

The modern mosque of Jonah stands on a wide terrace which affords a fine view of Mōṣul. The upper chamber of the interior, which is alone accessible, contains in the centre of the front part of it the cenotaph covered with embroideries above which hangs the saw of a sword-fish (an alleged relic of Jonah's whale). The furnishing of the interior, apart from a few old Persian carpets, is modern. The Arabic inscriptions on the walls, which record renovations, are also fairly modern. The mosque has been repeatedly restored and redecorated in the last few hundred years. Rebuilding and additions have also accounted for many alterations. Nevertheless one can clearly see in the interior that the plan differs from that of the normal type of mosque and that the old tradition was right in saying that the mosque was originally a Christian church. Only Moltke seems to have been admitted to the lower chamber; unfortunately he does not give a detailed description but contents himself by saying that it represents "the remains of an old Christian church" (H. v. Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1877, p. 240). Presumably the lower chamber contained the tombs

of the two Nestorian saints above mentioned, Mār Yōnan and Mār Yeshū'zēkā, as well as that of the Catholikos Henanyeshū' I. The sarcophagus which is now described as the cenotaph of Jonah is perhaps that of one of these three (Yōnan?). Brief descriptions of the interior of the mosque are given by Badger, *op. cit.*; Layard, *Discoveries*, p. 596 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

The dome of the mosque which Timūr renewed in 1404, was probably that which collapsed in 1667 after a severe earthquake (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, xi. 187). At the present day the roof is a tent-shaped one characteristic of mosques of the Mōṣul area. The old green minaret of the sanctuary fell down during the World War and was replaced by a new one.

Alongside of this sanctuary of Jonah, the mediæval Arab sources always mention the "well of Jonah" ('Ain Yūnus) a mile away which the pilgrims visited in order to purify themselves in its waters, for it was considered to have healing powers since Jonah, as the Muslim legend tells, had commanded the people of Niniveh to purify themselves in it first and then to go to the hill on which the mosque of Jonah now stands and pray to God there (cf. Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*; Shābushtī, *op. cit.* = Yāḳūt, ii. 710; Ibn D̲jubair, *op. cit.* and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*). This spring, which is a sulphurous thermal one, still exists (cf. Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldaea*, London 1838, p. 258—259); it lies outside the east wall of the ruined city midway between the two canals already mentioned. It is a natural cave to which one descends a few steps. The water comes out drop by drop hence the modern name of the spring: *Damlamaḍja* from the Turkish *d(ī)l(a)mlamaḍ* = "to drip" (on the spring: cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 26—27, 34, 41—42; Layard, *Discoveries*, p. 662; Jones, in *J.R.A.S.*, xv. 320, 358 = *Selections*, p. 426, 461; Thompson and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 21). The site of Damlamaḍja is still regarded as sacred by the people around; just as in Rich's day one can still see pieces of clothing and nails fixed there as votive offerings. Another well the *Bēr al-Benāt* = "the daughters' spring" below the village of Nebī Yūnis near the mouth of the Khōser (see Jones, map: *Vestiges* etc., sheet 1) is, like the well of Jonah, thought to be frequented by *djinn* at night; cf. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, i. 183—184.

In this connection it may further be mentioned that according to the mediæval Muḥammadan legend, Jonah was cast up by the whale at the town of Balad on the Tigris, the modern ruined site of Eski Mōṣul (about 25 miles to the N. W. of Mōṣul). There a mosque called after the prophet was built, which is also revered as the place where God, according to the *Kur'ān* (Sūra xxxvii. 146), made the gourd (*yaḳtīn*) grow up over him. According to Yāḳūt (iv. 325, 14), the miraculous *yaḳtīn* bush was preserved at a later date in the mosque of Kūfa. Cf. on the associations of Jonah with Balad: al-Muḥaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 9; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 95; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Paris), p. 285 and cf. so early as the Geography of Ps. Moses Xorenac'i (see Marquart, *Ērānshahr* = *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., iii, N<sup>o</sup>. 2, p. 142). As Yāḳūt (i. 715, 18) claims to know definitely, Jonah was swallowed by the whale in Niniveh and vomited up on land at Balad. To this day there is shown in Nebī

Yūnis a slab of granite which is regarded as bringing good fortune, upon which Jonah was thrown when the whale vomited him out (cf. Croupperie in Hyvernat, *op. cit.*, p. 389 or Müller-Simonis, *op. cit.*, p. 271). It may be added that, according to popular belief in Mōsul, the larger mound of Ninive, Koyundjik, contains the burial place of Jonah's whale and the smaller that of the prophet (cf. Thompson, in the *Proceed. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxvii. 83). Finally it may be recalled that the place where the fish vomited out Jonah is also located elsewhere, on the shore of the Mediterranean.

As to the excavations conducted in the ruins of Ninive and the finds made there, the reader may be referred to the *Bibliography* below.

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— As regards the cartography of the ruins of Ninive, the oldest plan (of 1766) is the primitive "plan of the town of Mosul" in Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 360, pl. xlv. The first good plan was given by Cl. Rich in 1820; see his *Narrative*, ii. 28—29 (this is also reproduced in Tuch, *op. cit.*). In 1852 Fr. Jones made a trigono-



metrical survey of the region of Niniveh for the Indian government. The result of this thorough piece of work is the large map which the Royal Asiatic Society published London in 1855 under the title *Vestiges of Assyria* in three sheets (for Niniveh see sheet 1. The commentary to this map is the article published by Jones in the *J.R.A.S.*, xv.; see *Bibl.*). The plan in Buka (*op. cit.*) is based on that of Jones. We may also mention the smaller plan of the ruins by G. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 86) of the years 1873—1874 also reproduced by Hilprecht, *Explorations*, p. 195 = *Die Ausgrabungen* etc., p. 188. We may further note the maps of "Mōsul and district" published by Černik (*op. cit.*, plate 2) in 1873 on a scale of 1:60,000, and the larger on a scale of 1:20,000 prepared by Herzfeld in 1917; the latter was published by the Cartographical Section of the German General Staff. The most recent plan of Niniveh is that in Thompson and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, plan 1; *ibid.*, plan 2 is devoted specially to the Koyundjik mound. So far as I know there is no plan of Nebī Yūnis.

2. Place in the 'Irāk, after which a district (*nāhiya*) was named, to which Kerbelā' (Meshhed 'Alī; q. v.) belonged (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 470). Ninawā is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muslim wars of the first three centuries of the Hījra: e.g. in connection with the tragedy of Kerbelā' of 61 A.H. (680) when Ḥusain met his death (Ṭabarī, Leiden, ii. 287, 307, 309), in 122 (739) in connection with the fighting with the 'Alid Zaid b. 'Alī (q. v. and Ṭabarī, ii. 1710), in the account of the subjection of a later 'Alid rebel in 251 (865) (Ṭabarī, iii. 1620, 1623; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 110), and lastly in the history of the Ḳarṣāṭian troubles in 287 (900) (Ṭabarī, iii. 2190). Ninawā (Ninā, Ni-na-a) is mentioned in old Babylonian inscriptions as a place not very far from Babylon (cf. e.g. *Z. A.*, xv. 217). It is not to be confused with a place of the same name mentioned in old Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions as a suburb or quarter of the South Babylonian Lagash (the modern ruins of Telloh [q. v.]). On the Nineveh in Babylonia of the cuneiform inscriptions see Hommel, *Grundriss der Gesch. u. Geogr. des alten Orients*, Munich 1904—1926, p. 392—393 and *passim* (consult the Index, p. 1083, s. v. Ni-nā-a or Ninua), but Hommel's suggestion of an eastern Tigris Ninua in addition to the Babylonian one cannot be accepted. It is possible that the reference in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 121<sup>b</sup>; *Ta'anit*, 14<sup>b</sup>) to ■ Niniveh (see A. Berliner, *Beitr. zur Geogr. und Ethnogr. Babylonians in Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1883, p. 53) is not to the Assyrian one, then in ruins, but to the Babylonian Niniveh. According to A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 43, 44, the site of Ninawā is marked by the mound of ruins called Ishān Nainwa, below the modern town of Musaiyib, 2 miles east of the Euphrates and about 20 N.E. of Kerbelā', in 32° 45' N. Lat. (see Musil's map).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(M. STRECK)

AL-NUKKĀR (AL-NAKKĀRA, AL-NAKKĀRIYA) "deniers": one of the main branches of the Khārīdjī sect of the Ibādīya [q. v.; cf. also the article ABĀPIS]. The existence of this sect has already been proved by E. Masqueray, A. de C. Motylinski and R. Strothmann; cf. however the

opinion of G. Levi Della Vida, according to whom al-Nukkār is simply "an insulting epithet applied to Khārīdjīs in general" [cf. the article SUFRĪYA]. The name al-Nukkār comes from the fact that the members of this sect refused to recognise the second Ibādī imām of Tāhert, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam [q. v.]. The other names given to this sect are: 1. *al-Yazīdiyya*, from the name of the chief theologian of the sect 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī al-Ibādī (cf. below: to be distinguished from another Ibādī sect which bears the same name and was founded by a certain Yazīd b. Anisa; cf. ii., p. 907<sup>a</sup>). 2. *al-Sha'biya*; we believe this name should be derived from that of Shu'aib b. al-Mu'arrif [see below]. 3. *al-Mulhida* (to be distinguished from another Muslim sect of this name = *al-Bāṭiniya*). 4. *al-Nukkāth* (*al-Nakkāth*); the *nisba* from this name is *al-Nakithi*.

5. *al-Nadjiwiya* (and not النجدية as Strothmann writes it [*Berber und Ibāditen*, p. 274, n. 4]). 6. *Mistāwa*; this last name, which seems to be Berber (perhaps to be connected with the Berber tribe of *Meztaoua*, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 182) was with al-Nukkār the most used.

The Ibādī historical tradition of North Africa, fixed towards the end of the v<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century by Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjānī [q. v.], places the first appearance of the Nukkār sect at the time of the election of 'Abd al-Wahhāb (in 168 A.H. according to the author of *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, p. 283), and names as the founder of the sect Abū Ḳudāma Yazīd b. Fendīn al-Ifrenī, who was later joined by a learned dissenting Ibādī from Cairo, Shu'aib b. al-Mu'arrif. According to this tradition, the origins of the Nakkārī sect are closely connected with the Maghrib. On the other hand from information supplied by the Ibādī theological works, one may judge that there were other founders of the Nakkārī sect in addition to Ibn Fendīn and Shu'aib. They are mentioned in a *risāla* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Khalīfa al-Māriḡnī (an Ibādī author of North Africa of this name was living in the vi<sup>th</sup> [xi<sup>th</sup>] century, cf. T. Lewicki, *Quelques textes inédits en vieux berbère*, in *R.E.I.*, 1934, p. 278), dealing with the different Muslim sects (of which there is a manuscript in the library of the university of Lwów [Poland]: N<sup>o</sup>. 1088 II in the collection of mss.): 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū 'l-Muwarriḡ, 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-Sadūsī, and Ḥātim b. Maṣūr (fol. 1 v.). According to passages in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Shammākhi and Abū Zakariyā's book, one can distinguish among these individuals the representatives of three diverse tendencies in the Ibādīya or rather of three separate schisms. The synthesis of these different ideas seems to have been the work of Shu'aib after the death of Ibn Fendīn (E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1873, p. 74—75). The earliest was the schism of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū 'l-Muwarriḡ, Ḥātim b. Maṣūr and Shu'aib, to which the Nakkārī sects owes its legal principles. The date of the secession of this group is perhaps rather earlier than the revolt of Ibn Fendīn: according to the Ibādī books, they detached themselves from the Ibādīya in the time of Abū 'Ubaida Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī, the Ibādī imām of Baṣra who lived in the first half

of the second (eighth) century (cf. T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibādite*, in *R.E.I.*, 1934, p. 72). It should be noted that two doctors of this group, *Shu'aib* and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, also fought against the Qadari tendencies in the Ibādīya represented by Ḥamza al-Kūfī and 'Atīya; it is even said in connection with *Shu'aib* that he had sympathies with the *Djabābira* or *Djabariya* [q. v.]. Almost contemporary with the schism of *Shu'aib* and his companions seems to have been that of 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, author of a theological system, later adopted by the Nakkārīs, and a traditionalist highly esteemed by the Ibādīs (cf. T. Lewicki, *Une chronique*, p. 70). These two Ibādī schools were absorbed after 168 A.H. by that of Ibn Fendīn.

As to the latter, we know that he was one of the members of *al-shūrā*, the council constituted by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam following the example of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and composed of six men who after the death of 'Abd al-Rahmān were to choose the future imām. Ibn Fendīn had facilitated the election of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, by conducting active propaganda in his favour among the Berbers, but afterwards he demanded of the new imām the adoption of two conditions (*shart*), quite in keeping no doubt with the Berber spirit of the Ibādīs of the Maghrib but quite foreign to the principles of Ibādī teaching: firstly that he should only act in concert with a regular *ajamā'a* and secondly that he should resign if he found any one more worthy (*afḍal*) than himself. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, supported by the Ibādī doctors of the east whom he consulted, opposed the views of Ibn Fendīn, who in his turn was supported by *Shu'aib*, who came with his followers to Tāhert to join the malcontents. The "Deniers" attacked the partisans of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, known as al-Wahbiya (on this name see Strothmann, *Berber* etc., p. 274, n. 4). The sources mention two great battles, in which Ibn Fendīn was killed and 'Abd al-Wahhāb won the day. The Nakkārīs withdrew, probably to the east of Barbary. Among the fugitives was *Shu'aib* who settled in Tripolitania. It was at this period that the complete rupture occurred between the Nukkār and the Wahbī section of the Ibādīya, followed immediately by a *barā'a* or excommunication of *Shu'aib* and his followers by the Wahbī doctors.

Soon the Nakkārī propaganda became very active, but it was not till the end of the third (ninth) century, after the fall of the imāmate of Tāhert (in 296 = 908—909) and the establishment of the dynasty of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, that the Nukkār acquired a preponderance among the Ibādīs of North Africa. The whole of the south of Tunisia and Algeria, from the *Djabal Nefūsa* to Tāhert, became Nakkārī. The historians speak of a vigorous propaganda by the Nukkār, the centres of which were, in addition to Tripolitania, the *Djabal Awrās* and the island of *Djarba*. As a result of this propaganda several Wahbī-Ibādī districts were converted to the new sect. The Nakkārīs organised an imāmate separate from that of Tāhert. We know the name of a Nakkārī imām who lived towards the end of the third (ninth) century: Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-A'mā. It was his disciple Abū Yazīd Mukhlad b. Kidād [q. v.] who in the first half of the fourth (tenth) century was the leader of a formidable Nakkārī rising in the Maghrib, which almost succeeded in its endeavour

to destroy the Fāṭimid state. Abū Yazīd was elected by the Nukkār assembled in the *Djabal Awrās* as "the *shāikh* of the true believers", Abū 'Ammār giving place to him (in keeping with the teaching on *afḍal*). He tried to put into practice the teachings of Ibn Fendīn; he formed a council of twelve members called *'azzāba* who were to rule, in conjunction with him, the Nakkārī imāmate. But later he associated himself with the Khārījī extremists by authorising *isti'rād* or religious murder on the model of the Azrakīs [q. v.].

After the defeat and death of Abū Yazīd, the influence of the Nukkār diminished and several tribes went back to Wahbism. Nevertheless the Nakkārīs again took part in the general rising of the Wahhābīs against the Fāṭimids in 358 (968—969), and later in 431 (1039—1040) we find them mentioned in connection with a great rising of this sect in the island of *Djarba*. In the viith—viiiith (xiiith—xivth) centuries they are again mentioned in the district of Yefren to the east of *Djabal Nafūsa*, in the island of *Djarba*, among the Banū Warghamma in southern Tunisia, and in the oases of Bilād al-Djarid, Righ and Wārdjīlān. Remnants of the Nakkārī sect have survived to the present day and, according to A. de C. Motylinski, al-Nukkār may be found in al-Djarba and in Zawāgha.

Thanks to the exposition given by Abū 'Amr, we are acquainted with the main principles which separated the Nukkār from Wahbī-Ibādīs. They number seven. Besides the doctrine regarding *shart*, mentioned above, a fundamental tenet of the Nukkār was their thesis that the names of God are created. Another Nakkārī tenet concerns the relations of man and woman. For other details of their teaching cf. al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, Cairo 1302, ii. 171—172.

Several Wahbī-Ibādī theologians have refuted the Nakkārī teachings in their works, some of them quite early. For example al-Barrādī mentions the refutations of the thesis of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and *Shu'aib* by a Wahbī doctor of the iith (viiiith) century named Abū 'Amr al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb (*Kitāb al-Djawāhir*, p. 172) and al-Wisyanī mentions a scholar of Sāhil in Tunisia named Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid who lived earlier than the vth (xiith) century and refuted the Nakkārī doctrines in his various works.

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(TADEUSZ LEWICKI)

## P

**PĀKISTĀN** means the land of the Pāks. The word *Pāk* — pure, clean — is not adequately translatable into English. It stands for all that is noble and sacred in life for a Muslim. The name Pākistān, which has come to be applied — though not officially — to the five Muslim Provinces in the North-West of the present-day India, is composed of letters taken from the names of its components Panjāb, North-West Frontier (of which the inhabitants are mainly Afghān), Kashmīr, Sindh, and Balūchistān. These territories were christened Pākistān by C. Raḥmat 'Alī, founder of the Pākistān National Movement, in 1933, with a view to preserving their historical, national, and cultural entity as distinct from Hindūstān proper.

The Movement is strongly opposed to the Indian Federation and, owing to the fear of being merged in, and submerged by, the overwhelming numbers of Hindūs (the proportion being 4 Hindūs to one Muslim), it resists amalgamation with Hindūstān which it considers fatal to the future of the Muslims as an independent nation in the predominantly Muslim territories of Pākistān. The Pākistānis maintain that the Hindū-Muslim problem in the India of to-day is basically inter-national rather than inter-communal; and that it will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone. They claim that only the acceptance by Hindūstān and Great Britain of the demand of Pākistān for the recognition of her right to national existence under her own national government will end the age-old Hindū-Muslim conflict.

The Pākistān national Movement aims at the reintegration of the Indian Muslims as a nation in Pākistān possessing equal status with Hindūstān, as also with other civilized peoples in the League of Nations. The supporters of the Movement have been carrying on intensive propaganda in support of their demand for national justice and honour in Asia, Europe, and America. For the first time since the fall of the Mughal Empire in India, the Movement has reawakened the Muslims in the bi-national sub-continent of India to a sense of their national future; and its religious and patriotic character has deeply attracted the younger generation to its ideals. It is a Movement which may, if successful, exercise a profound influence not only on Pākistān and Hindūstān but, possibly, throughout Asia.

The Pākistān Movement has certainly not escaped the Hindū leaders who aim at an independent India under the rule of the Congress and, in order to obtain aid from the British Government, they have pointed out that the Movement constitutes not only a grave danger to the Hindūs in the Nord-Western Provinces of India of to-day, but also to the British Government (*Lahore Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1935 and *Lahore Eastern Times*, June 10, 1934). Also the English Press of India and England forsee danger as expressed in the *Delhi Statesman*, August 3, 1933; August 6, 1933; John Coatman, *Magna Britannia*, 1936, p. 321—323; *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 301, N<sup>o</sup>. 90, p. 1033; Duchess of Atholl, *The Main Facts of the Indian Problem*, 1933, p. 25—26; *Morning Post*, London, February 8, 1935.

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(F. KRENKOW)

**PATRONA.** [See RIVĀLA, b, 3.]

**PERĪM**, an island at the entrance to the Red Sea in 12° 40' 30" N. Lat., 41° 3' E. Long. called Māyūn by the Arabs, an English possession. The island, which belongs to 'Aden, is 96 miles west of 'Aden and two miles from the Arabian coast. The narrow strait which separates it from the mainland of Arabia is called Bāb el-Manhalī. Perim therefore commands the exit from the Red Sea, but is in turn commanded by the Djebel Manhalī at the port of Shēkh Sa'īd, if this — as was done by the Turks in the World War — should be fortified. It is 4 miles long and 1½ broad, is horseshoe-shaped and has an area of about five square miles; on the south side between cape Albert and South Point are two harbours; the larger (Brown Bay), from 1½ to 1½ mile broad, offers a secure anchorage with a depth of 3 to 8 fathoms. At the east end of the island is the lighthouse built by the English in 1861. It is built of the volcanic rock which lies at the shallow exit to the Red Sea for the most part covered by a volcanic stratum on which rests a blackish very hard covering of lava. Some slight elevations, the highest being of about 250 feet, slope gently towards the coast. It has very little humus and no fresh water (which has to be brought from 'Aden) so that conditions for intensive cultivation and settlement are quite lacking. As regards climate, Perim shows a transition between western and southern Tihāma with maximum tem-

peratures which are at their highest average more than that of western Tihāma (July 37.8° C.). The temperature rises with the approach of summer, then remains fairly steady from July to September without any one month being markedly hotter. The rainfalls are dependent on the monsoons; heavy downpours accompanied by thunderstorms come at the end of April. At the present day Perim is a coaling and provisioning station of importance for steamships in the Red Sea and a station of the Eastern Telegraph Company, connected by cable with 'Aden, *Shēkh* Sa'id and el-Hūdeida.

To the ancient geographers Perim was known as *Διοδώρον νῆσος* (*Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 25); Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi. 175, calls it the island of Adanu. The Portuguese knew it as Meho; Albuquerque called it Veracruz in 1513. As a bare island it was probably never of much importance, except perhaps for pirates who raided the Red Sea and Indian Ocean from here, but afterwards on account of the difficulty of getting supplies exchanged it for St. Marie on the coast of Madagascar. During the French expedition against Egypt (1799–1801) the East India Company temporarily occupied Perim to prevent the French coming this way to India, as Napoleon planned, and stationed a garrison there. This was withdrawn when it was seen that the fire of the batteries could not prevent ships going along the African coast. England again occupied Perim in 1857, fortified the island and erected barracks on Brown Bay.

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**PHILIPPINE ISLANDS**, a group of islands between 4° and 21° N. Lat. and 117° and 127° East Long. (Greenwich), consisting of 2,441 islands of which Luzon and Mindanao are the largest and 2,000 are less than a square kilometre in area. The population numbering about 12,000,000 speak over 50 Indonesian dialects of which the Tagalog spoken in the capital Manila and neighbourhood is the most important. In the Christian areas the prominent families speak Spanish while at the present day the youth is taught English in the schools. The greater part of the population under Spanish influence had been converted to Christianity before 1600; there are now also about 1,100,000 non-Christians of whom the smaller half are Muslims and the remainder heathen. The Muslims, to whom we shall confine ourselves here, have since the Spanish conquest lived only on the islands belonging to Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. According to tradition however, in the first half of the xvth century a king named

Sulaimān reigned over the Tagalog so that by this time the Muslims had already penetrated to Luzon. Islām was propagated in the Philippines from Sumatra and Malacca; it shows an admixture of pagan and to some extent Hindu elements although the popular Muḥammadan books on law and doctrine are not less known than in Sumatra and family life in general follows Muḥammadan usages, which is easily explained from the isolation of the Muḥammadan area. The details of the religious life of this region have so far hardly been investigated. The literature seems to consist mainly of lawbooks and genealogical works in Sulu and Magindanao and to be written in Malay. A number of *datu* (chiefs) and sultāns' families claim to be descended from a Menangkabauan prince or even from Iskandar Dhu 'l-Karnain [q. v.] who is also not unknown as an ancestor in Sumatra.

Of the present Muḥammadan areas in the Philippines the Sulu Archipelago has the oldest history. Mindanao has always been more primitive. Chinese records as early as 1349 mention the pearl-fisheries of the Sulu islands as an important industry: in 1417, 1420 and 1424, Sulu embassies are said to have come to the Chinese emperor and for the period from 1450 to 1480 trading relations between Sulu and Java are mentioned. According to — probably on the whole reliable — tradition, a certain Abū Bakr from Djohor founded in 1475 a Muḥammadan dynasty in the Sulu islands, and when in 1575 the Spaniards conquered the Philippines, Islām was so very strongly established in the south that there could be no possibility of destroying it. From 1578, when the Spaniards for the first time sent a fleet of warships to the Sulu islands under Rodriguez de Figueroa, an almost uninterrupted war was waged between them and the Moros, as they called the Muslims after the custom of their country, and with such bitterness and cruelty as had never been known in any other conflict between Muslim and Christian. The Sulunese, born seamen, who were able to take full advantage of the geographical position of their island territory, and were able to arm themselves very well from the profits of their pearl-fisheries, proved themselves adepts at piracy and slave-hunting; not only in the other Philippine islands but even among the people of the Dutch territories in the south and European seafarers they had an exceedingly evil reputation. In the time of Sulṭān 'Ālim al-Dīn I (1737–1773) who permitted Roman Catholic missionaries to preach, an improvement appeared to set in, but on account of difficulties with his *datu*s he had to escape to Manila, was baptised (1750) and was to be confirmed by the Spaniards as Catholic king of the Sulu islands. Owing to a misunderstanding, however, the Spaniards became suspicious: 'Ālim al-Dīn was thrown into prison and only liberated in 1763, when the English took Manila, and was enabled with their assistance to return to his kingdom where the energetic *datu* Bantilan had in the meanwhile resumed the war on the Spaniards with the greatest vigour. It lasted till the second half of the xixth century when the steamship finally enabled the Spaniards to establish a supremacy. In 1848 Claveria won the victory of Balangini, in 1851 Urbiztondo laid waste the capital of Sulu, Jolo, between 1860 and 1870 piracy was wiped out and Mindanao occupied, and in 1876, Jolo. In 1878 the sultān had to agree to a protectorate which left him his



position in the interior but at the same time made him a vassal of the Spanish king, to whom he had to cede his sovereignty. It was however only the U. S. A. that succeeded in reconciling the people to a foreign tutelage when, on the basis of the agreement of 1878, by the treaty of Paris of 1898 the Sulu Archipelago was ceded along with the Philippines; in May 1898 they took over the military garrisoning of the Sulu Archipelago and on August 20, 1899 concluded with the sultān the Bates agreement in which his relations with the new power were laid down. Although the Jones Act of 1916 maintained a special administration under the "Bureau of non-Christian tribes" for the Muḥammadan territories, later divided into the provinces of Agusan, Surigao, Davao, Bukidnon,

Cotabato, Misamis, Lanao, Zamboanga — these together being Mindanao — and Sulu province, in recent decades, mainly as a result of the educational policy, considerable steps have been taken to make the position of the Muḥammadan territories similar to that of other parts of the Philippines. In general the Muslims are not in favour of the declaration of the independence of the Philippines from which they fear a new opposition between the Christian north and their region. In how far the new law of independence has removed or can remove this fear, I do not know.

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## R

**RABĪʿA and MUḌAR**, the two largest and most powerful combinations of tribes in ancient Northern Arabia.

The name Rabīʿa is a very frequent one in the nomenclature of the Arab tribes. More important tribes of this name within the MuḌar group are the Rabīʿa b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaṣaʿa, from which came the Kaʿb, Kilāb and Kulaib, then the Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, Rabīʿa b. Kilāb, Rabīʿa b. al-Aḍbaṭ and Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Djaʿfar; also the Rabīʿa b. ʿUkail and Rabīʿa b. Djaʿda; three branches of the ʿAbd Shams also bear this name. Of larger Yemen tribes may be mentioned: the Rabīʿa b. al-Khiyār, Rabīʿa b. Djarwal and Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 377 sq.). (Banū) Rabīʿa simply or Banū Abi Rabīʿa is a clan of the Shaibān (*ʿIqd*, iii. 60, 27 sq., 65, 25 sq.). The name Rabīʿa al-kubrā or al-wuṣṭā and al-ṣuḡhrā is given to three clans of the Tamīm: the Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Zaid Manāt also called *Rabīʿat al-Djīʿ* "Hunger-Rabīʿa", the Rabīʿa b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik b. Zaid Manāt and Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Ḥanzala; the plural al-Rabāʿiʿ includes all these (*L. A.*, ix. 469, 9 sqq.; *ʿIqd*, ii. 47, 26, 43, 1). — In contrast to Rabīʿa the name MuḌar hardly occurs elsewhere (perhaps only as a variant of Maṭar b. Sharik: *ʿIqd*, iii. 74, 2; vgl. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.* p. 290).

Genealogies. According to the genealogists, the common ancestor of the greatest part of the North Arabian tribes Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān [q. v.] by his wife Sawda bint ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān had two sons MuḌar and Iyād [q. v.] and by Djādāla bint Wāʿlān of the pre-Arab family of the Djurhum the sons Rabīʿa and Anmār (Ṭabarī, i. 1108; al-Batanūnī [see *Bibl.*], p. 25 has also Kuḍāʿa; but cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 137 sq.). In addition to the well-known story of the division of their father's inheritance at which MuḌar received the epithet *al-ḥamrāʿ* (on account of the red tent: Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i. 268; cf. however, *L. A.*, vii. 26, 17) and Rabīʿa the name *Rabīʿat al-Faras* ("Rabīʿa with the horse") it is also related that Rabīʿa was buried alongside of Nizār; MuḌar however who settled in Mecca was buried in al-Rawḥā, two

days' journey from Medīna, where his grave is said to have been a place of pilgrimage (al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrikh al-Khamis*, Cairo 1283, i. 148, 6; al-Ḥalabī, *Sira*, Cairo 1292, i. 21, 17).

According to the genealogical plan, MuḌar had two sons: al-Yās (or Ilyās, Alyās) and ʿAilān al-Nās, the ancestor of large and famous tribes [see KAIS-ʿAILĀN; there also the question of the descent of the MuḌar is discussed]. Al-Yās had three sons by his wife Lailā bint Ḥulwān known as *Khindif* (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 133) from whom her descendants are called Banū *Khindif*: Mudrika, Ṭābikhā and Kamaʿa (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-ʿInbāh*, p. 72 sqq.). The two first in turn became the ancestors of large and important tribes: Mudrika's sons were Hudḥail [q. v.] and *Khuzaima*; the latter again is the ancestor of the Asad [q. v.] and Kināna [q. v.], from whom the *Quraish* [q. v.] are descended amongst others. Udd b. Ṭābikhā had as sons Dabba [q. v.], ʿAbd Manāt, ʿAmr, whose descendants are known as *Muzaina* from the name of his wife, Murr and *Humais*. Tamīm [q. v.] b. Murr is again the ancestor of one of the largest Arab tribes.

The sons of Rabīʿat al-Faras were Aklub, Dubaiʿa and Asad; the latter's sons were ʿAmira, ʿAnaza [q. v.] and Djādila, to whom the ʿAbd al-Kais [q. v.], al-Namir and Wāʿil b. Qasiṭ trace their descent. Wāʿil was the ancestor of two of the most powerful Arab tribes: Bakr [q. v.] and Taghlib [q. v.]. From Bakr are descended the tribes of Ḥanīfa [q. v.], Shaibān, Dhuhīl, Kais b. Thaʿlaba and others (see Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāḥ*, p. 189—216).

From the introduction to Bakr's *Muʿdjam* we get the following idea of the dwelling-places of the two tribes: At the partition of Arabia among the descendants of Maʿadd, the MuḌar received the frontiers of the sacred territory as far as al-Sarawāt and the land on this side of al-Ḡhawr with the adjoining territory; the Rabīʿa received the slopes of the hills of Ḡhamr Dhī Kinda and the central part of Dhāt ʿIrḳ with the adjoining parts of al-Nadjd as far as al-Ḡhawr in al-Tihāma. Both tribes increased their lands by driving the other sons of Maʿadd from Mecca and

the district. After the withdrawal of the 'Abd al-Ḳais to Bahrain a number of Rabi'ā tribes occupied the highlands of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz and the frontiers of Tihāma where al-Dhanā'ib, Wāridāt, al-Aḥaṣṣ, Shubaiḥ, Baṭn al-Djarib und al-Taghāmān were their settlements. As a result of a war the various clans separated and, pushing forward, for the most part reached Mesopotamia where they occupied the lands which later bore their names: Diyār Rabi'ā and Diyār Bakr [q.v.] (Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze*, p. 107, 136 sq., 161 sqq., 168; Blau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. [1869], p. 579 sq.).

After the withdrawal of the Rabi'ā from the Tihāma the Muḍar remained in their settlements until the Ḳais defeated by the Ḳhindif advanced into the lands of Nadjd. Dissensions among the Ḳhindif caused the Ṭābikhā to migrate to Nadjd, Ḥidjāz and adjoining territories. Clans of the Ṭābikhā went as far as Yamāma, Hadjar, Yabrīn and 'Omān; some groups settled between Bahrain and Baṣra. Several Mudrika tribes however remained in the Tihāma like the descendants of Naḍr b. Kināna in the vicinity of Mecca (Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze*, p. 169 sqq.). The Muḍar who migrated to Mesopotamia gave their name to Diyār Muḍar which Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 577 recognises in the Arab tribe of the *Mawṣawirai* mentioned there in the fourth century A. D.

History. Down to the overthrow of the Ḥimyar kingdom by the Abyssinians the Rabi'ā and Muḍar were under the suzerainty of Yaman, which they were able several times to cast off when they all obeyed one ruler. Of battles in these wars there are recorded al-Baidā', al-Sullān and Ḳhazāz(a) in which the Ma'addi tribes were victorious (Reiske, *Primae lineae hist. regn. arab.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 180 sq.; Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, i. 257; Yāqūt, ii. 432 sqq.; iii. 114 sq.). They belonged for a time to the kingdom of the Kinda [q.v.] the rulers of which bore the title king of the Ma'add (or Muḍar) and Rabi'ā (A. Sprenger, *Geogr.*, p. 216). Like the Bakr and Taghlib, the rest of the Rabi'ā and Muḍar recognised the Kindite al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Maḳṣūr who led them successfully against the Ghassānid and Lakhmid kings but lost his conquests again (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahāni, ed. Gottwaldt, i. 140). When after his death the kingdom of Dhū Nuwās collapsed under the Abyssinians and the Kindis no longer recognised the suzerainty of Yemen, the Basūs war [q.v.] broke out between the Bakr and the Taghlib. The "first day of al-Kulāb" or "day of Kulāb of the Rabi'ā" so-called because both tribes were descended from Rabi'ā b. Nizār, ended in favour of the Taghlib and the Bakr turned to the king of Ḥira al-Mundhir III, who now extended his rule over the Rabi'ā and Muḍar and other Central Arabian tribes (Ya'qūbi, *op. cit.*; Yāqūt, iv. 294 sq.). To this period belongs the irruption into Mesopotamia of the Taghlib who were probably the first of the Rabi'ā to settle there; they were followed by the Banū Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ and other Rabi'ā tribes. The hostilities between the Taghlib and Bakr did not cease and in the battle of Dhū Ḳar [q.v.] they were on opposite sides. The victory of the Bakr, celebrated as a great success of the Rabi'ā over the Persians (cf. Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, p. 310 sqq.; an earlier encounter: Yāqūt, ii. 735 sqq.), liberated the Central Arabian tribes from foreign rule and paved the way for Islām.

Legend records very old connections of the

Muḍar with the Meccan sanctuary; the Djurhum [q.v.], the lords of Tihāma and guardians of the Ka'ba, were driven out of Mecca by the Iyād [q.v.] and Muḍar. In the fight for the possession of the sanctuary the Muḍar were victorious but had to hand over the administration of the Ka'ba and of Mecca to the Ḳhuzā'a [q.v.] so that only three purely religious offices were left to them connected with the pilgrimage (the *idjāza* of 'Arafāt, the *ifāda* of Mudalifa and the *idjāza* of Minā) and these remained with Muḍar families also after the redistribution by Ḳuṣaiy [q.v.] (Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 333, 335; Ya'qūbi, *op. cit.*, i. 274). The influential office of time-reckoner also fell to a Muḍari under the Kinda (Sprenger, *Geogr.*, p. 225). While Christianity was widespread among the Rabi'ā in Muḥammad's time, the Muḍar remained more faithful to the old pagan ways and were less susceptible to Aramaic influence than the tribes on the frontier ("this perhaps partly explains their estrangement from the Rabi'ā": Wellhausen, *Reste*<sup>2</sup>, p. 231). Radjab was the sacred month of the Muḍar (hence Radjab Muḍar; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 97; a strange explanation of this from Ibn al-Mudjāwir in A. Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, iii. 301), Ramaḍān of the Rabi'ā (cf. Dimishḳi, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, transl. Mehren, p. 403). From their practices during *iḥrām* all the Rabi'ā and many groups of the Muḍar including the Ribāb league belonged to the *Ḥilla* (Ya'qūbi, *op. cit.*, i. 298). In Dimashḳi, *op. cit.*, p. 385 we find the peculiar view that the Copts are descended from Rabi'ā "or" Taghlib who had migrated into Egypt in search of food.

The Muzaina boast of being the first Muḍar tribe to pay homage to the Prophet (as early as 5 A. H. it is said; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 201). In 8 A. H. Ḳhalīd b. al-Walid destroyed the idol 'Uzzā in Nakhla, which was revered by the Ḳuraish, Kināna and "all the Muḍar" (Tabarī, i. 1648). In the "year of the Deputations" (9 A. H.) several large clans of the Muḍar and Rabi'ā like the Tamīm, Ṭhaḳif, 'Abd al-Ḳais and Bakr b. Wā'il adopted Islām but this does not imply the submission of the whole of Central Arabia. The lament of the deputation of the 'Abd al-Ḳais to Muḥammad is significant: "between thee and us dwell Muḍar tribes and we can only come to thee in the sacred months" (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 374; cf. p. 301, note 1). In the year 11 a saying of the followers of the false prophet Musailima who belonged to the Rabi'ā, is recorded: "a deceiver of the Rabi'ā is dearer to us than a true prophet of the Muḍar" (perhaps the variant "than a deceiver of the Muḍar" is better: Tabarī, i. 1936 sq.; perhaps the earliest clearly expressed contrast between the Rabi'ā and Muḍar?). When in the same year the "Rabi'ā" in Bahrain proclaimed a king of their own, this can only refer to the tribes of Ḳais b. Ṭhalaba and 'Abd al-Ḳais (Tabarī, i. 1960; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 83 sq.). The tribes of Rabi'ā and Muḍar are from now onwards mentioned as important contingents in the Muslim armies but sometimes the large numbers given for them are doubtful (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, 12 A. H., § 188, n. 5). When al-Muthannā invaded al-Sawād in 13 A. H. he surprised the Rabi'ā and Ḳuḍā'a assembled at the Sūk al-Ḳhanāfis, who still recognised the suzerainty of the Sāsānians (Tabarī, i. 2202 sq.); five years later a considerable force was sent against al-Raḳqa, Naṣibin and the nomadic Rabi'ā



and Tanūkh (Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, ii. 2, p. 107 sq.).

It is unnecessary to follow the history of the Rabi'ā and Muḍār farther as it is clear from the above that the two names stand only for a few clans and not for the whole confederation of tribes, as the genealogists say (Rabi'ā usually means the Bakr and Taghlib or only one of them). Sometimes we even find the whole Rabi'ā group included in the Muḍār ('Ikd, ii. 39, 30) which further increases the confusion. The beginnings of the two tribes are further put at so early a date that it is difficult to decide whether they really existed as such, or like Ma'add and Nizār are only artificial conceptions. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i. 94 sq.) has shown that the antagonism between North and South Arabia had its roots in the rivalry between Kuraish and Anṣār, and he regards the early wars between Ma'add and Yemen as a later invention. "Ma'add and Muḍār", he lays down, "is primarily contrasted to the name Anṣār". When tribal antagonism became intensified by political developments and after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.] in 65 (684) the tendency to form confederacies spread ever more widely, finally the Tamīm with the Kais joined the large party of the Muḍār. On the other hand, the Azd [q. v.] joined the rest of the Yemenis among whom in Khurāsān [q. v.] were also included the Rabi'ā (Bakr); the Syrian Kuḍā'a (Kalb) also joined them (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 44 sq.). The effects of this dualism between Muḍār (Tamīm and Kais) and Yemen (Azd and Rabi'ā) which wiped out the other antagonisms and polarized the whole Arab world are presented in their main outlines in the article KAIS-ĀILĀN.

*Bibliography:* The Arabic dictionaries and genealogical handbooks: F. Wüstenfeld, *Register und Tabellen*, A—Z; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854, esp. p. 189—216; al-Kalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab*, Baghḍād 1332, p. 215—218, 340, 345 sq.; al-Suwaidī, *Savā'ik al-Dhahab fī Ma'rifat Kabā'il al-'Arab*, Bombay 1296 (lith.), p. 20 sq.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ 'alā Kabā'il al-Ruwāḥ*, Cairo 1350, p. 64, 96—100; Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, in *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, xiv. (1868—1869), p. 107, 136 sq., 161 sqq., 167 sq., 169 sq. — Tabari, Balādhuri, Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*), *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Naḳā'id (ed. Bevan), indices; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Embassy; Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, Bulāḳ 1284, ii. 298—338; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, Cairo 1316, esp. ii. 37—47, 263—267; iii. 256 sq.; al-Batānūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hijāziyya*, Cairo 1329, p. 25 sq. — A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 216, 225; do., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1865, iii., p. CXXXVIII sqq., 201, 301, 374; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1897, p. 97, 231, 245; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 46, 203, 310 sqq., 330; do., in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. (1886), p. 178; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*..., Paris 1847—1848, i. 110, 116, 185—194, 218—221, 240, 348; ii. 259—394 *passim*. — For the later period: I. Goldziher, *Muḥammadanische Studien*, Halle 1888—1890, i. 80, 83 sqq., 92—98, 180, 206, 268; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885—1887,

esp. i. 316, 346, 377, 445, 451 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*..., in *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, NS, v. (1901), p. 6, 23, 58, 83; do., *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, esp. p. 43 sqq., 122, 130 sq., 156, 163, 196, 205, 242 and chap. 8 and 9 *passim*.

(H. KINDERMANN)

**RADJAZ**, an Arabic metre. The name is said by the Arabs (see e. g. *L.A.*, vii. 218 middle and Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 135) to mean "trembling" and to have been given to the metre because it can be shortened to two double feet and thus become like a *radjzā*, i. e. a she-camel which trembles with weakness when rising up. Other Arab explanations connect the word with *radjāza* "counterpoise" (al-Suhaili on Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 171, 10: *ibid.*, ii. 58 below). Nöldeke's suggestion (*W.Z.K.M.*, x., 1896, p. 342) that *radjaz* means something like rumbling (namely of the lampoon, for which this metre was much used in olden times) seems to us preferable. Ahlwardt explains the word somewhat differently, namely as jerky utterance ("ruckweise Äusserung"), in the preface to his edition of the *Diwāns* of the *radjaz* poets al-'Adjdjādī and al-Zafayān (Berlin 1903), p. xxxvi., below.

Origin and formal development. The Arabs derive the *radjaz* (in connection with al-Khalil's circle theory; see 'ARŪḌ) from *haradj* [q. v.], give it the seventh place in the series of classical metres and regard as its constituent element the double foot *mustaf'ilun*, i. e. a diiambus, the first syllable of which (as a rule at least) is lengthened. The latter opinion has been confirmed by modern research. R. Geyer in the introduction to his *Altarabische Diiamben* (p. 7—10) has shown from statistics that this form of the diiambus (— — —) is by far the most frequent in the *radjaz* poems, although at the same time (a fact of which the Arabs were quite aware) — — —, — — — and even — — — also occur<sup>1</sup>). On which of the four syllables the stress falls, the Arabs have unfortunately never made clear, as indeed the conceptions of "tone" and "stress" were unfamiliar to them in prosody as in grammar. According to M. Hartmann, *Metrum und Rhythmus*, p. 22, the main stress (Hartmann calls it "Hauptton") falls on the last, the secondary on the penultimate long syllable.

In any case, this *mustaf'ilun* (or one of its representatives) must be repeated according to the Arabs six times to give the original form of the *radjaz* line. Whether they are right is very doubtful. In the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām we find, in the text at least, no occurrence of the *radjaz* acatalectic hexameter, in that of al-Buḥturi one only (ed. Cheikho, fragment N<sup>o</sup>. 998 by Ka'nab b. Ḍamra al-Ghatafānī<sup>2</sup>). The examples of *radjaz* hexameters in the "Diwāns of the six ancient Arabic Poets" are either catalectic like the fragment ascribed to Tarafa, N<sup>o</sup>. 4 (p. 184 of Ahlwardt's edition) and Imru' al-Kais, poem

1) Such four-syllabled double feet are meant below whenever there is a reference to the "feet" of the *radjaz*.

2) F. Krenkow has examined the vocabulary of this poet (so far as the apparently unique surviving poem of his permits) and, as he kindly informs me, has come to the conclusion that Ka'nab lived in the early days of Islām.

N<sup>o</sup>. 53 (*op. cit.*, p. 154 sq.) — in the latter the last double foot is even shortened to a single syllable — or hypercatalectic, like the next poem by Imru' al-Kais.

In the later poetry also the alleged original form of the radjaz hexameter, the acatalectic long line, is rare and its catalectic and hypercatalectic varieties apparently still rarer. The "original form" is found for example in the *Amāli* of al-Kālī twice (Cairo edition of 1344 = 1926, i. 180 and ii. 127); in both cases the poems in question are of the third century A. H. The poet al-Wa'wā' of Damascus, a progressivist in questions of poetry, whose death has been dated for good reasons by Kratchkovsky in the beginning of the ivth Muhammadan century (*Diwān*, Introd., p. 48 above), employed this form of the radjaz in his *Diwān* only once: N<sup>o</sup>. 107; and likewise Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, who lived a generation after al-Wa'wā' (363—449 = 973—1058), once used this form of radjaz in his youthful poems (*Saḥḥ al-Zand*, Bülak 1286, i. 89).

Alongside of the long hexameter there is a full line of four feet called *madjūz al-radjaz* by the Arabs (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 231). In the *Amāli* we find three examples, one of which (i. 63 sq.) is perhaps ancient whereas the other two (ii. 231 sq. and iii. 143) obviously belong to the third (ninth) century. This form of radjaz is according to Kratchkovsky (*op. cit.*, p. 121 above) the only one used by 'Omar b. Abi Rab'a, who died towards the end of the first Muhammadan century. To the late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd period belong the verses of Ḥammād 'Adjrād, preserved in *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xiii. 83 *infra*; to the early 'Abbāsīd period those of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya in his *Diwān*<sup>3</sup> (Bairūt 1909), p. 243 and 307. One example is found in the *ḥamariyāt* of Abū Nuwās, three in al-Wa'wā' (see above): Nrs. 206, 222 and 247.

All these examples of radjaz with four feet are acatalectic. As catalectic variants of them one might be tempted to claim lines like those of Salm al-Khāsir on 'Aṣim b. 'Uṭba (*Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xxi. 115) or those of Muslim b. al-Walid, *Diwān*, ed. de Goeje, N<sup>o</sup>. 26 and 37 (all built up on the scheme — — — — —). But according to the Arab prosodists they are abbreviated *munsariḥ* [q. v.] (cf. Freytag, *Darstellung*, p. 255 sq.), and we must for the time be content with this, as we cannot know whether these authorities were not influenced, albeit unconsciously, by other elements (tone?, stress?) than the longs and shorts. And even were we against the authority of the Arab prosodists to claim such lines as radjaz, the number of examples of the full radjaz line of four feet would still be very small.

In the radjaz forms so far discussed only the full lines rhyme together (apart from the first line of course). It is however much more usual — even already in the pre-Muhammadan poetry — for all the half lines to rhyme together and thereby to be marked as independent short lines. This form of radjaz seems to be regarded by many prosodists as the radjaz *ḥar' iḥṣān*. Cf. *L A*, vii. 217, 11—10 from below: "The radjaz is a well-known metre and a well known form of verse in which each half line is independent". The already mentioned derivation of the name radjaz from *radjāsa* "counterpoise" apparently also presupposes this conception.

Such short lines have as a rule three feet, but

may have two or even one only. The last variety is however only a poetic *tour de force* which some poets have carried through, the first being said to be Salm al-Khāsir in a poem which still survives on Mūsā 'l-Hādī (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i. 121). The radjaz line of one foot was probably always acatalectic, and according to the rules of the Arab prosodists, the line of two and three feet should always be acatalectic also; at least they have apparently refused to recognise catalectic radjaz lines of this kind (cf. Muḥammad b. Shanab, *Tuhfat al-Adab*, p. 46 sq. and al-Tibrizī on Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*, p. 798, poem in *-ain*; *ibid.*, p. 801: in *-abbā*; p. 802: in *-aiṣṣā*; p. 808: in *-irah*; p. 809: *-ādih* — all with three feet and called *sari'* by al-Tibrizī!). But already in the classical radjaz poets we find quite a considerable number of poems of catalectic lines of three feet, which are obviously to be regarded as radjaz; and the radjaz character is undoubted, when we come to the case of catalectic lines alternating with acatalectic within the same poem, as in the *Muḥhammasa* of Abū Nuwās to be discussed below or in the later didactic poems in the style of the *Alfiya*. Lines of two feet like those of Hind bint 'Uṭba, which Muḥammad b. Shanab (*op. cit.*, p. 66) puts to the *Manḥūk al-Munsariḥ*, Rückert on the other hand (translation of the *Ḥamāsa*, p. 196, addition to N<sup>o</sup>. 161) to the *Mashṭūr* (he must however mean *Manḥūk*) *al-Sari'*, seem really to be catalectic radjaz lines just as the poem made up of proverbs shortly to be mentioned by Abū Nuwās (with abbreviation of the second double foot to only two syllables, i. e. exactly the same metre as in the old elegy which Goldziher *Abhandlungen*, p. 76 sq. quotes from *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, x. 29!) and the reply to it by Abū 'l-'Atāhiya (with one syllable more at the end of each short line).

The Arab prosodists wish to derive all these short forms of the radjaz line from the long hexameter (with many differences of opinion on points of detail of which particulars can be found in Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 234—236); hence also the terms *mashṭūr al-radjaz* "halved radjaz" for the line of three feet, *manḥūk al-radjaz* "exhausted radjaz" for that of two feet and *muḥakka' al-radjaz* "chopped radjaz" for that of one foot (the last term is said to have been invented by al-Djawharī: cf. Ibn al-Rāshiq, *al-'Umda*, in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 121). In reality however, these short forms save the *muḥakka'* were much more frequent in the ancient period and obviously older than the long and full line. Lines like the song of defiance ascribed to 'Antara (Six Poets, p. 180, N<sup>o</sup>. 12 = Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 131 above: with two feet) or what is said to be the first poem by Tarafa (*ibid.*, p. 185, N<sup>o</sup>. 11: with three feet; cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 90 and on the question of authorship: Rückert, *Ḥamāsa*, i. 343), let alone the two groups of satirical lines with which the two daughters of Find urged the Bakris on against the Taghlib (al-Tibrizī on Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, p. 254 and Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 47, 1—3; cf. also Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 562, where the lines are ascribed to Hind bint 'Uṭba) are undoubtedly more primitive than the long and full lines in perfected form. In particular the first of these two groups of satirical lines makes an especially archaic impression from the fact that the three first have two feet, the last, on the other



hand, has three, which at a later date would have been quite impossible. Disagreeing with the Arab theorists, it may be assumed that the long and full lines arose out of the short lines and not *vice versa*. If we are to accept the Arab doctrine, we must first of all explain why the half and third lines were not made independent in other metres also. That this occurs exceptionally as in the "Dīwāns of the Six Poets", p. 133, N<sup>o</sup>. 28 (in the so-called swan-song of Imru' al-Kais) in *Kāmil* or as *ibid.*, p. 206, N<sup>o</sup>. 31 = *Amālī* (Cairo 1344 = 1926) i. 42 *supra* (also attributed to Imru' al-Kais) in *haradī* (cf. also Wright, *Arabic Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, ii., §§ 212, 219, 220: metres *mudāri'*, *ramal* and *madīd*), of course proves nothing — or at most that the short lines of these metres were earlier developed into full and long lines than the short radjaz lines; and in the above mentioned examples of alleged *mashfūr al-sarī* and *manhūk al-munsariḥ* it is in the end still doubtful whether we do not really have radjaz. Finally the *ṭawīl* of four feet which is found once (*Dīwān*, N<sup>o</sup>. 143) in al-Wa'wā', seems to be an invention of this poet.

With this co-existence of short, full and long lines we are however by no means done with the formal development of radjaz. About the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period (hardly earlier) two new variations were invented — either because people were satiated with too frequent repetition of the end rhyme of the short radjaz line, or under foreign influence. The one consisted of rhyming only both two short lines together, the other, the rarer, of changing the rhyme after five short lines. Thus arose strophes of two or five lines. For the former the technical term is *muzdawidja* (found as early as Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī and in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*) and for the latter *mukhammasa* (Ḥamza) [cf. MUZDAWIDJ].

A story in the *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xiii. 74 middle said to go back to Abū Nuwās ascribes to Ḥammād 'Adīrad (died before 167 = 783) *shī'r muzdawidj* (text: *muzāwidj*) *baitaini baitaini* and says that the *zanādiqa* [see ZINDĪK] recited these *muzdawidjas* of their imām (!) Ḥammād at their *ṣalāt* (!). Unfortunately these *muzdawidjas* — perhaps the first to exist — seem to have been lost. The oldest examples of *muzdawidjas* that have come down to us, are apparently by Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya and Abū Nuwās. In the printed *Dīwān* of Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya (Bairūt 1909, p. 361—364) we have a *muzdawidja* which is composed of short catalectic lines of three feet. In the still unprinted concluding part of Ḥamza's recension of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās we have two *muzdawidjas* of two feet occurring together, the one said to be by Abū Nuwās and the other the reply to it by Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya (see above).

Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167 = 783) seems to have been the first to use the *takhmīs*, according to Freytag, *Darstellung*, p. 411, but the selection from his poems by the two Khālidīs (ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, Cairo 1353 = 1934) does not contain any nor does the *Aghānī*. We do however have in Ḥamza's already mentioned edition of Abū Nuwās a poem ascribed to Abū Nuwās and perhaps actually written by him which is a long *mukhammasa*, each strophe consisting of five radjaz lines of three feet which in some strophes are catalectic throughout and in others acatalectic. Even this does not exhaust the fertility of the radjaz. Although Ewald was hardly right in saying in his little book *De metris carminum arabicorum*

that all the classical metres of the Arabs could be traced to the radjaz [see 'ARUD], M. Hartmann has identified no less than 25 post-classical metres which obviously go back to radjaz (cf. *Actes du 10<sup>ème</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, part 3, sect. 3, p. 56 sq.).

Use of the radjaz. Ibn Kūtaiba says in his *Kitāb al-Shī'r*, article "al-Aghlab (b. Djusham) al-Rādījī", that in the pre-Muḥammadan period only two to three radjaz lines were used to form a poem "to fight an opponent, to insult him or to dispute his fame", and as a matter of fact, the oldest radjaz poems that have survived are short battle-songs like the already mentioned lines by the daughters of Find or 'Antara's battle-cry. In another use, in laments, the radjaz, as Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i. 77, states, replaced rhymed prose (*sadī'*); indeed Goldziher goes so far as to say that the radjaz grew out of *sadī'* by metric adjustment ("metrische Disciplinierung"). This may be, although it may be objected that any kind of metre might be evolved out of the *sadī'*, simply because of its lack of metrical discipline. In any case, the radjaz was not long confined to battle-cries and the like. It became used in *vers d'occasion*, like the already mentioned little hunting-poem by Tarafa, in descriptions of battles and laments for the dead, but particularly for panegyrics and boastings, as well as for pithy sayings (cf. the radjaz poems in the *Ḥamāsa* of Buḥūrī). On the other hand, it plays a remarkably small part in the literary *hidjā'*. For example there is not a single radjaz poem in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa* in the section "lampoons", and Djarir and al-Farazdaq did not use this old fighting metre nearly so often as one would expect.

Nevertheless the sphere of use of the radjaz in comparison with the pagan period was considerably extended. But the radjaz poet still confined himself to a few, usually improvised, lines and it is no doubt connected with this custom of improvising in radjaz that we occasionally find errors of grammar in this metre, like the *ḥintā ḥanzalīn* in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*, p. 801, or abnormal abbreviations, like the *rub* (for *rubba*) in the *Dīwāns* of the Six Poets, p. 133, N<sup>o</sup>. 28 (by Imru' al-Kais) or the otherwise forbidden *ilitikā'* *al-sūkinain* at the end of the lines quoted in *L. A.*, xi. 348.

According to Ibn Kūtaiba (*op. cit.*, p. 389; cited already by Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*, p. 19), al-Aghlab b. Djusham, a poet who is said to have survived into Islām from the pagan period, was the first who endeavoured to raise radjaz poetry out of its inferiority. He is reputed to have been the first to compose regular *ḥasidas* in radjaz metre. Deliberately following his efforts, we next have in the second half of the first century A.H. the Tamīmī al-ʿAdīdādī and after him his son Ru'ba, who lived into the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period (he died in 145 = 762). These two poets and some others composed a large number of radjaz poems which, as regards length, could be compared very well with the long *ḥasidas* in other metres (Ru'ba's panegyric on the first 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Saffāh contains no less than 400 short lines!). In form they are distinguished from other *ḥasidas* only by the metre (hence the *ḥasida* in radjaz is called *urdjūza*), by the accumulation of rare words (probably provincialisms) and by the fact that all the short lines rhyme together, and the subject matter also is what is usual in other forms of *ḥasidas*.

But the general popularity which al-

‘Adjdjādī, Ru’ba and other radjaz poets gained for their favourite metre did not last long. We find rather from the beginning of the ‘Abbāsīd period a remarkable tendency to specialisation in the use of this metre. While in the pagan and early Muḥammadan period it had been the metre for incitement, it was now used mainly for narrative, description and instruction. In the poem N<sup>o</sup>. 1434 in al-Buḥtūrī’s *Ḥamāsa*, the poet Rudainī b. ‘Abs al-Faḥāsi describes an experience with a merchant, and the already mentioned *mukḥammasa* of Abū Nuwās has something of the character of a humorous ballad. In it the poet tells us how he was enticed into a marriage by a go-between and made a frightful mistake. Abū Nuwās also uses the radjaz, namely the radjaz short line rhyming throughout, catalectic and acatalectic, predominantly in his hunting poems, which are in part of a narrative and in part of a descriptive nature. Besides these styles of poetry radjaz does not cease to be used for all kinds of little occasional poems. Most of the radjaz pieces in al-Wa’wā’ are of this sort (see for quotations *op. cit.*, p. 130 sq.).

Short radjaz lines rhyming in couplets (*muzdawīdīas*) then, following and along with other metres, yielded the metrical basis for the epic on a large scale, or rather for the well meant efforts made by the Arabs in this field. That these attempts were only moderately successful is certainly not the fault of the metre. Among them may be mentioned the poem (in 419 couplets) which Ibn al-Mu’tazz (d. 296 = 908) dedicated to the caliph al-Mu’taḍid (Z.D.M.G., xl. 564 sqq. and xli. 232 sqq.) or that other poem (in 446 couplets), in which Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 328 = 940) celebrated the campaigns of the Spanish Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (*al-‘Ikd*, at the end of the book “al-‘Asdjada al-ḥāniya”). These two works vary in style between rhymed chronicle and panegyric, and the latter poem has very little connection with poetry in the higher sense.

This is particularly true of the countless didactic poems for which the radjaz came to be used. Even in the earlier radjaz poetry a certain fondness for the sententious can be often noticed, and the already mentioned *muzdawīdīas* of two and three feet by Abū Nuwās and Abū ‘l-‘Atāhiya are really mosaics of proverbs. It became much worse when the schoolmasters seized upon the radjaz to facilitate the memorising of the most varied subjects. Although other metres were not entirely excluded, people who wished to put any subject of instruction into verse used radjaz, especially the short rhymed couplet. The best known examples are the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik [q. v.] on Arabic grammar, the *Muḥaddīma* of al-Djazarī on *tadīwīd* (q. v. and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 202 middle) and the *Tuḥfat al-Ḥukkām* of Ibn ‘Āsim [q. v.] on Mālikī law. Other examples in Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 96, N<sup>o</sup>. 29/1 (theology, law and mysticism); *ibid.*, p. 141, 2-4 (law of inheritance); p. 142, N<sup>o</sup>. 5/11 (rhetoric); p. 179, § 8/2-5 (oceanography, fixation of the *ḥibla* and geography) etc., and the collection of *mutūn* (*passim*) published in Cairo 1323 by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.

One question still remains to be answered: How comes it that the radjaz which, as its original use shows, was intended and fitted to stir up the passions ultimately became the metre of narrative, description and instruction, indeed became the doggerel of the crammer? The explanation

has been given that the radjaz on account of the many metrical liberties it allows was easier to handle than other metres. But in the first place we find these liberties also taken in other metres (cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, ii., §§ 205, 215, 216: metres *sarī‘*, *baṣīl* and *munsarīḥ*), and secondly the poets and scholars who used the radjaz for “peaceful” themes were by no means clumsy amateurs but men who could quite well have dealt with more difficult metres. The reason for their preferring radjaz must therefore be sought elsewhere. But where? We might here make the suggestion that they preferred this metre associated with the excitement of the passions because it seemed suitable to enliven less attractive if not quite dead subjects.

*Bibliography*: given in the article. Beside the works cited there, Goldziher’s article *Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie*, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xii. (1902), p. 307-339 and above all the fourth chapter of Kratchkovsky’s Introduction to his edition of al-Wa’wā’<sup>3</sup>’s *Diwān*, particularly p. 109-113, 116-122, 130-131 merit special mention. (I am indebted to H. A. R. Gibb for drawing my attention to the latter work).

(A. SCHAADE)

**RADWA**, a range of hills in South West Arabia, a day’s journey from Yanbu’ and seven stages from Medina, between Yanbu’ and al-Ḥawrā’. It lies on the right side of the road to Medina, and on the left of the road in the direction of Mecca, two nights distant from the sea. The hills, which are mentioned in a tradition of the Prophet, have passes and valleys, are very well watered and covered with all kinds of trees so that they look green from Yanbu’. The rocks produce wheat-stones which were exported to all countries.

*Bibliography*: al-Iṣṭakhri, in *B. G. A.*, i. 21; Ibn Ḥawḳal, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 28; al-Bakrī, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 415-17; ii. 583; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 790 sq.; *Marāṣid al-Iḥṣā’*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, i. 473 sq.; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 356. (A. GROHMANN)

**RĀGHĪB PASHA**, an Ottoman grand vizier. Rāghīb Mehmed Pasha was born in 1111 (1699) in Stambul, the son of the *ḫātib* Mehmed Shewḳī, was soon on account of his unusual ability employed in the *diwān*, then acted as secretary and deputy-chamberlain to the governor of Wan, ‘Arifī Aḥmad Pasha, and Köprülü-zāde ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Pasha [q. v.] and lastly to Hekīm-zāde ‘Alī Pasha. In 1141 (1728) he returned to Stambul and in the following year went back to Baghdād as deputy to the *re’is efendi*. Soon after the conquest of Baghdād in 1146 (1733) he was appointed *defterdār* there, but very soon received the post of chief of the petition department of the *māliye* office in Stambul. Two years later he accompanied the governor Aḥmad Pasha, who had been appointed as *ser’asker* of Baghdād, as deputy of the *re’is efendi*, and returned to the capital as chief of the poll-tax office (*dizaye mühassebedjisi*). In this capacity he went into the field in 1149 (1736) and took a leading part in the peace negotiations of Nimirov. In Dhu ‘l-Hiǧdja 1153 (Febr. 1741) he succeeded the *re’is efendi* Muṣṭafā in his office and three years later was promoted to be governor of Egypt. For five years he struggled there with the factions of the Mamluks [q. v.] and had finally in Ramaḍān 1161 (Sept. 1748) to yield to the superior power



of the begs. He returned to Stambul and as *nishāndji-bāshi* was given a seat in the *diwān*. After brief periods as governor in Raḳka and Aleppo, he was appointed to the highest office in the kingdom, the grand vizierate, in succession to Muṣṭafā, who had been dismissed, on 20th Rabi' I, 1170 (Dec. 13, 1756). He filled this office gloriously for seven years till his death, and was the last outstanding grand vizier of the Ottoman empire. He died in Stambul on 24th Ramaḍān 1176 (April 8, 1763) and was buried there beside the noble library founded by him (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 249). Meḥmed Rāghib Pasha was not only one of the greatest of Ottoman statesmen but is one of the classical authors of Turkish literature. His works, which are distinguished by beauty of style as well as by graceful presentation, cover all possible fields (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 255 sq.). He was also a distinguished political historian. His state documents and letters of congratulation known as *telkhiṣāt* were and still are famous as models of perfect writing (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 626, No. 3338—3653). His translations into Turkish of two Persian histories, Mirkhwānd's [q. v.] history of the world and 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Ishāk's history of the Timūrids, unfortunately only survive in fragments but even in this state are masterpieces of Ottoman prose. Rāghib Pasha is no less highly esteemed as a poet. His *Diwān* (printed at Būlāk in 1252 and s. l. [= Būlāk] in 1253) contains his most important poems, some of which are in praise of great contemporaries.

On MSS. of his works cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 290 (to which may be added Stambul, Ḥamidiye, No. 598; Agram, Acad. of Sciences, Orient. Coll., No. 833, 1 and 2 [with *Diwān*], both containing his *telkhiṣāt*; Upsala, No. 706 [cf. Zettersteen, *Cat.*, ii. 106 sq.] obviously contains another work).

*Bibliography*: cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 288 sqq. and the sources given on p. 290. (FRANZ BABINGER).

**RAIDA**, the name of several places in South Arabia ('Asir, el-Yaman, Ḥaḍramūt). The best known is Raida on the Djabal Talfum with the fort of the same name in the district of Baun (Hamdān), a day's journey from Ṣan'ā'. There are a number of places of this name in Ḥaḍramūt (Raidat al-Ṣai'ar, Raidat al-'Ibād, Raidat al-Ḥarmiya, Raida Arḍain, as well as Raidat el-Kebira, Raidat el-Daiyin, Raidat el-Djohin). The wide use of this place-name is explained by its meaning: depression in a rocky plateau, then the chief place of a Beduin district.

*Bibliography*: Ibu al-Faḳih al-Hamadḥānī, *B. G. A.*, v. 34; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 137, 144, 189, 190; Yaḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 869; ii. 885; iv. 438; *Marāṣid al-Iṭfīlā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, i. 497; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 66, 3, 85, 16, 86, 15, 87, 17, 111, 16, 200, 25; do., *Iklil*, viii., Baghdād 1931, p. 42, 61, 119; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Altertümer im Kunsthist. Hofmuseum*, Vienna 1899, p. 83, 91; 'Aẓimuddin Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Šams al-'Ulūm*, in *G. M. S.*, xxiv. Leyden 1916, p. 43; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, ii., Leipzig 1909, p. 542; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Makra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leyden 1897, p. 62—65, 193, 259; D. van der Meulen

and H. v. Wissmann, *Hadramaut some of its mysteries unveiled*, Leyden 1932, p. 106, 209, 213, 214. (A. GROHMANN)

**RAMAḌĀN-ZĀDE** MEḤMED PASHA, known as Küçük Nishāndji, an Ottoman historian. He was born in Merzifün [q. v.] and was the son of a certain Ramaḍān Ćelebi. He was a secretary in the *diwān*, became in 960 (1553) chief *defterdār*, in 961 (1554) *re'is ül-küttāb*, secretary of state, and in 965 (1558) secretary of the imperial signature (*tughrā*; q. v.). He was later appointed *defterdār* of Aleppo, then governor of Egypt and finally sent to the Morea to make a survey (*tahrir*). He retired in 970 (1562) and died in Djumādā I 979 (began Sept. 21, 1571). To distinguish him from Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā known as the Great Nishāndji (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 102 sq.), he is usually called Küçük Nishāndji, the Little Nishāndji.

At the bidding of Sulaimān the Great, Ramaḍān-zāde compiled the history, widely known under the name of *Tārīkh-i Ramaḍānsāde* but the real name of which is *Siyer-i Enbiyā'-i 'iṣām we-Eḫwāl-i Khulefā'-i Kīrān we-Menāḳib-i Selāṭin-i Āl-i 'Othmān*; it is still one of the most widely used and most popular handbooks of Ottoman history. After a very brief sketch of the history of the world, the history of the Ottoman empire down to the time of Sulaimān the Magnificent down to 969 (1561) is dealt with more fully. Scattered throughout are notes on celebrated scholars, saints, authors and poets as well as of buildings by the sultāns.

The history of Ramaḍān-zāde is preserved in countless MSS. (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 104 sq., to which may be added Paris, Bibl. Nat., *a. f. t.* 95, 96, 100; *s. t.* 191, 493, 496, 520, 734, 1131, 1319; Upsala, Univ. Libr., No. 665 [cf. Zettersteen, *Catal.*, ii. 42 sq.] and Rhodes, Library of Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad, No. 459) and in two printed editions (Stambul 1279 and the second impression — not mentioned in F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 105 — of the *Tārīkh-i Nishāndji Meḥmed Pasha*, Stambul, 17th Rabi' II 1290 = 1873).

*Bibliography*: 'Ālī, *Künh ül-Aḳhbār*, repeated in Pečewi, *Tārīkh*, i. 44; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 120; Brūsālī Meḥmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mi'ellīstir*, iii. 53 sq.; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 103—105. (FRANZ BABINGER)

**RAMAL**, an Arabic metre. The name, according to the Arab view, which however is based on etymological considerations only, is said to mean either "haste" or "woven" (Freytag, *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst*, p. 136). The Arabs derived this metre like the *radjās* [q. v.] from the *hazādī* [q. v.] and gave it the eighth place in their series of classical metres. The constituent element in the ramal is the Ionic  $\cup - -$ . We sometimes also have  $\cup \cup - -$ . This variant is however very rare (Freytag, *Darstellung*, p. 240 sq. and Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 236). Nevertheless its possibility combined with the frequent dropping of the last syllable at the end of the line (see below) may indicate that the main stress rested on the penultimate syllable of the Ionic.

The Arabs considered the original form of the ramal to be a sixfold repetition of *fā'ilātun*, but in practice this form is hardly ever found (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 136 sq. and 241 sq.). The following two are the most usual forms:

a. first half line twice *fā'ilātun* + once *fā'ilun*, second half line the same;

*b.* first half line twice *fā'ilātun*, second half line the same (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 242); in the earlier period the form with six feet (*a*), and in the later that with four, the so-called *madjzū' al-ramal* (*δ*), seems to have been more popular. At least ramal in the "Six Diwāns" published by Ahlwardt occurs only in the form *a* (four times in the main text and seven times in the appended fragments), similarly in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (ed. Freytag, i. 84 and 495; Freytag's statement in his *Darstellung*, p. 15, footnote, that the metre occurs three times in the *Ḥamāsa* is evidently due to a mistake or to counting twice the fragment i. 84; see below). In the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, which contains 1,454 fragments, we find some 20 examples of *a* and only one of *b*, namely N<sup>o</sup>. 1192 by Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, who according to *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, vi. 37–40 was put to death by the caliph al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, so that he must have died before 98 (715). In 'Omar b. Abī Rabi'a (d. 101 = 719) *ramal madjzū'* is already almost as common as the full verse (12:17 out of 440 poems and fragments), and in Abū Nuwās (d. 198 or 199 i.e. between 813 and 815) who uses ramal fairly frequently (four times in 95 panegyrics, once in 20 laments and eight times in 71 bacchanalian poems, reckoning on the basis of the Cairo edition of Ḥamza's recension of Abū Nuwās's *Diwān*), the four-footed acatalectic form (*δ*) pre-dominates. — Alongside of these two common forms (*a* and *δ*) we occasionally find:

*c.* first half verse twice *fā'ilātun* + once *fā'ilun*, second half verse thrice *fā'ilātun*. To the example quoted by Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 237 may be added: Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 111 *supra*, fragment in -*aru* by al-Afwah al-Awdī (who, according to Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 115 belongs to the pre-Muḥammadan period), and — presumably from the same poem — al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, Bairūt edition, fragment N<sup>o</sup>. 194 (where by the way Afwah's real name is given as Ṣalā'a and not as in Ibn Kūtaiba, as Ṣalāt!) and *ibid.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 1360, fragment in -*ammī* by Yahyā b. Ziyād (d. according to *Madjānī* 'L-Adab, *Sharḥ*, ii., p. 542 about 166 = 777) and Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i. 84, fragment in -*uru* or -*iru* (according to the first of the two possible readings offered by al-Tibrizī) by 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib (d. about 21 = 643), also the lines by 'Adī b. Zaid (d. c. 604 A.D.) in the *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, ii. 17 *sq.* in -*ālī* (fuller in Ewald's article in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii. 239 *sq.* and *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, ii. 21 in -*āri* and 26 above in -*āri*. — All other forms of ramal are exceedingly rare, and the *muzdawijj al-ramal* (see above, article MUZDAWIJJ and W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*<sup>3</sup>, ii., § 219, remark *b*) is probably only an invention by later poets.

As is evident from what has been said above about the relative frequency of the various forms of ramal, its use by the poets of the pagan period is very rare; indeed in the *Diwān* of Aws b. Ḥaḍjar (d. c. 620 A.D.), it is not found at all, nor is it in the text of the *Naḳā'id* of Djarir and Farazdak. If we find 'Adī b. Zaid, who was the court-poet of two Lakhmids and subject to Persian influence, preferring ramal alongside of *khafif* [q.v. and cf. Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 249], this fact may on the one hand be interpreted in favour of a relation between ramal and *khafif* (which latter is also of a half-Ionic character!), on the

other hand it supports the opinion put forward by Kratchkovsky in his edition of al-Wa'wā's *Diwān* (p. 112 *infra*) that ramal like *khafif* (and *mutakarib*) was borrowed from abroad and adapted to the Arabic language. Among the later poets there are some who use ramal fairly frequently, for example Abū Nuwās, as already mentioned. Among the 75 poems in the *Diwān* of Muslim b. al-Walid, a contemporary of Abū Nuwās, ramal is found only once (poem N<sup>o</sup>. 75), and in the form called *a* above.

M. Hartmann, who established the existence of 174 secondary measures in the *muwashshah* poems, traced 9 of them to ramal (*Actes du 10<sup>ème</sup> Congr. intern. des Orientalistes*, 1896, sect. iii., p. 52 and 57).

There seems to have been no regular rule regarding the themes for which ramal should be used, as there was none for most of the other metres (cf. Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 15 footnote, but also the article RADJAZ here, second half). We find it in the grim oath of vengeance taken by Djassās of the time of the Basūs war (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 40), in reflections on the miseries of the world by Muslim b. al-Walid [q.v.], and also in the light love verses of 'Omar b. Abī Rabi'a (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 19) and, as already mentioned, in the bacchanalian songs of Abū Nuwās. Nevertheless the above-mentioned statements on the frequency of ramal and its varieties strengthen the thesis of Kratchkovsky that the more or less frequent occurrence of the different Arabic metres chiefly depends on the poetic tendency of the poets in question.

*Bibliography:* Mainly in the article. Cf. also the works quoted under 'ARUD, notably G. Jacob, *Alltarabisches Beduinenleben*<sup>2</sup>, p. 190 *sq.* and the fourth chapter of I. Kratchkovsky's introduction to his edition of al-Wa'wā's *Diwān*, especially p. 109–114, 131 (H. A. R. Gibb kindly drew my attention to the last-named work).

(A. SCHAADE)

**RATAN**, BĀBĀ, ḤĀDJĪJĪ, ABU 'L-RIPĀ, a long-lived Indian saint, famous in almost all the lands of Islām, called Ratan b. Kirbāl b. Ratan al-Batrāndī in the *Kāmūs* (Cairo 1330, iv. 226; see variants in *Iṣāba*, Calcutta, i. 1087; *Lisān al-Mizān*, ii. 450 *sqq.*). The *nisba* (vocalized as al-Bitrāndī in *Lisān al-Mizān*, and *Tādj al-'Arūs*, ix. 212) is derived, according to al-Zabidi, from al-Bitrānda, "a city in India", where, as we learn from the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (ed. Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, ii. 207 = Jarrett, iii. 360), Ratan was born and where he died. This place is now called Bhatinda, lies in 30° 13' N. and 75° E., and is the headquarters of the Govindgarh *talqil* (in Anāhadgarh Nizāmat) of the Patiala State. It is an important railway junction and its old name was probably Tabarhind (see *Punjab States Gazetteers*, vol. xvii., A; *Phulkian States*, Lahore 1909, p. 188 *sqq.*). Three miles from this town, at a place called ḤādjĪjĪ Ratan, exists the shrine of the saint "a large building with a mosque and gateway, and surrounded by a wall on all sides" (*ibid.*, p. 80). The shrine, which seems to have been an important place of pilgrimage even in the xiith (xviii<sup>th</sup>) century (see *Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*), is visited now mostly by Muslims, but Hindūs also frequent it, particularly at the 'urs (annual fair) of the ḤādjĪjĪ, held from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> Dhu 'l-ḤijjĪjĪ, when a large number of Sādhūs also attend. For nearly five centuries the shrine has been held by Madārī fakīrs, whose ancestor Shāh Čānd came



from Makanpur in Oudh. These *gaddīnashīns* let their hair grow and do not marry.

Who was this Ḥādjī Ratan? There is a Muslim literary tradition about him, then there are also local legends, both Muslim and Hindū, which have to be examined before an answer to this question can be attempted.

It appears from combining the extant narratives of over a dozen men who had visited him in his native place from various parts of the Muslim world, that, in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century, there lived at Bhatinda a man Ratan by name, about whom "it was said that he was a long-lived individual, who had met the Prophet, was present with him at the Ditch (at the siege of Medina in A.H. 6), when the Prophet prayed for his long life, that he was present when Fāṭima was conducted as a bride to 'Alī, may God be pleased with both of them, and who transmitted *ḥadīth*" (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, loc. cit.).

We get the following particulars also from some of these narratives about his mode of life, personal appearance etc. A merchant of Khurāsān, who had interviewed him, tells us that Ratan was living under a *fūfal* tree (peepal? — for *fūfal* or *Areca Catechu* does not fit in with the context), that his teeth were small like those of a serpent, that his beard, of which the hair were mostly white, was like thorns, that his eyebrows, which reached down to his cheeks, he lifted with a hook, that he said he had never been married, and the length of the space occupied by him, when sitting, was three cubits (al-Djanadī quoted in *Iṣāba*, i. 1099). Another merchant, from the same land, found him laid like the young one of a bird, in a large basket, stuffed with cotton, which was hanging in a branch of a huge tree outside the village, and was worked by means of a pulley. He spoke in Persian, his voice being like the humming of a bee. He referred to all the inhabitants of the big village as his children or grand-children (*Iṣāba*, i. 1094; *Lisān al-Mizān*, ii. 452, quoting the *Tadhkira* of Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī, who, in his turn, is quoting the *Tadhkira* of al-Wadāʿī [d. 726], see *G. A. L.*, ii. 9; Ḥādjī Khalīfa, ii. 264). Contrary to the first narrative, which tells us that he was never married, the second makes him say that he had a large progeny, and, in fact, Ibn Ḥajar includes two of Ratan's sons, Maḥmūd and 'Abd Allāh, among the transmitters of *ḥadīth* from him.

Some of these narratives represent him as having been first converted to Christianity and then to Islām (*Iṣāba*, i. 1097 sq.).

The date of his death is given variously, as A.H. 596, 608, 612, 632 (*Iṣāba*), 700, and even 709 (*ʿIn-i Akbarī*, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*).

The sayings of the Prophet, which Ratan transmitted from him directly, called *al-Rataniyāt* (cf. *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, loc. cit.), were collected in book form and a copy, containing about 300 *ḥadīth*, and dated A.H. 710, was seen by Ibn Ḥajar. These were handed down from Ratan by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā b. Mudjallī al-Ṣūfī, and al-Dhahabī suspected that either he had forged them or that they had been forged for Mūsā by someone who had invented for him the story of Ratan (*Iṣāba*, i. 1090). An earlier collection of forty sayings was made, out of Mūsā's stock, by Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khurāsānī. Some of these sayings, of which about eighteen are quoted in the *Iṣāba*, are preserved in manuscripts in Leyden,

Berlin and Lucknow, and show "traces of both Shīʿite (or perhaps better 'Alide) and Sūfī tendencies" (*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii. 112). Al-Firuzābādī had heard them from the companions of Ratan's companions (*Kāmus*, loc. cit.).

The claims of Ratan widely attracted the attention of Muslims in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century, and caused a lot of differences of opinion in Muslim circles in the following centuries, as would be indicated by the following list of some outstanding personalities, who expressed themselves for or against his main claim, viz. of being a long-lived companion of the Prophet.

For: 1. Shaikh Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī-i Lālā al-Ghaznawī (d. 642 = 1244) who associated with Ratan in India and received from him a comb, with the transmission of which the Prophet had entrusted Ratan; 2. Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736 = 1336), whom the above-mentioned comb ultimately reached, along with a *khirka* received by 'Alī-i Lālā from Ratan. Rukn al-Dīn attested this in writing (see *Nafahāt al-Uns*, Calcutta 1858, p. 50, with notes of Lāri on the passage); 3. 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. Nūḥ al-Kūṣī (d. 708 = 1309), the author of the *Kitāb al-Wahid fi Sulūk Ahl al-Tawḥīd*, for which see Ḥādjī Khalīfa, vi. 432, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 117 (see *Iṣāba*, i. 1096); 4. al-Djanadī (d. 732 = 1332), the author of the *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*; cf. Brockelmann, ii. 184 (in *Iṣāba*, i. 1096 sq.); 5. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 = 1363); see above (previous col.); 6. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī (d. 739 = 1338–1339), the author of *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihī* for which see Sarkis, *Muḍjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, col. 696, is also apparently to be added to this list; see *Iṣāba*, i. 1092; 7. Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822 = 1419), see *ʿIn-i Akbarī*, ii. 207 (= Jarrett, iii. 360); 8. Nūr Allāh Shūstārī (about 1010), who maintains that the Sunnī opposition to Ratan's claim was really due to a. Ratan's being a Shīʿī, most of whose *ḥadīth* was in praise of the *Ahl al-Bait* and their partisans, and to b. the jealousy of the contemporary Sunnī 'Ulamā, who were thrown into shade by the *ṣaḥābi*, who could transmit *ḥadīth* directly from the Prophet (*Madjālīs al-Mu'minīn*, Tīhrān 1299, p. 309).

Against: 1. al-Dhahabī (673–748 = 1274–1348), who attacked Ratan violently in his *Tadhkirah* (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i. 1087), *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, i. 336, and *al-Mushtabih*, p. 215, and even wrote a monograph on the subject entitled *Kasr Wathan Ratan* (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i. 1088 sq.), in which he insinuated that only those could admit his claim to companionship of the Prophet who believed in the continued existence of Muḥammad (al-Muntazar) b. al-Hasan (the twelfth Imām), and the palingenesis (*radf'a*) of 'Alī (see *Iṣāba*, i. 1091; cf. *Lisān al-Mizān*, ii. 452); 2. 'Alam al-Dīn al-Birzālī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 739 = 1339) (see *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 163); 3. Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Djamā'a (d. 790 = 1388), see Brockelmann, ii. 112 (quoted in *Iṣāba*, i. 1101); 4. Maḥdī al-Dīn al-Firuzābādī, who was in India about 785–790 A.H. and had visited Bhatinda (in *Kāmus*, loc. cit.; but cf. *Iṣāba*, i. 1102); 5. Ibn Ḥajar al-Asḳalānī (d. 852 = 1449) in *Iṣāba*, i. 1101 sq. and in *Taḥṣīr al-Muntabih*, Rāmpūr MS., p. 79, also quoted in *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ix. 212; 6. al-Zabīdī (d. 1205 = 1791) in *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, loc. cit.

Apart from the above literary tradition the Muslims as well as the Hindūs of Bhatinda, have preserved local versions of Ratan's story.

The earlier Muslim version represents him as the Minister of Vena Pāl, the Hindū Rādja of Bhatinda, at the time of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghori's invasion, when he betrayed the fortress to Muslims. He was converted to Islām and performed the *ḥadjj*. According to a fuller version, still current in Bhatinda, he was a Čauhān Rādjpūt, Ratanpāl by name. He knew by his knowledge of astrology that the Prophet would be born in Arabia and spread Islām. In order to be able to see him, he practised restraining his breath. After the miracle of *shakḥ al-ḥamar* (splitting the moon into two), which he witnessed, Ratan set out for Mecca, was converted to Islām, and lived with the Prophet for thirty years. Then he returned to India and stayed where his shrine is now, continuing the practice of restraining his breath. Later when Shihāb al-Dīn Ghori proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Pirthi Rādj, the sultān visited the *Ḥadjjī*, the saint performed a miracle and became instrumental in the conquest of the fort, shortly after which event he died, at the age of 700 years (*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii. 98; *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. F. Province*, i. 551).

The Hindū version, also still current at Bhatinda, asserts that he was a much-travelled, miracle-working Hindū Sādhū, of the Nāth clan, and that his name was Ratan Nāth. He won the confidence of the Muslims by manifesting his miraculous powers in Mecca, which he had visited in his wanderings. He then came to Bhatinda, and lived and died there. He was buried and his *samād*h was built, which the Muslim replaced by a *khānḳāh*, and called him *Ḥadjjī*, on account of his visit to Mecca (see *Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc.*, ii. 100; it gives some other Hindū versions also).

For Ratan's connection with some versions of Gūga's legend see *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. F. Province*, i. 175, 179, 181.

Horovitz reconciles these divergent versions in a striking theory: "It may be that Ratan was originally a Yogī, who as such was believed to have been alive hundreds of years and who on becoming acquainted with the Muḥammadan aspects of longevity, used them to strengthen his position in the eyes of his Muḥammadan followers... The saint had two faces: he showed that of a long-lived Yogī to the Hindūs, that of a companion of the Prophet to the Muḥammadans" (*Journal of the Panjab Hist. Soc.*, ii. 113 sq.).

*Bibliography*: J. Horovitz's article on *Bāba Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda*, in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii. 97 sqq. gives the fullest information, with references, to which may be added: Ibn Ḥadjjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Haidarābād 1330, ii. 450 sqq. (mostly repeats his own article in *Iṣāba*); al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ix. 212; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province*, i. 152, 175, 179, 181. — In an Arabic-Persian *Kitāb al-Arbāʿin* (MS. in the Panjab University Library, defective at the beginning), a fuller version of the story given by Horovitz on p. 110 note 1, occurs, with the name of Hārūn substituted for that of Sultān Maḥmūd.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

AL-RİYĀD, capital of the kingdom of Nadjd, in the oasis of the same name which lies on the left bank of the Wādī Ḥanifa stretching towards the north, forming a shallow valley which forms part of the Shamsiya basin. The lozenge-shaped oasis is three miles long and barely one broad. The town is surrounded on all sides except the northeast by dense palm-groves. In the northeast, a few scattered groves interrupt the view to the highlands of Abū Makhruk, from which the main source of water for the oasis, the Wādī Shamsiya, comes, flowing past the east side of the town towards Manfūḥa. Al-Riyād is built on a low limestone terrace which slopes down on all sides from the central highest point, on which the palace stands. The form of the town, of which Philby has given a clear plan, is that of an irregular quadrangle with an area of about 100 acres. The town is surrounded by a strong wall about 25 feet high, built of coarse bricks dried in the sun. It is strengthened by bastions and towers which jut out from the wall and range in height from 30 to 40 feet. Some are square in shape. Large parts of the wall and defences have been renovated in modern times, as the old fortifications were destroyed in the time of Ibn Rashīd. On the west and south, walls and bastions from an earlier period have survived. The town which at one time had a powerful rival in Manfūḥa seems to have originally been situated about 400 yards northeast of its present position towards the Shamsiya gardens where at the present day there is a group of ruins called Ḥadjjar al-Yamāma. The ring of walls is broken in nine places by gateways, some of which are no longer used. Of the most important of these gates one is on the east side (Thumairi gate) and leads to the main roads to the north and east as well as to the road leading south to Manfūḥa. The other at the northwest corner leads to Washm and Qasim as well as to the western pilgrim road to Mecca. In the southwest are the Dakhma and Muraikib gates with an unnamed one between them, all of which lead to the roads to the south and southwest. The Budai'a gate leads to the Baṭīn, the Shamsiya gate to the north road. The streets of the town lead to the palace, the principal one running in a straight line from the Thumairi gate to the palace and thence by the market-place to the Budai'a gate with a side street from the west end of the Sūk to the Dhuhairi gate. The market-place occupies the whole of the area north of the palace and is divided by a wall into two parts, the one intended for women and the other filled with unpretentious shops which are in part built on to the south wall of the great mosque. The latter, a spacious rectangular building, 180 by 155 feet, has two entrances, the main one from the bazaar in its south wall and side entrances on the east and west. The interior is divided into three parts, a central one with an open court, the two others covered by flat roofs which rest on several rows of massive stone columns, forming cloisters. The liwān on the kība side occupies almost half of the whole building. The roofs have low parapets with a stepped elevation to the north side, which takes the place of a minaret. North of the main street lies the square fort with massive walls and bastions at the four corners, which is now used as an arsenal, storehouse and prison. Ibn Sa'ūd's palace, a strong but simple



building with bastions, faces the open market-place and bazaar and occupies nearly a quarter of the whole area of the town. There are about twenty mosques in addition to the chief mosque. The population is estimated at 10,000. In the open space outside the town between the *Shamsiya* gate and the palm-groves which stretch to the *Shamsiya* gardens is the cemetery. Farther east on the left of the bed of the *Shamsiya*, is a smaller cemetery reserved for members of the royal family; between the two at the eastern gate is a large place of prayer enclosed by a low wall of clay, which however is only used on great festivals, with a *qibla*-niche in the centre of the west wall.

The recent history of al-Riyāḍ is closely bound up with that of the *Wahhābī* kingdom. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, who after the death of his brother *Thneiyān* was recognised as spiritual and secular head of the *Wahhābis* and whom *Manfuḥa*, al-Riyāḍ's rival, and other places had joined, conquered al-Riyāḍ. At this time the lord of the oasis was *Dhām* of the family of *Ibn Dawwās*, who offered a vigorous resistance and in 1758 made an alliance with *Dudjein* b. 'Arei'er, lord of al-Ḥasā. The latter besieged *Ibn Sa'ūd*'s stronghold in vain and had to withdraw in 1759. Three years later al-Riyāḍ had to adopt the new doctrine and recognise the suzerainty of *Ibn Sa'ūd*; *Dhām* however remained in possession of the town until 1772 when 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Muḥammad *Ibn Sa'ūd* succeeded in overthrowing him and occupying the oasis. Al-Dar'īya however remained the capital until its capture by *Ibrāhīm Pāshā*. After *Khālīd Pāshā*'s withdrawal from *Nadjd*, al-Dar'īya, which had been largely destroyed by the Egyptian bombardment, ceased to be the capital of *Nadjd* and al-Riyāḍ became the capital of the *Wahhābī* chief *Turkī* b. Sa'ūd. It is true that it was temporarily occupied by *Husain Pāshā*, leader of the new expeditionary force, but on the latter's withdrawal *Turkī* again entered it. In 1832 *Meshārī* b. *Thneiyān* b. Sa'ūd rebelled against him and seized the power, *Turkī* being killed in the struggle. The town was however soon retaken by 'Abd Allāh *Ibn Rashīd* for *Faiṣal* b. *Turkī* and *Meshārī* murdered. Four years later *Faiṣal* was driven out by *Khurshīd Pāshā* who had invaded *Nadjd* and *Khālīd* b. Sa'ūd was installed as ruler in his place. *Faiṣal* however returned to al-Riyāḍ when *Khālīd* had given up his power but was forced to surrender by *Khurshīd Pāshā*, taken prisoner on Dec. 12, 1838 and sent to Egypt while 'Abd Allāh *Ibn Thneiyān*, a cousin of *Khālīd*'s, was installed as viceroy of *Nadjd* by *Khurshīd*. He maintained himself; even after the Turco-Egyptian troops had been withdrawn from Central Arabia, until 1844, when *Faiṣal* regained his liberty and recaptured al-Riyāḍ which he made his capital until his death in 1865. The struggle between his sons 'Abd Allāh and Sa'ūd, the latter of whom drove his brother out of the town but died in 1874, when 'Abd Allāh returned to al-Riyāḍ, led to his patron Muḥammad b. *Rashīd* assuming suzerainty over al-Riyāḍ and installing 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Faiṣal* as ruler. After the latter's attempt at rebellion in 1891 had failed and he was made a prisoner, Muḥammad b. *Rashīd* became ruler of al-Riyāḍ. The difficulties of ruling the scattered territory induced him to restore 'Abd al-Rahmān to al-Riyāḍ. When the latter fled to *Hofhūf* and put himself under the protection of the Turks, Muḥammad b. *Rashīd* installed in 1892 prince Muḥammad b. *Faiṣal*

as his governor. But while Muḥammad's son 'Abd al-'Aziz was fighting with al-Kuwait, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Faiṣal* succeeded in retaking al-Riyāḍ for his father and gaining his general recognition as ruler in 1902; in 1909 he even succeeded in getting *Ibn Rashīd* to acknowledge his suzerainty. Since then al-Riyāḍ has been the undisputed capital of the *Wahhābī* kingdom.

A second al-Riyāḍ between *Mahra* and *Ḥaḍramawt* has a place in history from an encounter there during the *Kinda* rising in the caliphate of *Abū Bakr* and is mentioned by *Yāqūt*, *Mu'djam*, ii. 881 sq.

*Bibliography*: L. Pelly, *A Visit to the Wahabee Capital, Central Arabia*, in *J.R.G.S.*, xxxv. (1865), p. 176 sq., 179—181, 185; W. G. Palgrave, *Reise in Arabien*, i. (Leipzig 1867), p. 297 sqq.; ii. (Leipzig 1868), p. 30—55; A. Musil, *Eben Raṣūd*, in *Ö.M.F.O.*, xliii. (1917), p. 14, 45 sqq., 80 sqq., 109; *Eben Sa'ūd*, *ibid.*, p. 165 sq., 207—248, 297, 299; H. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, i. (London 1922), p. 60—107, plan p. 170, pictures from al-Riyāḍ at p. 168 (palace), 172 (great mosque), 174 (view of *Riyāḍ*), 176 (gardens). (A. GROHMANN)

**RIZĀ'Ī** (RIZĀ'Ī), AḲĀ, an Indo-Persian miniature painter of the end of the xvth and beginning of the xvith century. *Djahāngir* records in his *Memoirs* that *Rizā'ī* came from *Herāt* (according to some MSS. from *Merw*) and entered his service before his accession. He was one of the succession of Persian painters who came to the *Mughal* court from *Humāyūn*'s time and continued to paint there in a somewhat modified Persian style. In addition to a miniature in the Fine Arts Museum in Boston and another in the *Islamische Kunstabteilung* of the *Staatliche Museen* in Berlin the most important miniatures by him are in the *Djahāngir Album* now in the *Gulistan Museum* in *Tehran*, painted before 1017 (1608—1609) and five miniatures in the *Anwār-i Suhailī*, British Museum, Add. 18,579 (fol. 21<sup>a</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>, 40<sup>b</sup>, 54<sup>b</sup> and 331<sup>b</sup>) of which two are dated 1013 (1604—1605). AḲā *Rizā'ī* worked along with other leading artists of the time on these two representative works at the period of *Djahāngir*. His signatures usually contain a reference to his master, *Salīm* or *Djahāngir*, frequently in the form, not otherwise usual, *murīd-i pādīshāh Salīm* "pupil of the emperor *Salīm*", and the formula *bī-ikhṭlās* "in sincerity"; from these additions we learn that besides AḲā *Rizā'ī*, he was also known as AḲā (or Aghā) *Rizā* or (AḲā) Muḥammad *Rizā* which he or the librarians of the *Mughal* emperor put below his works. He was the father of *Abū 'l-Ḥasan*, to whom *Djahāngir* gave the title of honour *Nādir al-Zamān*, and whose work he esteemed more highly than that of AḲā *Rizā'ī*.

*Bibliography*: *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri*, transl. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, ii. 20; P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig 1914, pl. 147<sup>b</sup>; P. Browne, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924, p. 65, 66, 75, 82; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Mughal painting*, in *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, iii. 202—206 and fig. 11; do., *Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston*, Paris-Brussels 1929 (*Ars Asiatica*, xiii.), p. 69—71 (N<sup>o</sup>. 110 and 111) and pl. xliii.; *The Lights of Canopus*, *Anwar-i Suhailī*, described by J. V. S. Wilkinson, London n.d., p. 15 and pl. iii., iv., v., vii.,

xxix.; E. Blochet, *Les Peintures de la collection Pozzi*, in *Bulletin de la Société Française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, xii., Paris 1928, p. 40—43; A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII<sup>ème</sup> au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Paris-Brussels 1929, p. 129; Jeanne Gobeaux-Thonet, *Agā Rizā on Rizā Abbāsi? (Mélanges de philol. or.)*, Liège-Louvain 1932, p. 105—110; Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, p. 149 (N<sup>o</sup>. 236), 160, 192 and pl. civa; Wilkinson and Gray, *Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum*, in *Burlington Museum*, 1934; R. Ettinghausen, *Agā Rizāʾi*, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, vol. xxviii., Leipzig 1934, s.v. Rizā. (E. ETTINGHAUSEN)

**RODOSTO**, Turkish Rodosdjik, officially Tekir (Tekfūr) Dagħ from the range of hills which runs along the coast to the southwest (3,000 feet), is the only harbour worth mentioning on the sea of Marmara, belonged once to the *wilāyet* of Adrianople [see EDIRNE], is now the capital of its own *wilāyet* (5,950 km<sup>2</sup>; 1926: 132,120 inhabitants), was formerly the see of a Greek archbishop and has, in addition to seven churches, numerous mosques, an excellent roadstead, baths and a busy trade. The little town which at one time had about 40,000 inhabitants of whom half were Greeks, grew vegetables and grapes and has now about 15,000 (1927: 14,387) inhabitants. It stands on the site of the ancient Bisánthe (Βισάνθη), later Rhaidestós (Ραιδεστός) and passed to the Ottomans in 759 (1357) when they crossed the straits (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, I, 147). Details of the clever strategy by which the fortress was taken by the general Ewrenos Beg [q. v.] are recorded by the early Turkish chroniclers (cf. J. Leunclavius, *Histor. Musulm. Turc.*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 224,43 sqq.). The town played no special part in the political history of the Ottoman empire; it was however the birthplace of several men of note in the intellectual history of the country. Nāmīk Kemāl [q. v.] was born here. A certain Aḥmad Luṭfī b. Ḥādjīdī Ḥasan about 1160 (1747) composed a list of contemporary poets of Tekfūr Dagħ (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 284, note 1 and thereon R. Hartmann, in *O. L. Z.*, 1929, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, col. 43, note 1). Ḥādjīdī Kḥalifa [q. v.], about the middle of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, describes Rodosdjik, as he calls it, as a fortified town and kaḍāllīk in the sandjak of Gallipoli with fine streets, a large free kitchen (*imāret*), baths and inns. According to the same authority, the grand vizier Rustem Pasha [q. v.] had a large and spacious *kḥān* built there with a free kitchen by the architect Sinān [q. v.] where travellers passing through were fed and housed free of charge (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 61). In Rodosto the Hungarian liberator Francis II Rákóczi died in exile on April 8, 1735 [q. v.] as well as several of his comrades, such as Count Anton v. Eszterházy; cf. the inscriptions in the Catholic Church in Rodosto given by J. v. Hammer in the appendix to his *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinople nach Brussa* (Pest 1818), p. 198 sqq. Rodosto is described as a miserable little place by earlier travellers such as Lord Keppel (1829; cf. his *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan*, London 1831, i. 68, 126 sqq.).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works cited above see on the importance of Rodosto as a commercial centre in the pre-Ottoman period: W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*,

Leipzig 1885, i. 243, 257, 270, 285, 431, 512; ii. 177; Ami Boué, *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i. 145; Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Lughāt-i taʾriḫiye we-ḡjogrāfiye*, ii., Stambul 1299, p. 270 sq.; Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Kāmus ul-Aʿlām*, iii. 1661 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

**RU'BA B. AL-ʿADJDĪDĪJ** AL-TAMĪMĪ, Arab poet. The name of Ru'ba is found more frequently among persons of Eastern Arabia, the part of the country most under Persian influence, than is generally supposed. Philologists give many explanations of the strange name, but I am convinced that it is the Arabic version of the Persian word *rūbāh* meaning "fox". Al-Āmidī in his *Kitāb al-Muʿtalif wa l-Mukhtalif* (p. 121—122) mentions three poets of this name, but only Ru'ba b. al-ʿAdjdīdī of the clan of the Banū Mālik b. Saʿd Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm attained any celebrity as a poet of *radjāz*, in which class of poetry he is supposed to have excelled his father and the latter's rival Abu l-Nadīm al-ʿIdjlī. Of his life only little is known. Born about the year 65 (685) he spent most of his time in the Bādiya and came into the cities only to beg presents for his eulogies from the great. During his middle life he must have been wandering with the armies which were extending the Muslim empire in Eastern Persia. I have no doubt that his earliest compositions are lost, but we have a poem (N<sup>o</sup>. 22 of Ahlwardt's edition) addressed to al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Thakafī who conquered part of Sind in 94 (713) and was killed the following year after his recall from India. Then he travelled, whether as a soldier or for the sake of trade, in Eastern Persia and his next poem (N<sup>o</sup>. 26) is addressed to another governor of Sind, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿĀis al-Dhibī who was there a few years later. Whether he was in Kḥurāsān during the troubled times after the murder of ʾQutaiba b. Muslim (96 = 715) is not clear, but several poems are addressed to persons who took an active part in those wars. His poem against al-Muḥallab (N<sup>o</sup>. 27) proves that he took sides against the Yamanis, as also that in praise of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik who defeated and killed Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab in 102 (720). His later poems are again addressed to persons in Eastern Persia: Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuẓāʾī, who was in 129 (747) in Kirmān, and Naṣr b. Saiyār who in vain tried to stem the rising of Abū Muslim and died in 131 (749). One poem (N<sup>o</sup>. 41) is addressed to the last Umawī caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, in whom he still places hopes that he will overcome all his enemies.

Having thus proved his loyalty to the Umawī cause it is not surprising that Ru'ba was in fear of his life when he was called before Abū Muslim, whom he found to have an excellent knowledge of Arabic. Two poems he addressed to Abū Muslim and there are also a few in praise of members of the new dynasty; one is addressed to Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ (N<sup>o</sup>. 55), two to the latter's uncle Sulaimān b. ʿAlī (Nrs. 45 and 47) and the last poems in date by Ru'ba are in praise of al-Manṣūr (N<sup>o</sup>. 14 and *Dijamben*, N<sup>o</sup>. 8). He was then an old man and his death is stated to have taken place in 145 (762).

All poetry of Ru'ba is in *radjāz*; the few verses in other metres I have found in all cases to be attributed to him in error. He learned the art from his father al-ʿAdjdīdī who is accused of having appropriated poems of his son, when the latter commenced to practice the art of his father.



We have one poem by Ru'ba against his father (N<sup>o</sup>. 37). From his father he had also inherited a predilection for uncommon words and his poems are some of the most difficult ones in the language, abounding in words which are not used, or rarely employed, by other poets so that one gets suspicious that, for the sake of effect, he deliberately coined new words. He loves more than any other Arabic poet a kind of alliteration, or rather accumulation of several forms derived from the same verbal root. Nobody can find beauty in this manner and the poems of Ru'ba were perhaps preserved chiefly for the harvest lexicographers could reap from them. This is amply proved by the vast mass of citations found in the large dictionaries, amounting to several thousands in the *Lisān al-'Arab*. It is not to be wondered at that the scholars of al-Baṣra, not so much of al-Kūfa, should visit him with a view to increasing their knowledge till he himself became weary of it. We find Ibn Khālawaihi in his *I'rāb thalāthīn Sūra* citing Ru'ba even for readings of the Kur'ān, which have no other foundation than that of differing from those of the other readers.

Ru'ba had two sons, one 'Abd Allāh, to whom he has addressed two poems, and 'Ukba who also composed poems of the type of those of his father (Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*; Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 23; Marzubāni, *Muwashshah*, p. 218 and 366; Ibn Rashīq, *Umda*, i. 136).

The poems of Ru'ba were collected into a *Dīwān* by Abū 'Amr Ishāq b. Mirār al-Shaibāni, Ibn al-'Arabi and al-Sukkari, of which the last two are probably represented by the MSS. in Cairo and copies in Strassburg and Berlin (cf. *Dijamben*, Nrs. 40—44). The contents of these manuscripts have been published by Ahlwardt (Berlin 1903) unfortunately without the commentary, which is essential for their proper understanding, and in alphabetical order, which obscures the original plan of the collection. As this edition is incomplete R. Geyer published in 1908, with the title *Alt-arabische Dijamben*, eleven poems, with the commentary, which are omitted by Ahlwardt. Ahlwardt had added at the end of his edition a collection of verses attributed to Ru'ba in a number of other works. This collection was further increased by Geyer in his *Beiträge zum Dīwān des Ru'ba* (S. B. Ak. Wien, vol. 163, 1910). Even then there remain lines attributed to Ru'ba which have escaped both Ahlwardt and Geyer. Many lines however are not by Ru'ba, but by other poets, and there was early some confusion between his poems and those of his father.

**Bibliography:** Biographical notices of Ru'ba are found in Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Hell, p. 147 (the MS. is here incomplete); Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 376—381; Marzubāni, *Muwashshah*, p. 219; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xxi. 84—91; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1910, i. 187. — Verses of Ru'ba are cited in abundance in all dictionaries. (F. KRENKOW)

**RUWALA** (Arab. also: Ruwalā; Engl. Roāla, Ruala, Ruwālla, Ruweilah; German frequently: Ruala, Rualla, Ruola, also Rawalla and Erwalla; French Rou'ala, Roualla), the most important Beduin tribe in north Arabia at the present day.

According to Nawwāf, the son of the Ruwala chief al-Nūri b. Sha'lān, who was living in Damascus in 1926, the Ruwala belong to the Ḍanā Muslim group of the 'Anaza [q. v.] who all recognise his

authority. The Ḍanā Muslim, according to Nawwāf, consist of the Benī Wahnāb (subdivisions: al-Hsene [Hesēneh, Hasanah] and Weld 'Alī) and the Āl Djlās (Jelāas, Jellās) who in turn are divided into the Mīhleḥ (Muhallaf) and Ruwala. The Ruwala themselves are divided into the following clans (*bedāyed*): Āl Dughmān, Āl Mur'ad (Mur'īd), al-Fredje (Furaidja, Furjah), al-Ka'āz'a (Ka'ādja'a, Ka'ka'a) and Āl Māne'. The Kwāḍbe (Kawākibah) who claim descent from Kaḥtān [q. v.], also camp with the Ruwala (Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 14—16; following him: F. Hamza, *Kalb*, p. 170—173, who, however — like the *Handbook of Arabia*, i. 50 sq. — mentions the Ruwala along with the Mīhleḥ and Weld 'Alī as a direct subdivision of the Ḍanā Muslim). Raswan, *op. cit.*, p. 67, in 1926 estimated their numbers at about 35,000 with 7,000 tents and 350,000 camels; the *Handbook*, *ibid.*, gives only 3,500 tents, while Blunt, *op. cit.*, ii. 191 sq. in 1879 puts the number of the Roāla or Jelāas at 12,000. These differences are explained mainly from the fact that the classification of the various clans is not uniform (cf. Doughty, *op. cit.*, i. 229, 331). That the Ruwala are also called "Kalās" or "Djelaes" is mentioned as early as Wallin, *op. cit.*, p. 149 and Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 6; the latter observes (ii. 2) however that the Rowalla (along with the Omhallee [= Muhallaf]) are really only a clan of the Djelās. For the Rowalla of the Djelās he gives (*ibid.*, ii. 26) Khaibar as their abode. Doughty, ii. 76 (cf. i. 331) traversed the Wādī Jellās there "named after the old division of the 'Anaza", who, he says, had long left Khaibar and are now with the Ruwālla in the north. The whole country round Samira was in olden times called *Dīrat* Ruwālla (*ibid.*, ii. 301). As Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Fleischer, p. 194; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 300; Yāqūt, iii. 644) already mentions 'Anaza in Khaibar it may be supposed that the old centres of the Ruwala were in this region (the identification of the *Rhoali* of Pliny with the Ruwala proposed by Blau in *Z.D.M.G.*, xvi. [1862], p. 387 is doubted with good reason by Nöldeke, *ibid.*, xl. [1886], p. 182). Before the 'Anaza penetrated into the Syrian desert, they are said to have divided it among themselves so that the Wādī Sirhān and the northern marches of the Ḥijāz and Nejd were allotted to the Ruwala (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 215). The Ruwala were almost the last 'Anaza tribe to take part in this migration, and reached the latitude of Damascus towards the end of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century (Blunt, ii. 180). In 1809 they defeated on the Khābūr a force of 6,000 men sent against them by the Pasha of Baghdād; in July, 1810, they accompanied the Wahnābis to the Ḥawrān and in 1812 Burckhardt (*Travels*, p. 355; cf. *Notes*, i. 7) found them in 'Ammān at war with the Benī Ṣakhr. The ground they covered was then much the same as it is now: from roughly Hamā and Ḥimṣ in the north to Kaṣr al-Azraq south of the Djebel al-Durūz and beyond along the Wādī Sirhān to Djawf. In the summer they graze to the south of Damascus and in the west go as far as al-Djawlān, but in the east they do not go much beyond the Djebel 'Amūd and the sources of the Wādī Ḥawrān (*Handbook*, p. 46 sq.; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 408). All travellers from Burckhardt onwards in this region mention them. Their permanent winter-quarters are the district round Djawf [q. v.], which paid tribute to them from about 1820 to 1853 and which they seized

again in 1909 from their hereditary enemy, the Shammar [q. v.] (Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 553; cf. Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 663; Wallin, p. 141, 149; Wetzstein, Rosen, *op. cit.*, etc.). Wallin (p. 163, cf. 197) saw their tents still farther south in Djubba, and Euting (ii. 100, cf. 152) even in Ḥā'il [q. v.]. They share the Wādī Sirḥān with the Shammar whose chief Ṭalāl b. Rashīd destroyed the wells at Shaḳīḳ to make more difficult their raids on the Djebel Shammar (Wallin, p. 159; Rosen, p. 214; Huber, p. 334). According to Blunt, ii. 138 they were already much richer and more powerful than the Shammar and at the present day the latter are partly dependent on them. They are even regarded as invincible and with their powerful allies, the Weld 'Alī, Muhallaf and Hasanah, take first place among the tribes of north Arabia (*Handbook*, p. 46 sq.; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 253). The ruling *shaikh* belongs to the family of Sha'lān of the clan of the Mur'ad (therefore the principal group of the Ruwala is also called Benī Sha'lān: E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, vi. [1934], p. 89, n. 3). Saṭṭām b. Sha'lān received the travellers Huber, Blunt and Nolde. After the murder of two of his sons, a third son al-Nūri became *shaikh* of the tribe (Musil, *ibid.*, p. 238—243). At the end of the World War he went to Damascus after handing over the leadership of the tribe, whose supreme chief he still remained, to his son Nawwāf "the most advanced political thinker in the desert" (*Handbook*, p. 47 sq.). When the latter died, he gave the chieftainship to his grandson Amir Fu'ād, whom Raswan (p. 17) in 1926 met at the head of the tribe.

Musil's work on the manners and customs of the Ruwala contains valuable material for the study of the mode of life and dialect of this Beduin tribe. Like the 'Anaza [q. v.] in general, they are by no means strict followers of the precepts of Islām, but pay great attention to nature which they believe to be filled with *djinn*, *harāfil* or *djenūn* (p. 389, 411). Their seers or sorcerers (*ahl al-sirr*) are in communication with Allāh through angels (*malak* called *munābi* or *mnābi* "spokesman"). They are known among themselves as *aṣḥāb al-islām* and claim to have inherited their supernatural qualities, their *islām* (frequently something like "ecstasy"), from their forefathers (p. 400 sq.). The form and tradition of their poetry recalls very much the conditions of the *Djāhiliya*; alongside of shorter poems there are also longer *ḡaṣidas*. The themes are in the main the same as of old but in the glorification of battles we sometimes find the superiority of modern arms praised. Instead of the "mediæval" equipment (Wetzstein; the composition of an army of the 'Anaza in 1858 in his *Reisebericht*, p. 143—145) the Ruwala now have a number of modern motorcars with machine-guns (cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 68 sq.; their other arms: p. 196); when in 1926 famine drove them in large numbers

into Syria, the French were anxious about their mandated territory and had their progress watched by aeroplanes.

**Bibliography:** The chief authorities are the works of Musil: *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, New York 1928; *Arabia Deserta*, *ibid.* 1927; *Palmyrena*, *ibid.* 1928; *Northern Negd*, *ibid.* 1928; *Northern Ḥeḡāz*, *ibid.* 1926, Indices; do., *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Vienna 1908), p. 103, 123, 398. — A. Sprenger, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xvii. (1863), p. 226 (statistics of the year 1818); J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, London 1831, i. 3, 6 sq.; ii. 1 sqq., 26; do., *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 94, 355, 382, 663; G. A. Wallin, *Narrative of a Journey...*, in *J. R.G.S.*, xxiv. (1854), p. 115—207 *passim*; A. v. Kremer, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, Vienna 1853, p. 201 sq.; J. G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hawran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, p. 72, 102 sq., 138—150; do., in *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. (1857), p. 484; W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey...*, London 1865, i. 21, 84; C. Guarmani, *Itinéraire de Jérusalem au Neged septentrional*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, v/x (1865), p. 269, 283, 385, 390 sq., 506 sq., 509; cf. G. Rosen, *Guarmani's Reise...*, in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Edk.*, N. S. xviii. (1865), p. 214—216; A. Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, London 1879, esp. i. 269; ii. 136—150, 180, 191 sq., 234—236, 255; C. Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie centrale, 1878—82*, in *Bull. Soc. Géogr.*, vii/v (1884), esp. p. 304 and 334; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, Index; E. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien...*, Braunschweig 1895, p. 10, 27; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*. Leyden 1896 and 1914, i. 93; ii. 2, 100, 152; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, London 1927, index; do., *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London 1935, esp. p. 173—175, 272 sq., 385, 577—649 *passim*; H. S. J. B. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhābis*, London 1928, p. 221 sq.; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, p. 28, 42—45, 68, 96, 112—123, 196—200, 214—216; C. R. Raswan, *Im Land der schwarzen Zelte*, Berlin 1934 (with good photographs); E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, vi. (1934), p. 79, 89, 102, 110 sq., 183, 208. — For the travel literature in general: A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 220—269; D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905, Index. — Further: *A Handbook of Arabia*, compiled by the Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, i. (London n. d.), p. 45—51, 57, 77, 90, 397; Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Kalb Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, Mekka 1352, p. 170—174, 381, 384; Dj. Bik, *Sharḳi al-Urdunn wa-Kabā'iluha*, Jerusalem n. d., p. 6 sq. 170, 176, 178, 219, 226, 232, 235.

(H. KINDERMANN)



## S

**SABAB** (A., pl. *asbāb*) is with *illa* (pl. *ʿilal*), the general term for cause in the Peripatetic sense: the two expressions are used to a great extent synonymously like ἀρχή and αἰτία or αἰτίον in Aristotle. Ibn Rushd (*Mā ba'd al-Tabi'a*, Cairo, p. 15) says that sabab and *illa* are synonyms. Previous to him, Abū Ṣālt (d. 1134) used them in his Logic (Madrid, p. 50 of Arabic text) with the same meaning. Many examples for the synonymous use could also be quoted from the older writings of eastern Islām. Although for example God is usually called by the philosophers the first *illa*, he is often called with the same meaning sabab or first sabab (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Risāla* 41, Bombay, p. 142; Fārābī, *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 57 *supra*; Ibn Sīnā, *Tis' Rasā'il*, Constantinople, p. 86 *supra*; Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 258, 13). The statement of the dictionaries that *illa* means the primary, sabab the secondary cause could therefore be qualified. In another way the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, p. 13 *infra*), distinguishes the primary *ilal* of the upper world from the secondary *ilal* of the lower world; both are therefore known as *ilal*. It may perhaps be asserted that in the earliest period the use of *illa* was predominant, and that the expression "*illa* and sabab" can be translated by reason (*ratio*) and cause (*causa*). In the philosophy of those days however, no sharp distinction was made between cause and reason. It may be added that special treatises on the relation of causality are entitled *Fi 'l-ʿIlā wa 'l-Ma'lūl*.

The Aristotelian theory of causality — we must point this out at once — is of a static rather than a dynamic nature [cf. the article *ḲUWWA* in the Supplement], i.e. primarily the elements or principles (ἀρχαί) of being are known as causes. Therefore *awā'il*, *mabādī*, *uṣūl* and *istūḳisāt* are used more or less synonymously with *ilal* and *asbāb*. For example in Tawhīdī's *Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1929, p. 156 the *mabādī* or *awā'il* are enumerated, namely for the category of substance, form and matter, for the *quantum* (read *al-kam*) the point and the one, and for the *quale* rest and motion.

But let us confine ourselves to the four *asbāb* (for these also we sometimes find *ilal*) of the Aristotelian *Physics* and *Metaphysics* (*Phys.*, ii, 3 and 7; *Met.*, i, 3—7 and viii, *sqq.*!) From *Met.*, i, 3 *sqq.*, an historical introduction, it is clear that the Aristotelian doctrine of causes is a synthesis of principles laid down before him. The animated matter of the old natural philosophers, the *nous* of Anaxagoras as the principle of motion and the Platonic ideas in their Aristotelian form are to yield us in their combination a complete survey of the principles of being. Unfortunately the systematic exposition in the present form of the text (esp. *Met.*, viii, *sqq.*) is rather obscure and amalgamated with the doctrine of power and action. This much is clear that causes do not here mean the conditions for happenings in succession in time but rather the components of being. In the *Physics*, matter (ὕλη) occupies the first place, and in the

*Metaphysics* form (εἶδος or μορφή) dominates. These two, matter and form, are probably designated as inner causes, i.e. as the elements out of which bodies are composed. Matter is then the passive, form the active element; the latter is the real being or the idea of the thing (cf. *Met.*, xii, 4, p. 1070b). Next come, as the so-called external causes, the principle of motion (τὸ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις, τὸ κινεῖν) and the purpose (τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα, τὸ τέλος, τὰ γὰρ αὖτον). Not all being however can be broken up into these four causes. God is absolutely non-material; he is prime cause for the world which moves out of longing for him. In the organic (cf. *Phys.*, ii, 7 and *De anima*, ii, 4, p. 415) the soul is the unit of form of being, effectual cause and purpose. On the other hand, in the building of a house for example, the four causes are distinguished: in addition to the material we have the form of the building in the mind of the architect, the carrying out of the work, and the purpose of inhabitation.

So far Aristotle. But his doctrine of the four causes, among which the form of being is specially emphasised, would have hardly found acceptance among the Muslims if Stoic and Neo-Platonic elements had not been incorporated in it. The teaching of the Stoics regarding effective forces (λόγοι, *kali-māt*) and especially the conception of God as the first effectual cause of all being and happening (according to the "Theology" and *Liber de causis*) made it possible for Muslim philosophers to accept the Peripatetic doctrine of causality. According to the works mentioned, God is in the full sense the first cause which effects everything, if in part through the intermediary of lower spirits. From these spirits (*uḳūl*) which are not quite pure, i.e. possess to a greater or less extent a receptive power, creative forces go out as influences upon the lower world. The series of causes however cannot go on infinitely, it has its origin as well as its conclusion in God. He is (*Liber de causis*, ed. Bardenhewer, p. 105) the self-existing one, who is at once cause and caused (*illa* and *ma'lūl*), i.e. *causa sui*.

As a result of the Neo-Platonic transposition of the point of view this series of the four causes is often found in the Muslim philosophers (e.g. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Risāla* 40 [selection by Dieterici], p. 554 and Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, p. 367 *sqq.*): 1. effectual cause (*fā'il*, *mabda'* *al-ḥaraka*); 2. matter (*hayūlā*, *mādda*, *unṣur*); 3. form (*ṣūra*); 4. purpose (*ghāya*, *gharaḥ*, *tamām*).

The cause of all being and happening, the first and the last is God; philosophers and theologians are agreed on this point. But for the rest they talk a different language. According to the philosophers, cause and result are always together: a perfect cause can never be without result. God precedes the world, not as regards time but as regards perfection and order. God thinks the world and it exists. His being, which is identical with his thought, finds no obstacles, knows neither postponement nor cessation. On the other hand, the

theologians insisted with many variations that God is a freely willing and effective cause (better: causer): he creates what, how and when he wills. Ghazālī defended this point of view in his *Tahāfut*. He would not, however, describe as heresy the teaching of some Muʿtazilis that there is a natural concatenation of causes and effects in the temporal (*talāzim al-asbāb* = *taʿallud*) (cf. *Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 377).

The Ikhwān al-Šafāʾ are distinguished from the more Peripatetic schools of Islām among by the fact that other things they do not regard matter but the form of being as the *principium individuationis*.

Fārābī's writings, so far as they are accessible, do not contain a special treatise on the four causes. His endeavour is mainly to trace all causes back to God as the first and last cause. God creates the world by his thinking and therefore he knows it also in general as created by him.

The doctrine of the four causes is developed by Fārābī's successors but always overlaid by the conceptions of power and action and the theory of emanation.

Ibn Sinā deals with the theory of causality in different ways, most fully in his *Shifāʾ* (see Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, vi., p. 367—441). His general suppositions and conditions are roughly as follows: 1. the cause is always together with as the caused, and with the disappearance of the cause the caused also disappears; 2. the cause is higher in rank than its effect; 3. God, the first and necessary cause of all, is absolutely indivisible, and only in what is not divine can a plurality of causes be distinguished; 4. in all being except God — Fārābī had already taught this — being (*māhiyya* or *ḥaqīqa*) and existence (*wuǧūd*) are to be distinguished; 5. the two causes of the being of a thing are matter and form, and of its existence effective cause and purpose; 6. the final purpose determines the effective cause and is therefore the effective cause of the effective cause (cf. Ibn Sinā's *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, p. 139 sqq.).

In his *Metaphysics*, vi., he deals in the first place with cause, then with matter, form and purpose, matter and form being treated comparatively briefly, cause and particularly purpose more fully. His doctrine of causality therefore culminates in teleology. All things are striving for the perfection of their being, as Aristotles had already taught. The development from potentiality to action therefore coincides with the striving of all things to their goal. — I cannot here go into details of the exposition which is mainly taken from Aristotle and the commentators.

Ibn Ruṣḥd follows the main teachings of his eastern predecessors, although he criticises them in minor points. When he gives the four asbāb elsewhere than in his commentaries he almost always mentions the effective cause (*al-fāʿil*) first. This is God, who precedes the world, not in time but according to his *sababiyya* (does this abstract conception come from Ibn Ruṣḥd? see *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 64, 17 sq.). Cf. also on his doctrine of causes the *Epitome* in the translation by S. v. d. Bergh, p. 25 sq., 98 sqq., 171 sq., 232 sqq.

As an appendix we may add that dogmatic theologians since the xi. century A.D. use *asbāb al-ʿilm* (cf. *uṣūl*) to denote the general sources of knowledge: perception by the senses, reliable

tradition, and intelligent investigation (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 253, 263), and that mystics mean by asbāb especially nutriment, on which they lay little stress on account of their absolute trust in God (see R. Hartmann, *Kuschairis Darstellung des Sufitums*, S. 28—30).

*Bibliography*: in the text; cf. also the articles MĀDDA, NŪR and ŠHART, as well as ʿĀLAM, ATHAR and FAIP in the Supplement.

(TJ. DE BOER)

ŠABYĀ, a town in South Arabia, one of the chief centres of the Wādī Bisha in ʿAsir, celebrated for the fine breed of asses which are reared there. Šabya (Niebuhr's Sabbea) after the conquest of ʿAsir by the Turks in 1871 became the capital of the qazā of the same name and is now the capital of the independent hereditary prince of ʿAsir.

*Bibliography*: al-Hamdānī, *Šifāt Djazirāt al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 54, 73, 217; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 367; v. 23; *Marāšid al-Iṭtilāʾ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leyden 1853, ii. 146; K. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, VIII/1, Berlin 1846, p. 992; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 229, 268, 293; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England* (Hamburgische Forschungen, i. 1916), p. 88. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

ŠAFĪ AL-DĪN, ʿABD AL-MUʿMIN B. YŪSUF B. FĀKHİR AL-URMAWĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, was one of the best known Arabic writers on the theory of music. (In the *Nashra bi-Asmāʾ Kutub al-Musiḳā*... *Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya*, Cairo 1932, he is called ʿAbd al-Muʿmin b. Abi ʿl-Mafākhir. There is no justification for preferring Fakīr to Fākhīr. See Collangettes, in *J. A.*, Nov.—Dec. 1904, p. 383 and Sarton, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, II/ii. 1034). Although his family came from Urmia, he himself appears to have been born and educated in Baghdād. During the last year of the reign of al-Mustaʿšim (d. 1258), the last of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, he was in the service of the caliph as his minstrel and boon companion. He was also one of his librarians and copyists, having been placed in charge of the new library which this caliph established in his palace. Ibn Taghribardī declares that in music no one had excelled him since the days of Iṣḥāk al-Mawsili [q. v.] whilst in calligraphy he is claimed to have been equal to Yāqūt [q. v.] and Ibn Muḳla [q. v.]. His stipend from the caliph was 5,000 *dinār*. Ḥāǧǧī Khalifa (iii. 413) recounts a story from the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (III/i. 61) about him. When Hülāǧū sacked Baghdād in 1258, Šafī al-Dīn, by reason of his reputation in music, was able to gain access to the Mughal conqueror, and so charmed him by his performances on the ʿūd (lute), that he and his family were spared. He then entered the service of Hülāǧū, who granted him 10,000 *dinār* a year from the revenues of Baghdād. Here he remained as tutor to the sons of the Mughal wazīr, or *ṣāhib diwān*, Šhams al-Dīn al-Djuwainī [q. v.]. Both of these young men, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1279) and Šaraf al-Dīn Hārūn (d. 1286), became ardent patrons of art and literature (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 11—12; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 21). It was for Šaraf al-Dīn Hārūn that Šafī al-Dīn wrote his famous treatise on the theory of music entitled the *Risālat al-Šarafīyya* fi



'*l-Nisab al-ta'lifiya* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 496, says that it was written about the year 1252, and he makes Shams al-Din al-Djuwaini the wazir of al-Musta'şim; see also Sarton, *loc. cit.*). Through the influence of Shams al-Din al-Djuwaini, the wazir, and 'Alā' al-Din al-Djuwaini, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Djahān-Kushāi*, the famous musician was given charge of the Correspondence Bureau (*diwān-i inshā'*) at Baghdād. In 1265 he accompanied Bahā' al-Din Muhammad to Isfahān, when the latter was appointed Governor of 'Irāq 'Adjamī. After the death of his protector in 1279, but more especially after the fall of the Djuwaini family (1284 *sq.*), Şafī al-Din fell into neglect. Eventually absolute poverty was his portion, and this great musician who, in the hey-day of his success, was famed for his entertainments, and could spend 4,000 *dirham* on fruits and perfumes for his friends, was flung into prison for a debt of 300 *dinār*, where he died Jan. 28, 1294.

Besides his *Risālat al-Sharafiya*, Şafī al-Din was the author of another work on music, the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, as well as a book on prosody entitled *Fī 'Ulūm al-'Arūd wa 'l-Kawāfi wa 'l-Badi'*. This latter, which deserves editing and translating, is in the Bodleian Library (Grove's *Dictionary of Music*<sup>3</sup>, iv. 498, wrongly describes the latter work as dealing with rhythm [*īkā'*], an error due, probably, to the Latin title given this work in the Bodleian Library Catalogue [*Bibl. Bodleianae cod. manuscr. orient. Catalogus*, ii., ccxlvii.]. Grove is also wrong in assuming that the *Risālat al-Sharafiya* "is derived from al-Fārābī's treatise, which it simplified and improved". On the contrary, it is a highly original work and in several instances the author challenges the statements of al-Fārābī). The two books on music by Şafī al-Din are to be found in manuscript in several libraries, notably in the Bodleian (see Farmer, *Arabic Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, where the contents are described), British Museum (Or. 2361; Or. 136), Berlin (Ahlwardt, 5506), Paris (De Slane, 2479), Vienna (Flügel, 1515, 1516), Cairo (*Funūn djāmila*, 8, 349, 428, 507, 508, 509). A résumé (not a translation, cf. Grove's *Dictionary of Music*) of the *Risālat al-Sharafiya* was published in French by Carra de Vaux in 1891, and the present writer hopes to include the text with an English translation (also the *Kitāb al-Adwār*) in his *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music*. Şafī al-Din reveals himself a master of his subject (*Hādjdjī Khilifa*, vi. 255), and nearly every subsequent Arabic and Persian writer on music pays due tribute to him, including Kṭub al-Din al-Shirāzī [q. v., where his *Durrat al-Tādī*, which includes a valuable section on music, is not mentioned], Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Āmulī in his *Naf'is al-Funūn*, the author of the *Kanz al-Tuhaf*, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī, his son 'Abd al-'Aziz, and his grandson Maḥmūd, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Lādhikī, and many others. Several commentaries on his theories have been written in Arabic, notably the *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh* and another by Fakhr al-Din al-Khudjandī, both in the British Museum (Or. 2361). The former is perhaps by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī [q. v.] and scarcely by "a certain Mubārak Shāh" (d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i., xxv.). Şafī al-Din is especially renowned as the pioneer of the so-called "Systematist Theory", in which the octave was divided into seventeen

intervals. Indeed, he may have been the founder of it, although Helmholtz thought that it could be traced back to Sāsānid times (*Sensations of Tone*, 3rd Engl. ed., p. 280), a statement prompted by Kiesewetter (*Die Musik der Araber*). This theory "shows an essential advance on the Pythagorean system" said Helmholtz, whilst Sir C. Hubert H. Parry said that it established "the most perfect scale ever devised" (*The Art of Music*, i. 29). The *Kitāb al-Adwār* contains a piece of vocal music written in the secondary mode (*āwāz*) called *nawrūz* and in the rhythmic mode (*ḍarb*) of *ramal*, which is perhaps the oldest example of Arabian or Persian music in notation that has come down to us from written sources. It has been given in facsimile in the present writer's *History of Arabian Music* (facing p. 20) and has been dealt with by J. P. N. Land in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, ii. (1886), p. 351 *sq.* Whilst at Isfahān, Şafī al-Din invented two musical instruments, the *nusha*, a rectangular psaltery, and the *mughnī*, a sort of arch-lute. Both of these instruments are described in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fols. 263v—264, 264v—265), and designs of them are given in the present writer's *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (1931) and *Arabic Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (1925).

*Bibliography*: Biography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāṭ al-Wafayāt*, Būlak, ii. 18—19; *Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay, p. 43, 55, 61, 65; Ibn Taghribardī, *al-Manhal al-Sūfī*, iv., sub ع; *Kitāb al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 449—

450; transl. by E. Amar (*Archives Marocaines*, xvi. 372); 'Alā' al-Din al-Djuwaini, *Ta'rikh-i Djahān-Kushāi* (G. M. S., xvi/1.), *Introd.*, li.; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 227—229; Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, iv. 342, 363; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, II/ii. 1034—1035. — Theory: Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 202—206; do, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, see Index; Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux... par Safi ed-Din...* (1891); Arnold and Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 361, 366, 368; Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, p. 13—15, 21, *sqq.*; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* (*Actes VIème Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, 1883, p. 72—75, 78—84); Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, see Index; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (*J. A.*, 1904 and 1906).

(H. G. FARMER)

AL-SAFĪNA (A.), the usual word for "ship" in general, in a more special sense than *markab* which means "conveyance" in the widest sense of the word. There is a vast number of terms in Arabic for the various kinds of ships, but they are for the most part foreign loanwords, in which connection it may be noted that the loanword usually expresses the main distinctive idea of any given type of ship (cf. Kindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 112 *sq.*). Even the common word *safina* is not of Arabic origin (see *ibid.*, p. 108), unlike *markab*, but the use of this word for "ship" shows on the other hand, as Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdw.*, p. 215 points out, that travel by land was preferred.

Although the use of the word justifies the assumption that navigation was foreign to the Arabs originally, this hypothesis, as in all such

cases [cf. e.g. *SUR*], only holds for the early period when a word like *safina* was taken over. It was soon felt to be no longer foreign, and the conception of "ship" can therefore no longer be considered foreign to the Arabs. It is rather different with the much disputed question whether the Arabs at the beginning of Islām were really acquainted with the sea and with navigation. A final solution of this problem has not yet been reached and so far writers have been content to give pros and cons. The question is raised primarily by the descriptions of the sea in the *Qur'ān*. W. Barthold (*Z. D. M. G.*, NS viii. [1929], p. 37—43) asks with justice where and how Muḥammad could have obtained such a clear picture of the sea and its storms, as these images are among the most vivid in the *Qur'ān*. "This question", he says, "is of particular interest, because descriptions of the sea are in general foreign to Arab poetry, particularly pre-Islāmic. Muḥammad's biography does not credit him with any sea voyages, not even with a journey along the coast". Nor does it make him visit any of the seaports of the time like *Djidda*, *Shu'aiba* or *Ghazza* [q. v.]. Nöldeke goes so far as to assume (*Isl.*, v. [1914], p. 163, note 3), where he is dealing with the trade of the Kuraish with Abyssinia, that Muḥammad "may possibly himself have been there on one occasion, as *Sūra* x. 23, xxix. 65, xxiv. 40 sound as if he had personally experienced the terrors of seafaring". Fraenkel (*op. cit.*, p. 211) deduces from the *Qur'ān*, "that the early Arabs well appreciated that their land was washed by the sea on three sides. Seafaring was of great importance, at least among the commercial circles to which Muḥammad belonged", otherwise, he thinks, Muḥammad would not have spoken in no less than 40 passages of the grace of God who puts the sea at the service of mankind. Fraenkel even talks of "regular traffic" with Abyssinia, which is indicated among other things (e.g. Abyssinian slave-girls in Arabia at this time) by two traditions, according to one of which the wood of a ship stranded at *Shu'aiba* was used for building the Ka'ba (*Ṭabari*, i. 1135), and according to the other the first *muhājirūn* sailed on two merchant-ships which were going to Abyssinia (*Ṭabari*, i. 1182). But in the case of the stranded ship it is definitely said to have been Byzantine and in the second passage there is nothing to indicate that the ships were Arab (Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 284 = 380, thinks they were foreign). Everything indicates that it is much more probable that this connection between Arabia and the opposite coast was maintained by the Abyssinians, a suggestion made also by W. Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 43 for quite different reasons. Lammens (*La Mecque*, p. 289 = 385) even speaks — not however without encountering contradiction — of an Abyssinian dominion of the seas and finds in the Meccan chronicles no mention of an Arab ship trading with the kingdom of Aksum (do., *L'Arabie occidentale*, p. 15). On the other hand he has to acknowledge that the many references in the *Qur'ān* and *Sira* to navigation suggest an intimate acquaintance with the sea. But no compatriot of Muḥammad or any Beduin of the *Tihāma* is ever mentioned as a sailor; this is left to the foreigners on the Red Sea coast (do., *La Mecque*, p. 283 = 379).

Among the references to sailing in the early poetry that in line 102 of 'Amr b. Kulthūm's

*Mu'allaka* is specially remarkable. He boasts of his Taghlibis that they cover the surface of the sea with their ships. While Goldziher (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. [1890], p. 165 sq.), who holds Fraenkel's point of view, says that this line is undoubtedly of great importance, Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'allagāt*, i. 49, is inclined to the view that "the Taghlib used sometimes to sail the Euphrates in boats" and that "there can be no question of seafaring in the proper sense". He takes *baḥr* here to mean the broad waters of the Euphrates. The whole context shows that we have here to deal simply with a poet's boasting (cf. also Jacob, *Beduinenleben*<sup>2</sup>, p. 149) which would have all the more effect as this kind of activity on water was quite unknown to other tribes and indeed they had a certain fear of it (see below). Apart from this isolated line, Goldziher, *op. cit.*, points out that in the old poetry the sea and various elements in navigation are frequently used in similes: the caravan on the march for example is frequently compared with ships sailing on the sea. These images which are usually quite colourless may however have originated on the coast and have wandered inland as clichés, without it being necessary to assume that the poet using them was personally acquainted with the sea. We may remind the reader of the stereotyped nature of the *nasīb* [q. v.].

Now, as the occasional references to navigation must have some basis in fact, and on the other hand we know nothing of any enterprises by sea on any scale, it is natural to assume that "the Arabs before Muḥammad never got beyond coastal traffic along the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf", as Wüstenfeld supposes in *N. G. W. Göth.*, 1880, p. 134. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 285 = 381 thinks there can only have been fishing on a very small scale not far from the shore and the occasional plundering of stranded ships (see above). With regard to the "foreign imports", which were already found at this date in Arabia, Jacob thinks, *op. cit.*, p. 149 that "in any case foreign ships (especially Ethiopian and Indian) came to Arab ports more often than vice-versa". Imports are indicated by numerous foreign wares, while, Arabia as Freytag, *Einleitung*, p. 276 sqq., emphasises, had few products likely to be exported by ship to foreign lands.

These remarks however hold primarily for the *Ḥijāz* and adjoining lands and cannot be applied without question to the whole of Arabia. For this region in particular there were certain factors unfavourable for the development of shipping. The story of the stranded ship (see above) clearly shows the lack of wood in the neighbourhood of Mecca. There are no good or large harbours on the coast: certain old anchorages like *Leukekome*, *al-Djār* [q. v.] and *Shu'aiba*, later became quite deserted [see the article *ḤIJĀZ*]. The Red Sea itself was dreaded on account of its storms and reefs, particularly in the north (see the article *BAḤR AL-KULZUM*, and Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 476). Arabia had further no navigable rivers which might have formed a training-ground for the seafaring.

It is no wonder then if the true Badawī had a natural horror of the sea which for long prevented him from entrusting himself to the liquid element. This attitude must have hampered the beginnings of Islamic seafaring and can still be traced even to-day (see L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions... à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, p. 1, 3; W. G. Palgrave,



*Narrative of a Year's Journey* . . . , London 1865, i. 430 quotes "the most un-English words of the Ḥejazee camel-driver": "He who twice embarks on sea is a very infidel"). This dread finds expression in the *Qurʾān*, where we have references to "waves mountains high", "darkness on the wide deep sea, covered by the towering waves above which are clouds of darkness piled upon one another" etc. (*Sura*, xi. 44; xxiv. 40; also x. 23; xi. 45; xxxi. 31; cf. also the humorous poem in Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 62). Perhaps it is for this reason that the Meccans left navigation to foreigners (see above); in addition there was the contempt felt for certain trades (see Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxi. [1894], p. 203-205). As the Azdis in 'Omān were sailors and fishermen they were scorned by the Tamīm as "sailors" (see the article ARABIA b. and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 25). We have also references to Nabataean and occasionally also to Jewish sailors (see Lyall, *The Diwāns of 'Abid* etc., in *G.M.S.*, xxi. [1913], p. viii., 5, 6).

It is therefore not surprising that in later times, when the value of shipping in peace and war was finally recognised, sayings were put into the mouth of the Prophet definitely permitting trade by sea and praising the merits of the martyr of the sea (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Barter* and *Martyr(s)*; also Lammens, *L'Arabie occ.*, p. 15 sq.). But it was a long time before this view prevailed. Even at the time when Muḥammad was cutting the *Quraysh* off from their markets in the north, they preferred a great detour through the desert to taking the sea route (Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 285 = 381). The first caliphs were still against any enterprise at sea. 'Omar was greatly impressed by a series of misfortunes in the Mediterranean and Red Sea (Tabarī, i. 2595, 2820; he is said to have forbidden sailing [or only for worldly purposes?], see Goldziher, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 165 sq.). He even went so far as to punish the chief of the Baḡila tribe 'Arfaḍja b. Harḥama al-Azdi al-Bārīkī, whom he had ordered to invade 'Omān, because he had done it by sea, even although he had been successful (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, i. 211). Yet within five years of Muḥammad's death (15 = 637) an Arab fleet from 'Omān reached Tānah near Bombay and another expedition went to the Gulf of Daibul (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 431 sq.). But it was Mu'āwiya who was the founder of the Arab navy. The creation of a fleet became more and more urgent during his wars against the Byzantines, in which the harbours of Phoenicia were often threatened. On this question he had during his governorship to meet the resistance of the caliphs, but 'Othmān finally consented. Alexandria in particular provided ships and sailors. It was not till a later date that Mu'āwiya is said to have established naval bases on the Palestine coast also (Balādhuri, p. 117; but others contradict this; see also the articles 'AKKĀ and BAIRUT). In spite of their dread of the sea "the Arabs made the change from the desert and the camel to the sea and ship with astonishing rapidity" (so Wellhausen in *N. G. W. Gütt.*, 1901, p. 418). Bold and daring admirals soon arose among them, notably Busr [q. v.] and Abu 'l-A'war [q. v.].

To give an account of the further development of Arab seafaring even in its main outlines would take us far beyond the scope of this article. With regard to the question asked above whether the Arabs were acquainted with shipping at the be-

ginning of Islām we may make the following observations. Goldziher's view (*Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 165 sq.) "that the early Arabs were quite familiar with navigation" while "later a certain horror of the sea prevailed", can hardly be maintained (it is of course the contrary which should rather be assumed). The truth is perhaps that both ideas existed side by side. The "horror of the sea" seems to have been characteristic of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz. Since with Islām the conditions and opinions of this province became so to speak classical, the Badawī's dread of the sea came to be accepted as characteristic of all the people of the Peninsula. But in view of the geographical position of Arabia, a more or less extensive coastal traffic must be assumed from the earliest times. We even find that in the east the tradition of large enterprises by sea survived down to the coming of Islām. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 308, preserves an old story, according to which in ancient times Chinese ships used to come to 'Omān, Bahrain, Obolla and Basra, and on the other hand, ships from these regions maintained trade with China. We also have accounts of the seafaring of the Azdis (see above) and more often later of daring voyages by the merchants of 'Omān [cf. WAḤWAK]. It is therefore not a matter for surprise, that the early voyages of the Muslims to India were from this region, at a date when in Syria a progressive governor had to fight the opposition of the caliphs, who stubbornly opposed the foundation of a Muslim fleet.

So far as we know, the Arabs have written no history of their seafaring. The references to sailing are of course very numerous in the great historical works and in other literature also. We shall only pick out one or two interesting *awā'il*: In the opinion of the philologists, Bakra, the mother of the companion of the Prophet Yazid b. al-Ḥakam, was the first Arab woman to go on a ship (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xi. 100, l. 3 from below). The first Muslim to conduct a campaign by sea was, according to Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 189, 17 sqq., al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who made an attempt to conquer Iṣṭakhr from Bahrain [q. v.] which was a complete failure (this is said to have been in the year 19 = 640, i. e. later than the landing at Bombay; see above). The Umayyad governor Ḥaḍjdjādī is said to have been the first to have launched ships of timber nailed and caulked, while previously the timber had been bound together with ropes (Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, p. 41, 10 sq.). These so called "sewn" ships are mentioned at later dates, down to the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century, as a feature of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The reason for this style of building is variously given, and the fable of the magnetic mountain must be connected with it (see the article MAGNETIS and also Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 472 sq. and Reinaud, *Relation des voyages* . . . , Paris 1845, i. 91, 136). To this day in certain places primitive vessels are in use which have hardly varied in the course of thousands of years [cf. e.g. the article \*KELEK in the Supplement].

*Bibliography*: For a study of the occurrence and meaning of the different terms for ship, cf. Hans Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen*, Bonn (diss.) 1934. — There is no history of Arab shipping and navigation. For the comprehensive and varied literature to be considered see in the first place the references in this article and the sources mentioned in

them. In the course of the *E. I.* the subject has frequently been dealt with and the reader may be referred to the following articles with their *Bibliography*: CHINA i., DĀR AL-ŠINĀ'A, FULK, HĪT, HORMUZ, AL-ISKANDARIYA, ʔAIS, ʔAŴSARA, AL-KHĀLIDĀT, KHĀNFŪ, AL-KHASHABĀT, AL-ʔULZUM, ʔUŠAIR, MADAGASKAR, MAHRA, MAISĀN, SALĀ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, SOFĀLA, SULAIMĀN AL-MAHRĪ, ŠŪR, ʔARĀBULUS, ZĀBAG, ZAFĀR 4. — A brief survey of the development of Arab shipping is given (without sources) by E. Speck, *Seehandel und Seemacht, eine handelsgeschichtliche Skizze*, Leipzig 1900, p. 32 sqq.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922 deals in ch. 27—29 with Arab shipping on rivers and sea in the 10th (xth) cent. — Syed Sulaiman Nadwi has recently written in Urdu: *Arābon ki ʔahaz-rani* (*Arab Navigation*), in *Islamic Research Association*, N<sup>o</sup>. 5, Bombay 1935. — On the shipping of other Muslim lands we have for Persia: Hādī Ḥasan, *A History of Persian Navigation*, London 1928 (reviewed in *J. R. A. S.*, 1929, p. 407—410); cf. also Radhakumud Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, London—New York 1912. — So far no full work has been done on Turkey although good preliminary studies exist. Here we may refer to the following articles in the *E. I.*: 'ARŪDĪ, \*DĪUGHRAFIYA, ʔAPUDAN PAŠHA, KEMĀL RE'ĪS, KEN'ĀN PAŠHA, KHAIR AL-DĪN, LEPANTO, MEZZOMORTO, NASSADS, PIĀLE PAŠHA, PĪRĪ RE'ĪS and RIVALA (cf. the note at the end of the *Bibl.*). (H. KINDERMANN)

**SALMĀNĪYA.** This name is found in Abū Ḥatīm Rāzī (d. 322 = 934) applied to a series of extreme Shī'a sects (*ghulāt*) who paid special reverence to the ʔahābī Salmān Fārisī [q. v.], either as a prophet who either left heirs to carry on his mission or not, or as a divine emanation regarded by some as superior to 'Alī (Abū Ḥatīm Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Zina*, f<sup>o</sup>. 907). In about 220 (835) Djarādhīnī wrote against them a special refutation.

This is the "exoteric" name for a group which Shī'a gnosticism calls by its correct name Sīniya (or Salsaliya), in contrast to the Mimiya or 'Ainiya, — the letter *sin* meaning here Salmān, the *mim* Muḥammad and the 'ain 'Alī — not so much in their historical role as in their permanent spiritual one. Unlike the Mimiya who give priority to the onomaturgic Prophet, and the 'Ainiya who prefer the hidden Imām, the Sīniya give pride of place of the *bāb*, the initiator, minister of the holy spirit. These gnostic speculations are to be found expounded with some details in my *Salmān Pāk* (N<sup>o</sup>. 7 of the *Publ. Soc. Études Iranienes*, Paris 1934, p. 35—39). There it is shown how in different degrees with respect to their devotion for Salmān the Khattābīya in the past (cf. Ivanov, transl. of the *Umm al-Kitāb*, in *R. E. I.*, 1932, p. 419—482), in the present the Nušairis [q. v.] and the 'Alī-Ilāhis [q. v. and \*AHL-I ḤAKK] are connected with the Sīniya.

*Bibliography*: the study above quoted on *Salmān Pāk*, p. 47—52.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

**SANADJĀT**, weights of a balance (in full *sanadjāt al-mizān*); also applied to balances, steelyards; also the weights of a clock; singular: *sanāja*. The forms with *šad* also occur (*šanadjāt* and *šanāja*) but the former is the more chaste (see Lane, s. v.). There are two recognised plural

forms: *sanadjāt* and *sinadj* (in modern Egyptian Arabic *sinag*, plural of *singa*). The word is Persian in origin, being connected with *sang*, meaning both stone and weight, since in ancient times weights were non-metallic (cf. the Hebrew of Deuteronomy xxv. 13). According to Muslim tradition, it was a Jew named Sumair, during the time of Ḥadjdījādī b. Yūsuf [q. v.], who first proposed to regulate the new dirhams of the reformed coinage of 75 (694) by means of the use of fixed weights (Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 337). Previously the custom apparently had been to weigh one coin of good quality against another. When a large number had thus been weighed this lot was weighed against a similar number and the surplus, if any, was carried forward. The first coin weights of Islām were made of bronze and are excessively rare. Weights of iron are also recorded but no examples are extant. Under the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (65—89) weights made of glass were recommended to be used since they did not change by increase or decrease (Damiri, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayāwān*, i. 59). This carried on the practice of Ptolemaic and Byzantine times. These glass weights, however, were confined to Egypt and were in use from Umayyad until Mamlūk times. The old opinion that they were glass coins, *nummi vitrei*, was first exploded by Castiglioni in 1847, and later, after the fact had been overlooked, by E. T. Rogers in 1873. Various collections of these *sanadjāt* have been published. As they generally bear inscriptions with the names of Caliphs, or governors, or inspectors of markets, and an indication of weight, they are very valuable, not only for Islāmic history and metrology, but also for Arabic epigraphy.

*Bibliography*: Lane, *Arabic-English Dict.*, s. v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v.; C. O. Castiglioni, *Dell'uso cui erano i vetri con epigrafi cufiche*, Milan 1847; E. T. Rogers, *Glass as a material for Standard Coin Weights*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1873, p. 60—88; do., *Unpublished Glass Weights and Measures*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1872, p. 98—112; S. Lane-Poole, *Arabic Glass Coins*, in *Num. Chron.*, 1872, p. 199—211; do., *Cat. of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum*, London 1891; P. Casanova, *Étude sur les inscriptions arabes des poids et mesures en verre*, Cairo 1891; do., *Déniers en verre arabes*, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris 1924, p. 296—300; do., *Cat. des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la Collection Fouquet*, in *M. M. A. F.*, 1893, p. 337—414; J. B. Nies, *Kufic Glass Weights and Bottle Stamps*, in *Proc. of American Num. and Arch. Soc.*, New York 1902, p. 48—55; Sir W. M. F. Petrie, *Glass Weights*, in *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 111—116; do., *Glass Stamps and Weights*, (University College of London Collection), London 1926; A. Grohmann, *Arab. Eichungsstempel, Glassgewichte und Amulette aus Wiener Sammlungen*, in *Islamica*, Leipzig 1925, p. 145—226; R. Vasmer, art. *Sanadj* in F. v. Schrötter's *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin 1930; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882, p. 19 sqq.; Lavoix, *Cat. des Monnaies Musulmanes*, Paris 1887, i., xlv. sq.; E. v. Zambaur, in *Num. Zeitschrift*, Vienna 1903, p. 317—319; M. Jungfleisch, *Un Poids fatimite en plomb*, in *B. I. E.*, 1926—1927, p. 115—128; do., *Poids fatimites en*



verre polychrome, *ibid.*, p. 19—31; do., *Les rails discoides en verre*, *ibid.*, 1927—1928, p. 61—71; J. Farrugia de Candia, *Dénieraux en verre arabes*, in *R.T.*, 1935, p. 165—170; W. Airy, *On the Arabic Glass Weights*, London 1920; *Rev. Numismatique*, Paris 1906, p. 225; Damiri, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, i. 80 (the English translation by Jayakar [i. 128] wrongly translates sanadjāt as scales); J. Walker, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1935, p. 246—248.

(J. WALKER)

**ŞANDJ**, **ŞINDJ**, the generic term for any kind of cymbal. Both al-Djawharī and al-Djawālīkī say that the word is an Arabised one. Lane thinks that it is derived from the Persian *sanđj* or *sinđj* and Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912) avers that the Persians invented it (al-Masūdi, ed. Paris, viii. 90). On the other hand, we have the Assyrian *ṣanaḫū* ("to push or press together") and the instrument was well known to the ancient Semites. We read of the *ṣandj* in early Arabic literature. Al-Ḳuṭāmī refers to the *ṣandj al-djinn* and Ibn Muhriz [q.v.] was called the *ṣannādj al-Arab*. The feminine form of the latter, said to express an intensive, is also to be found in the cognomen of al-A'shā Maimūn known as the *ṣannādjāt al-Arab* and in a certain Masturād al-*ṣannādja*. Yet it is difficult to say whether the actual instrument or mere symbolism is aimed at in these instances. Further confusion is added by the fact that the word *ṣandj* (✓ Pers. *ṣang*) was also given by some Arabic writers to the harp, although the more general name for the latter was *djank* [see M'ZAF].

The term *ṣandj* or *şindj* is generally used for the cymbal in the East although *şindj* has been more common in the West since the Middle Ages. The instrument is played in pairs and is used to regulate the measure or rhythm in both music and dancing. That it had a definite place as a rhythmic instrument in days of old is stated by Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) in his *Kitāb al-Kāfi* (f. 235). It is to be found in several shapes and sizes. The finger cymbals used to-day are generally about 4 or 5 cm. in diameter and they are usually attached to the thumb and middle finger. They are delineated by Niebuhr (i., tab. xxvi.), Villoteau (pl. cc. 26), Lane (*Mod. Egypt*, 5th ed., p. 366), Christianowitsch (N<sup>o</sup>. 36), Lavignac (p. 2794, 2936), and Sachsse (tab. 8, N<sup>o</sup>. 36). Specimens may be found in museums, notably Brussels (N<sup>o</sup>. 293) and New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 383). Other names for the cymbal according to Villoteau (p. 980) are *zīl* (✓ Turk. *zıl*), *kās* (probably of cup shape form originally), and *sadđja* or *sādđja*, although probably this ought to be written *şadđja*. In Syria we have the term *fuḫaiṣha* and in Morocco *nuwaḫṣa* (dim. of *nāḫūs*) in common use, the former being a metathesis of *shuḫaiṣa* (cf. *infra*). The term *şalāṣil* (sing. *şalṣal*) is also applied to all high sounding clashed metal instruments of this type. Like *zīl* or *zill*, it is of onomatopoeic origin, the verbal root being *ṣalu* ("to sound"). There are cognates in all the Semitic languages. Saadia (d. 941) equates the Arabic root with the Hebrew *šālāl*, and we have the Arabic *muṣalṣalāt* standing for the Hebrew *şelṣelim* (cymbals) of Psalm cl. 5, in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xith century). Small cymbals attached to a frame were also in use. This instrument was known as the *djaghāna* or *şaghāna* (cf. *infra*). It resembled a pair of metal tongs with two or three arms branching from the open ends, a small cymbal

being attached to each arm. Nowadays it is called a *zilli māsha* ("jingling tongs"). We see it delineated in Sāsānian art, and it is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (*Biogr. Dict.*, iii. 491) and in the *Anwār-i Suhaili*. There are two Turkish specimens at New York (Nrs. 353, 1377).

The hand cymbals are to be found in both the plate and bowl shape. This belongs to martial and processional music. Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogos*) said that the Arabs used cymbals (*κύμβαλα*) in war, and this seems to be hinted at in the later Arabic reference to the *ṣannādjāt al-djaish*, although Arabic lexicographers think differently. Al-Djawharī describes a cup-shape instrument called the *ṣahn*. It was a small bronze cup (*ṭusāt*) which was struck against another of its kind. This cup or bowl-shape cymbal was favoured in martial music and it is delineated in several pictures of a military band which are found in the treatise on automata by Badī' al-Zamān al-Djazarī (flourished 1205) which have been reproduced (*The Legacy of Islām*, fig. 91; Schulz, *Die pers.-islam. Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii.). At this period however, the cymbal was called the *kās*, *kāsa* or *ka's*, and Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (*Sefer Nāmeḥ*, p. 43, 46, 47) mentions it among the martial instruments of the Fātimids. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (i. 66, 323; ii. 656; iii. 150, 271, 274; 298) these bowl-shaped *ku'ūs* or *kāsāt* are frequently mentioned in company with *ṭubāl* (drums) in the warlike scenes. In modern times the hand-cymbal is plate-shape and known as the *ṣandj*, *zīl*, and *kās* (Villoteau, *loc. cit.*; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 151). Villoteau gives the diameter of the Egyptian instrument as 24.4 cm. For a Palestinian example see Sachsse (66, tab. 8). For numbers used in military bands see ṬABL-KHĀNA. For quite a century and a half Turkey has been famed for the manufacture of cymbals and several thousands are exported from Constantinople every year. There are two other mediaeval names for the cymbal which are worth recording, viz. *ṣaffakatān* and *musafīk*. The former occurs in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (v. 75) and Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Haitamī (Berlin MS. 5517, f. 19v) likens it to the *ṣandj* (cymbal). *Musafīk* and *musafīka* equate with *cymbalum* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xith century) and the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (xiiiith century).

Clappers. In Arabic, handclapping is called *ṣafk*, *saḥk*, *taṣfīk*, *taṣfīk*, and *taṣfīḥ*, all of these terms being derived from verbal roots meaning "to clap the hands", and are of the same kin as the Hebrew *šāpaḥ* (*Ezekiel*, xxi. 17). A plate of wood or metal was called a *ṣafīḥa* and from the same root we get *muṣaffahāt*, a word which appears to denote "clappers". Labid [q.v.], the Arabic poet, places *muṣaffahāt* in the hands of wailing women (*anwāḥ*). Another word for clappers occurs in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1501) where we have *maciquif* (*chapas para tañer*) and *mabiquif* (*tarreñas chapas para tañer*) registered. Doubtless the *b* in the latter is a slip for *c*. Dozy was of opinion that both these words were metatheses of *musafīk*, but it is more likely that the word intended is *mashāḥif* (sing. *mishḥifa*) the Aramaic root of which is *sheḥaf* ("to clap the hands"). See also *shakf* and *shukuf* (*testa*) in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* and the *Vocabulista in Arabico*. In modern time the *shukafāt* were small small cymbals [or castanets] used by dancers. For a design of these clappers see the *Kitāb al-Bulhān* in the

Bodleian Library (Or. 133, f. 11v). In Persia and Turkey they are known as the *čärpärä* (lit. "four pieces") or *čälpärä*. See my article on *Turkish Musical Instruments* in the *J. R. A. S.* (1936). Castanets are mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (*N. E.*, xvii. 354) and Villoteau (p. 981) says that they were called *aḳliḡh* in Egypt. Outside of Spain, where they may have been known as the *kāsatān* (hence perhaps *castanet*), they have not been favoured.

The Percussion Slab known as the *nāḳūs* is dealt with separately. See vol. iii. 842.

Percussion Staff. This was the *ḳaḏīb*, an instrument found in the hands of several of the early musicians of Islām. Its identity has long been a puzzle to both musicographers and orientalists. It was a staff which was used for rhythmic purposes either by striking it upon the ground or upon something else. Ibn Ḥaḏḏar al-Haitamī (f. 19v) has a section entitled "Concerning beating (*ḏarb*) with the *ḳaḏīb* upon cushions (*wasā'id*)". It recalls an incident in the "Story of the Mock Caliph" in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* where a cushion (*mudawwara*) is struck as a signal for servants to appear. Burton will not allow that a cushion is meant and substitutes "a circular plate of wood or metal, a gong". We get a slight idea of the sound of the *ḳaḏīb* from the fact that Muḥammad is said to have been averse to the ticktack (*taḳṭaḳa*) of the *ḳaḏīb*, and the same is said of the imām al-Shāfi'ī (al-Shalāḥī f. 79). It is given a place in music by the *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'* (i. 91) and Ibn Zaila (f. 235v), although later it fell into desuetude and was only to be found in the hands of the amateur and the folk. Indeed the word *muḳṭaḏab* came to mean "untrained" or "extemporized".

Bells. Ordinarily, the cup, bowl, or cone shape bell is known in Arabic as the *ḏjaras*, whilst the sphere shape bell is called the *ḏjulḏjul*. On the other hand, *ḏjaras* also stands for a large bell (*campana*) and *ḏjulḏjul* for a small bell (*tintinnabulum*), the probable reason being that the first mentioned was generally found in the large instrument whilst the second mentioned form was generally found in the small instrument. Bells were used on the necks of animals in pre-Islamic days, and there is a tradition that Muḥammad was averse to the sound of the caravan bells, and so the fiction arose that "angels will not associate with a company where there is a *ḏjaras*" (e.g. Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 103). A collection of these bells, either on a board or on a chain or rope is known as a *ṭabla*. The term was probably borrowed from the Hebrew *ṭablā*, which, in turn, had its origin in the Greek *τάβλα* because these bells were generally attached to a tablet of wood. There is a specimen of a *ṭabla* at New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 2659) the largest bell being 10 × 5.8 cm. Bells were also used to increase the din of battle so as to affright the enemy, as we are told by Ibn Zaila (f. 234v), and in the story of Ḡharīb and his brother 'Adīb in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (iii. 294) we read of the camels and mules in battle being furnished with large bells (*aḏjirās*), small bells (*ḏjalāḏḏjil*), as well as 'ingles (*ḳalāḳil*). According to Cervantes, the Moors of Spain did not tolerate their use as martial instruments.

The small bell (*ḏjulḏjul*), sometimes called a pellet bell, was spherical. Like *ṣalṣal*, *dabḏab*, etc., the word is of onomatopoeic origin. Al-Khalil (d. 791) likened the sound of the small cymbals (*ṣunūdī*) hanging in the rim of the tambourine

(*duff*) to that of the small bells (*ḏjalāḏḏjil*; see Khwārizmi, *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 236). Indeed, these small bells were sometimes attached to tambourines [see DUFF]. Al-Muzarrid (vith century) speaks of small [tambourine] bells (*ḏjalāḏḏjil*) replying to the wind instruments (*masāmīr*; see the *Mufaḏḏaliyāt*, i. 165). These *ḏjalāḏḏjil* were also attached to the necks of smaller animals in the form of a *ṭabla*, and in Mamlūk times they were fastened to the hats of criminals (al-Maḳrīzī, i/ii. 106). They also formed part of the impedimenta of itinerant minstrels who likewise wore them on their hats (Buckingham, *Travels*, i. 100), as did the fools in Talmudic Jewry (Jastrow, *Dict. Targ.*, p. 518). In Persia the large bell is called a *zang* or *darā* and the small bell a *zangula* or *zangulīca*. In Turkey they are the *čang* and *čingraḳ* respectively.

An elaborate type of chimes was known to the Arabs, who borrowed the idea from the Greeks. It is described in a treatise by one Mūristūs [q. v.] who, in turn, was indebted to an Egyptian named Sā'ātūs or Sātūs, whose writings were known in Arabic as early as the xth century at least (*Fihrist*, p. 270). This instrument was called the *ḏjulḏjul al-ṣaiyāḳ* (clamorous bell) or the *ḏjulḏjul al-ṣiyāḳ* (octavo bell). See *Mach.*, ix. 26.

Another jingling instrument was the *ḏjaghāna* or *ṣaghāna* (✓ Pers. *čaghāna*). It took several forms. One was a sceptre of wood surmounted by hoops of wire from which were suspended about a hundred small bells. For a design see Niebuhr (tab. xxviii.). Another kind was surmounted by a metal cone pavilion, hence the European name of *Chapeau Chinois* which was given to it. From this and from three or four horizontal arms, small bells and cymbals were hung. It was borrowed by European military bands in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century from the Turks and in Britain was known as the "Jingling Johnnie". See Farmer, *Rise and Development of Military Music*, fig. 9. For the Turkish instrument see Wittman, *Travels in Turkey* (1803). Oriental Christians use a different type known as the *mirwaḥa* (lit. "fan"). It is described and delineated by Bonanni (p. 127, pl. lxxxix.), La Borde (i. 282), and Villoteau (p. 1008—1010). A fourth type is the *dabbūs* used by the *darwīsh* fraternities. It is a wooden sceptre to the head of which is attached a number of chains (*ṣalāṣil*) with jingling pieces of metal fixed loosely in the links. There is a specimen 69 cm. long at New York.

Rattle. This is generally known as the *shakh-shikhha*. In Persia and Turkey there is the *ḳāshik*, which is two wooden spoons attached to each other, in the hollow of which are a number of small bells. It is more generally struck with a stick. See Advielle (p. 15) and Lavignac (p. 3076).

Harmonica and Glockenspiel. The *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'* (i. 90) deal with vessels (*awānī*), pots (*tardjahārāt*), and jars (*ḏjarār*) as idiophones. In Arabic the general name for the harmonica was *ṭusūt* and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) speaks (*N. E.*, xvii. 354) of these *ṭusūt* being played with sticks (*ḳuḏbān*). The Persian Ibn Ḡhaibī [q. v.] describes *sās-i kāsāt* (lit. musical bowls) which were made of earthenware and the notes of which were determined by the amount of water with which each bowl was filled (fol. 78, 81v). An Arabic author of the xvth century refers to the harmonica as the *ḳisān* (cups) and *ḳhawābī* (jars) and mentions the water content (Brit. Mus., Or. 2361, fol. 173). Ibn Ḥaḏḏar al-Haitamī (d. 1565) describes (fol. 19v) the beating with reeds



(*aḳlām*) upon earthenware (*ṣīnī*). The glockenspiel is mentioned only by Ibn Ḡhaibī (fol. 81v) and he registers the instrument under *sā-i alwāḳ-i fūlād* (instrument of slabs of steel). It comprised 35 slabs, each giving a particular note.

*Bibliography*: See article TABL and add Sachsse, in *Z.D.P.V.*, 1927; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, Bairūt ed., 1888—1890; Ibn Zaila, *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, British Museum MS., Or. 2361; Burton, *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, 1885—1888; Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico...*, 1722; La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 1870; Ibn Ḡhaibī, *Djāmi' al-Aḳhān*, Bodleian MS., Marsh 282. (H. G. FARMER)

\***SANDJĀN RĀY**. The correct form of the name is probably Sudjān Rāy. He is also the author of an *Inshā'* entitled the *Khulāṣat al-Makātīb*, which he compiled from his own compositions in A.H. 1110 (though 1114 occurs in the body of the work), at the request of his son Rāy Singh and of a Muslim friend. Several passages occurring in the *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* (see p. 127, 131, 207 sq., 229 and 454 sq.) relating to intoxicants, drugs, and games, occur also in the *Khulāṣat al-Makātīb*. The India Office Library has a copy of the work (N<sup>o</sup>. 2109 in Ethé's Catalogue), also the Pandjāb University Library.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI')

**SERBIA** (Serbo-Croat Sribiya), the nucleus of Jugoslavia and of the mediæval kingdom of the Serbs, which often varied in extent roughly coinciding with the pre-war kingdom of Serbia, was in the earliest historical period inhabited by Illyrian and Thracian pastoral tribes. About the year 280 B.C. the Celtic tribe of the Scordisci settled in the Morawa area and built the fort of Singidunum on the site of the modern Belgrade. The Thracio-Illyrian tribes, always at war with one another, as well as the Hellenes had, in the third century, to submit before the all-conquering policy of Rome. The emperor Augustus extended the Roman imperium over the whole of the Balkan peninsula as far as the Danube. What were later to be the lands of the Serbs were then parts of the provinces of Dalmatia (capital Salona) and Pannonia (capital Sirmium, the modern Mitrovica) and later (86 A.D.) of the province of Moesia Superior stretching between the Danube, Drin and Morawa southwards to the upper Vardar valley (capital Viminacium, the modern village of Kostalac near Passarowitz). These provinces in course of time were broken up into smaller administrative units and with other areas formed into new provinces with new names. For example in the reign of Diocletian, there were separated from Moesia Superior, now called also Margensis, the southern part (Kossovopolye, the upper Vardar valley with Scubi-Skopje) as Dardania, the eastern Danube territory from Aquae (Brza Palanka) to the mouth of the Isker, along with all the Timok valley with the capital Ratiaria (Arčér [Turk. Akčar] near Vidin) as Dacia Ripensis. Then Dacia Mediterranea was created out of Thracia with parts of Upper Moesia (Naissus-Niš and Remesiana-Bela Palanka). Pannonia was broken up into several provinces and separated from Dalmatia Praevalis (Doclea and Scodra) as an independent territory.

Under Roman rule the upper classes of the Thracio-Illyrian tribes gradually became romanised, but at the same time intermarriage with the strong and healthy pastoral element brought about a

revival of the military strength of the decadent Romans, who were thus able for a time to withstand the onslaughts of the migrating Sarmatians, Dacians and Germans. These invasions brought about changes in the Roman empire which made the division into an eastern and a western empire inevitable. After the division in 395 the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia alone were left to Rome; all the others including Moesia Margensis and Dardania went to the eastern empire, which was to survive for nearly 1,000 years, as, owing to its favourable geographical position, its civilisation, and the orthodoxy of the foreign peoples who formed states in the Balkans, it was again and again able to enforce the recognition of its imperial rule.

Of the groups of people (Goths, Huns and Avars) who from the third century threatened the Roman empire none created a state of any permanence on its ruins in the Balkan peninsula. But by the devastation they wrought in the Roman provinces they made it easier for other peoples who came with and after them, notably numerous Slave tribes (Sloveni), to settle in the depopulated or thinly settled areas.

The Slavs, from the second half of the sixth century onwards, taking part in the inroads of the Huns, Bulgars and Avars began to occupy more and more land south of the Danube and to settle there permanently in large numbers. In the reign of Heraclius (610—641) the process of colonisation by the Slavs came to an end, and in the course of the viii<sup>th</sup> century ethnical changes took place on the Balkan peninsula. The few surviving elements of the old Thracio-Illyrian stock and of Roman descent became amalgamated with the immigrant Slavs and formed a compact Slavonic speaking area between the Black Sea and the Save. As in the west and north so in the south also, on the Balkan peninsula, the Slavs long retained their marked individuality in the organisation of the family and tribe (tribal chiefs = župans). Here also external force in the first place, the organising talent peculiar to ruling peoples, brought individual Slav tribes hitherto at war with one another to combine and form a Slav state on a large scale in the East (foundation of the Bulgar kingdom by Asparuch). In the west of the peninsula it was not till much later (ix<sup>th</sup> century) that dangers aroused the consciousness of national unity. Foreign conquests (Charlemagne's enterprises in Pannonia, the combined Venetian-Frankish attack on Dalmatia), advances by the Bulgars from the east, forced a number of Slav tribes to combine. Certain centres of resistance gradually arose, at first without well marked boundaries: between the Drau and the Save, the Croats, in the mountains between Kolubara and Ibar as far as the Drina the Serbs, and northwest of the latter between Vrbas and Bosna the Bosnians. Other tribes, who for a time, notably in the early period, played a leading part, were the Narentani, Zachlumi, Travuni, and Dioclitii. They had their settlements in the Herzegovina, Montenegro and Northern Albania.

Religious influences also contributed largely to the separate development of the three south Slav nations, the Croats, Serbians and Bosnians, and of their political organisations on the ruins of the Western Roman empire, the mediæval kingdoms of Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia. Croatia early adopted Latin Christianity, and remained linked up with the west. Bosnia adopted the heresy of

Bogomilism which brought about the peculiarly isolated position of this state, and facilitated the conversion of its inhabitants to Islām in later days. But Serbia took over with orthodoxy the important part of combining all those Slav tribes in the west of the Balkans, who had come under the influence of Byzantine civilisation, into a single state.

It was not however till the xiii<sup>th</sup> century that this united Serbian state was formed. Till then the local or tribal chiefs (*župans*) were fighting with one another for land or power, sometimes as allies of the three great rivals in the Balkans, the Byzantines, Franks and Bulgars. Attempts to combine as early as the ninth century broke down. The Serbian chief Vlastimir achieved a partial success in this direction when about 850 he brought southeast Bosnia and Northeast Herzegovina under his rule. In the southwest a similar importance was attained by the *župan* Bela of Trebinje, who by marrying his son to Vlastimir's daughter prepared the way for a further union of Serbian lands. This was however thwarted by the Byzantine emperor, Basil I (867—86) who forced Croatia and Serbia to recognise his suzerainty. At the end of the ninth century the Bulgar czar Simeon conquered the Serbian lands and installed or deposed the *župans* as his vassals according to their loyalty and reliability. The Serbian lands would have been completely incorporated, if a rapid decline in Bulgarian power had not set in immediately after Simeon's death (927). But the prince Časlav or Česlav succeeded in suppressing the separatist endeavours of the other *župans* and putting himself at the head of a movement which resulted not only in liberation from the Bulgar yoke but in a new combination of a number of related tribes in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia and Montenegro under the common name of Serbians. But this first Serbian national state was not destined to endure long; it collapsed very soon after its founder had fallen in battle against the Magyars (960) who now began to press into the Balkans, for there was no one there, like Časlav, able to hold together all the heterogeneous elements, and to convince the petty princes of the necessity of subordinating tribal and family interests to those of the whole nation. The Serbs again became subjects, first of the Byzantines under the emperor Tzimiskes, who rightly recognised that the focus of the Serbian state was in Raška, the central district near Ras (in the modern Novi Pazar, Old Serbia), and first conquered this after a vigorous resistance and was then able to subdue the other tribes without difficulty. At the end of the tenth century however, the Czar Samuel, the founder of a strong new Bulgar state, took the lands of the Serbs from Byzantium but, fearing a threat to his own kingdom from the Serbian efforts at independence, did not incorporate their territory, but gave them a certain degree of autonomy under their own rulers, Ivan Vladimir in Zeta (Montenegro) and Dragomir in Trebinje and Chulm (Herzegovina).

After the conquest of Bulgaria by Basil Bulgaroktonos (1018) all the Serbian lands again passed, but only nominally, under Byzantine suzerainty. The period following is filled with fighting of the Serbs against their overlords and ceaseless feuds between their own chiefs. Starting in Zeta, which as in later times also possessed a strong sense of independence, a new Serbian movement for union

began under the leadership of Vojislav, the chief of this mountain land, when dynastic troubles broke out in the Byzantine empire after the death of Basil II. Vojislav's son Michael then founded the first independent Serbian state on a large scale, which Gregory VII recognised by bestowing the royal crown on this ruler in 1077. His able son Bodin was successful in the struggle for the crown after Michael's death in 1081 and ruled from his capital in Scutari a kingdom which comprised the whole of the modern Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the northern part of old Serbia (Raška). When Bodin died in 1101, his kingdom was at once broken up into three parts (Zeta, Raška and Bosna) and a fierce struggle broke out between the rulers of Raška and Zeta for supremacy. Finally George Bodinović, king of Zeta, and Uroš, *župan* of Raška united, recognising that the Byzantines were their worst enemy, but they were already too much weakened to prevent their land being again conquered (by John Comnenos). In spite of various attempts to cast off the yoke, the Serbs, as a result of the rivalries among their chiefs which were encouraged by the Byzantines, had to submit to foreign rule again under the emperor Manuel. It was only the able and energetic *župan* of Raška Stephan Nemanja (c. 1171—96), who succeeded in shaking off the yoke and becoming the founder of the Serbian state, which was to play such an important part in the Balkans in the middle ages. By adding Zeta to his own lands Nemanja first of all put an end to the long struggle for supremacy between the two. He forced his numerous brothers, lords of various districts, to recognise his suzerainty as great *župan* and, taking advantage of the state of anarchy in the Byzantine empire following the death of Manuel in 1180, first in alliance with the Magyars and then with the Bulgars (Peter and Assen), was able to extend his kingdom by successful conquest to such an extent that it included all Serb areas in the countries later known as Dalmatia, Serbia and Montenegro.

Nemanja also strengthened his kingdom internally by the introduction of one faith, the orthodox, as the state religion and by the spread of education. A pious ruler, founder and builder of monasteries, of which the imposing buildings of Studenitza north of Ras and Chilandar on Athos still stand, he ended his life in a monastery as the monk Simeon, resigning the throne in favour of his younger son Stephan and following the example of his youngest son Rastko (the monk Sava in the monastery of Vatopedi on Athos). Sava was Serbia's first great scholar, archbishop and organiser of the national church. His brother, the great *župan* Stephan, built his residence, the monastery of Žiča with the coronation church of the Serbian kings. Stephan, later known as the "first crowned" (1196—1227), had inherited the talent for ruling and particularly the diplomatic ability of his father and followed his example in every respect. He was able to defend his throne against his brother Vukan with the help of Kalojan, Czar of the Bulgars, and, cleverly exploiting the crises in the Balkans as well as his relationship to the Doge of Venice, to obtain from the Pope the royal crown for himself in 1217. Of his three sons, Stephan Radoslav, Stephan Vladislav and Stephan Uroš, who followed him in succession, the last named was able to continue his father's and grandfather's policy and to strengthen and further



develop the Serbian kingdom to a great extent. The expansion of Nemanjić power reached a remarkable height under his son Stephan Uroš II Milutin (1282—1321). He extended his territory by the conquest of great stretches of Macedonia (Debra, Kičevo and Poreč) as well as of Durazzo and the whole of the northern half of Albania. From the struggle for the throne that followed his death, his son Stephan Uroš III of Dečani (so called after the monastery founded by him where he was afterwards buried), who had been blinded by his father as a punishment for disobedience, emerged victorious and conquered new lands in the southeast (Velbužd-Küstendil, Štip and Veles). But a rising of the nobles forced him to abdicate in favour of his son Dušan, who was to bring Serbian power to its greatest heights.

Stephan Dušan (1331—1355) whom history rightly calls the "Strong" (Silni) was only 22 when he came to the throne but his bravery and diplomatic gifts enabled him from the first to follow his aim of making Serbia the predominant state in the Balkans. Cleverly taking advantage of the rivalries of his neighbours, especially of the 14 years civil war in the Byzantine kingdom between the followers of the Comnenoi and those of the Palaeologi, he made great conquests. By 1346 he felt himself ruler of a new empire in the Balkans and therefore on April 16, 1346 had himself crowned as orthodox Czar and sole ruler of the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgars and Albanians. His great empire, which included all the land of the Balkans as far as the Gulf of Corinth with the exception of the northwestern parts of Bulgaria, and the southeastern parts of northern Greece and Bosnia, which the contemporary expansion of the power of Hungary had prevented him from taking, Dušan endeavoured to knit more strongly together by the bond of internal order. This object was to be attained primarily by his celebrated code of laws promulgated in May 1349, as well as by the erection of a Serbian patriarchate. But however much care and vigour Dušan might devote to strengthening his kingdom externally and internally, and strive by raising its culture to put it on a level with contemporary powers, he was not able to secure it a long existence. With the death of this remarkable ruler (1355) around whom many legends have gathered, the iron ring burst which held the gigantic edifice together. The empire again broke up into its constituent elements, Dušan's young and incapable son and successor Stephan Uroš (1355—1371) was too weak to check the separatist movements of the various petty local chiefs and governors, or to prevent the loss of the lands inhabited by peoples of other stocks (especially Greeks). From the very first his father's half-brother Simeon, governor of Epirus, disputed his succession and had himself proclaimed "emperor of the Greeks, Serbs and of all Albania" at Kastoria. In western Macedonia, Vukašin set himself up as "king of the land of the Serbs, of the Greeks and of the western territory", on the coast and in Zeta three brothers (Sratzimir, George and Balša) seized the power, on the left bank of the Vardar the Dejanovići (the despot Dragoš and his brother Constantin), and Vukašin's brother Uglješa became despot in eastern Macedonia (between the Struma and Rhodope). In the Drina area (between Rudnik and Konavljia) župan Nikola Altamanović ruled and his neighbour was Knez Lazar, lord of Rudnik. The break-up of the Serbian

kingdom and the lack of unity among its various rulers facilitated the conquest by the Turks. Foreseeing the great danger, King Vukašin and his brother Uglješa set out against Adrianople with a large army originally assembled for the subjection of their Serbian rivals. In the battle of Črnomen (Čirmen) on the Maritza however, they were defeated and both slain (Sept. 26, 1371). The Ottomans thereupon occupied all the land south of the Šardagh and forced upon the Serbs a fight for their very existence. The Serbian princes in Macedonia, including Vukašin's son Kraljević Marko, celebrated in legend and ballad, had soon to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Turkish sovereign and to give him military service and pay tribute.

In spite of all the danger threatened from the common enemy, the local struggle for land and power went on among those Serbian rulers who still remained independent. Knez Lazar, the most powerful among them, who ruled the whole of the Morava territory from the Danube to Novo Brdo in alliance with the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko, deprived his neighbour Altamanović of his lands and shared them with the lord of Bosnia, to whom he also granted the right (as great-grandson of Dušan in the female line) of being crowned king of Serbia. Tvrtko, as founder of a new united Serbian kingdom, felt himself called upon to lead a new force against the Muhammadan conquerors. But the much sung, much lamented battle on the field of Kosovo on St. Vitus's day (Vidovdan), June 15, 1389 (old style), in which the Turks defeated the great combined army of king Tvrtko, prince Lazar and his son-in-law Vuk Branković, ended in the complete rout of the Christians in spite of the initial confusion in the ranks of the Turks when Sultan Murād was murdered by the Serban noble Obilić (properly Kobilić), when his son Bāyazid assumed the leadership. The Turkish victory was a death-blow to the Serbian state and the doom of its independence although it was able to survive for another 70 years.

Lazar's son and successor Stephan Lazarević, who had at first as Bāyazid's vassal to take part in his campaigns, even in that against Timūr Khān, exchanged after the Turkish defeat at Angora (1402) yoke for the Ottoman suzerainty of Sigismund of Hungary, which brought him territorial gains. The Byzantine emperor Johannes granted him the title of despot. In Muhammad I's struggle with his brother Mūsā, he helped the former to his victory at Čamorlu (between Samokov and Ichtiman) and thus — to Serbia's destruction — to the consolidation of Ottoman power on European soil. He himself was still further able to increase his power. In the war with Venice over the inheritance of the Balšići he obtained Zeta, so that his kingdom stretched from the Adriatic to the Danube. When he died childless in 1427, he was succeeded by his nephew George Vlković or Branković (1427—1456), the last ruler of Serbia of any note. By skilful intermarriages (his younger daughter Katharina to Sigismund's powerful brother-in-law count Ulrich von Cilli, and his elder daughter Mara to Sultan Murād II) he tried to secure his despotate against east and west. But this security proved insufficient against the Turkish desire for conquest. When on Sigismund's death the Turks attacked both Hungary and Serbia at once, they deprived him of his strongly fortified capital Smederevo, built only shortly before (August, 1439). From 1439 to 1444 Serbia had again to

submit to Turkish suzerainty. Participation in Hunyadi's great campaign against the Turks restored to George by the armistice of Szegedin (July 1444) the lands of his despotate on payment of an annual tribute. His refusal to take part in new Magyar enterprises against the Turks (especially in Hunyadi's campaign of 1446 which ended so disastrously on the blood-drenched field of Kosovo) only procured him a brief and nominal peace with Muhammad II; for in the very next year the vigorous ruler of the Turks began to prepare the powerful blow which was to end in the fall of the Byzantine empire and, after clearing away this last obstacle between Europe and Asia, the complete subjection of the Balkan peninsula and with it the downfall of the Serbian state.

Only a year after the fall of Constantinople, Muhammad attacked Serbia with a large force and laid it waste in dreadful fashion. Hunyadi, to whom the despot appealed for help, inflicted a defeat on Muhammad in a surprise counter-attack at Kruševatz. Of George Branković's two hurriedly assembled armies, the one led by Skobalić was destroyed and the Turks began to act so barbarously that their atrocities it aroused the whole of Europe. But lack of unity among the Christian powers hindered a new crusade against the Turks. Discord between the allies facilitated a Turkish victory. Blow fell after blow, at Brdo, Priština and Prizren. To obtain a free hand against the strong Christian fortress of Belgrade, bravely defended by Hunyadi, the sultan made a separate peace with George and left him the northern part of the despotate, the lands north of Kruševatz and east of the Morava, but on Dec. 24, 1456 the 81-year-old George died, the last Serbian despot, who had tried with might and main to maintain his kingdom as an independent island in the midst of Ottoman armies. His youngest son Lazar concluded peace with the Turks but died within two years. As he left no sons, civil war broke out: Hungary, Bosnia and Turkey all endeavoured to influence the succession. When Hungary finally succeeded in procuring the despotate for the Bosnian prince Stephan Tomašević by his marriage with Lazar's daughter (1459) in the hope that the union of Serbia and Bosnia would create a strong barrier against the Ottoman advance, Sultan Muhammad foiled the scheme by invading Serbia with a large army, taking Smederevo without striking a blow (June 20, 1459) and putting an end to the Serbian state by changing the despotate into a Turkish pashalik.

The days of Serbia's independence were now over. The Serb lands were divided into a number of administrative districts, sandjaks, under sandjakbegs who were under the beglerbeg of Sofia. As in all the provinces of Turkey, the land in the Serbian sandjaks was allotted to feudal tenants, to spahis as fiefs (*zi'āmet* and *tīmār*; q.v.). Under the Turkish social system, the Serbians like non-Muslims in the other conquered lands became slaves, *ra'īya* without rights. But Turkish rule in Serbia was at first quite lenient. The reason for this was mainly the religious toleration which the Ottomans exercised with an eye to their future conquests, and to which the Balkan Christians owed the fact that they were not exterminated but regained their freedom again after centuries; for the churches and monasteries contributed very largely to the preservation of the national consciousness, to maintaining the national language and to the preser-

vation of Serbian manners and customs. The Balkan peoples were also saved from extermination by the fact that the Turks, who were themselves fully occupied in fighting, required the Christians as agriculturists, artisans and miners. The Turks themselves settled almost exclusively in strategically important points, in towns, rarely or never in the villages. Many south Slav towns which developed under Turkish rule or were founded by the Turks long maintained their predominantly Turkish character because the Christian element was not tolerated in them or had been forcibly driven out. Vast migrations of Serbs took place, which resulted in great changes in the distribution of population in the Balkans. There was considerable migration into southern Hungary, southwest Bosnia and into the marches of Croatia. This increased, as with the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power in the xvth century, the position of the Balkan Christians became considerably worse. Beyond the Turkish frontiers there were organised well armed bands who fought as Uskoks, Predavtzes or Pribeigs, usually in Austrian service, unceasingly against the Turkish oppressors. They undertook countless attempts at liberation on their own initiative, all of which failed, but nevertheless they gave the Serbs valuable practice in the use of arms, as did the from now on ever more active participation in the Turkish wars in the ranks of Austria. The defeat of Kara Mustafa before Vienna (1683) was followed by the offensive of the Holy League against the Ottomans, in which large numbers of Serbs took part as volunteers. The imperial forces took Niš (1689) and Count Piccolomini penetrated far into south Serbia, where he occupied Prizren and Peć. Louis XIV's declaration of war and epidemics in the imperial army forced the latter to withdraw. Fearing the vengeance of the Turks, large bodies of Serbs (some 200,000) joined the retreating army under the leadership of the patriarch Arsenije III Tzrnojević. They were settled in the sparsely inhabited districts of South Hungary on the Maros, Theiss and Danube. After the peace of Carlowitz (1699) a second great wave of immigration entered Austria. By this peace the Turks lost Hungary; only the banate of Temesvar and the southern part of Sirmia remained to them. In the next war waged by Charles VI along with Venice, Prince Eugen took Belgrade (Aug. 18, 1717), and at the peace of Passarowitz (1718) the banate of Temesvar and the pashalik of Serbia passed to Austria. The period of Austrian rule in Serbia (1718—1739) was, in spite of occasional oppression by the fiscal authorities, for the hard-trying, wasted and depopulated country one in which it could enjoy the blessings of a higher civilisation and culture. The Serbs were forced to recognise this, when after the unfortunate war made by Austria in alliance with Russia (1737—1739) the peace of Belgrade restored the Serbian pashalik to Turkey and the Serbs were oppressed even more harshly than before. The vicinity of the Danube monarchy was undoubtedly of great importance for the Serbs. Through the intermediary of Austria they were brought into contact with European culture: and on Austrian soil the Serbian emigrants created an intellectual centre at Neusatz.

It was here that Dositej Obradović, father of the modern Serbian literature, developed his activity in educating his people, and Vuk Karadžić, the great reformer of the Serbo-Croat literary language, was able to carry though his reforms only by circuitous



routes through the Woivodina (Sirmia, the banate and Bačka). But Austria did not only influence the intellectual development of the Serbs but by its constant wars with the Porte gradually prepared the way for the political liberation of the Balkan peoples; for Serbs entered the Austrian army in continually increasing numbers. In 1787 independent units under the leadership of Serbian officers had already been formed and they gained considerable strategic successes. Colonel Michaljević, for example, in 1790 won notable victories at Jagodina, Čuprija and Kruševatz. General Laudon, who had recaptured the fortress of Belgrade in 1789, was able to occupy a considerable portion of the pašalik. The peace of Sistova (1791), however, brought the Serbs once more under the yoke, which was harsher than ever, especially as after the peace of Jassy they were abandoned without defence to the outrages of the demoralised janissaries, when the Turkish empire was in a state of complete anarchy as a result of the excesses of the dismissed mercenaries (Krdžalijes, *daghli eshkiyası*, hill-bandits) and the risings of several provincial governors: in Belgrade their leaders, the so-called four dahias (usurpers) seized the power and inaugurated a reign of terror which led even the Turks to complain to the sultān. The helpless sultān threatened to arm the Christians and thus poured oil into the flames. The answer of the dahias was the assassination of 72 prominent Serbs.

This became the immediate cause of the Serb rising of 1804, which began in perfectly loyal fashion as a fight between those who remained faithful to the sultān against those who resisted the Porte. The vigorous George Petrović, usually known as "Black George" (Karadjordje), from his dark complexion was chosen as supreme chief (*vrhovni vožd*) of the whole movement. The choice was a fortunate one, for the illiterate hajduk and pigdealer from Topola, formerly an Austrian N. C. O., was to develop the most remarkable talents. He led his people from victory to victory and by the summer had cleared the whole pašalik of Turks. He then appeared before Belgrade which was strongly fortified. Selim III at first favoured the Serbian movement and even sent the Bosnian Bekir Paşa with a considerable army to assist it. This gave the rebellion an appearance of loyalty and contributed not a little to its success: Belgrade fell and the rule of the dahias was at an end. But after the dahias, whom the sultān handed over to the vengeance of the populace, were disposed of peace did not come to the pašalik. On account of new atrocities inflicted on the Serbian inhabitants, the Serbs, who moreover were conducting secret negotiations through delegations with Russia and Austria, refused to lay down their arms. As the Porte refused their request for the appointment of a chief knez, they rose again. The aim of the rebellion, this time directed against the sultān, was a different one: complete liberation and restoration of the Serb state. Defeats of the Turks, especially that of Hāfiz Paşa at Ivankovatz (Aug. 1805), had almost brought about peace between the rebels and the Porte, since the latter declared itself ready to grant autonomy and hand over the fortresses to the Serbs, in return only for an annual tribute and the right of maintaining a *muḥāşil* with 150 men in the fortress of Belgrade.

The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1806, however, caused the peace negotiations to come

to nought as Russia, hoping to gain relief through the activity of the insurgents, through her wily agent Rodofinikin held out to the Serbs the prospect of complete independence and brought about the rejection of the exceedingly favourable offer. Although the Russians, who concluded a military agreement which suited themselves only, gave the Serbs no assistance, the latter were able to achieve some successes. The indefatigable Rodofinikin, however, succeeded in procuring for Russia considerable influence in Serbia through the knezes and woiwods who were jealous of the increasing power of Karadjordje, so that the Austrophil leader had to submit to a Russian protectorate in order to thwart the plans of his opponents who sought his overthrow.

Events in western Europe quickly altered the political situation in the Balkans also. The peace of Tilsit resulted in the truce of Slobodzija between Russia and the Porte, by which the Serbs suffered their first disillusionment regarding Russia, as the latter recognised the Porte's contention that the settlement of the Serbian question was her own affair. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed at Erfurt (art. 16): Serbia remained a Turkish possession. In the spring of 1809, war between Russia and the Porte broke out again. After defeats of the Russians and Serbians in 1809 and after the reconquest of the greater part of the pašalik, through the quarrels of the woiwods, the rebels amply, supported at last by the Russians, were able by the autumn of 1810 to occupy the whole of Serbia again. But the stay of a Russian force for four months in Serbia had so strengthened the Russophil party that all the woiwods with the exception of Karadjordje and Mladen Milovanović belonged to it. They procured the establishment of a permanent Russian garrison in Belgrade, the commandant of which was to form an administration in Serbia. By the peace of Bucarest (May 28, 1812), which Russia had to conclude hurriedly on account of Napoleon's campaign, the Serbs were delivered over to Turkey, for, although art. 8 gave them home rule, on the other hand, it demanded the destruction of all new fortresses and the surrender of the old ones to the Turks, thus depriving the country of all security. The Turks also, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the whole of Europe with Napoleon, very soon attempted to restore their rule in Serbia, and succeeded very quickly because lack of unity among the woiwods and want of confidence and enthusiasm in the ranks of the rebels forced Karadjordje to give up the struggle against superior forces. With many of his countrymen he left Serbia and was imprisoned by the Austrian authorities in Semlin. The other woiwods disbanded their troops and surrendered to the Turks who again occupied Belgrade, Šabac and Valjevo.

In Serbia there remained only one leader who had presence of mind and diplomatic talent: Miloš Obrenović, woiwod of Užice. By an attitude of loyalty he was able to inspire the Turks with confidence and for a time to maintain peace in the land. Renewed oppression, actually encouraged by Russia, who demanded obedience from the Serbs to her new ally Turkey, forced Miloš to raise the standard of rebellion on Palm Sunday 1813. Cleverly playing off the two Turkish generals Hurshid Paşa and Mar'ashli 'Ali Paşa against one another, he finally came to an agreement with the latter by which Serbia's autonomy was confirmed.

Miloš, whom the Porte recognised as supreme knez, disposed in drastic fashion of his rivals, including Karadjordje who had returned to Serbia (assassinated July 27, 1817), and had himself elected hereditary ruler of Serbia on Nov. 6, 1817. No agreement could however be reached on questions of finance and boundaries. By the convention of Akkerman (Oct. 1826) all the provisions of art. 8 of the Bucarest treaty were confirmed but they were not carried out till Dec. 1830, when a *khatt-i sharif* recognised Serbia as an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the sultan.

In Serbia there took place under Miloša change in the internal administration, the transition from purely Turkish to Serbian national government. But the first prince conducted himself more despotically than any Turkish pasha and soon made himself so hated that a strong opposition began to work for his fall or the limitation of his powers. Supported by Russia and Turkey, who did not like Miloš's too great independence, they were finally able to obtain (1838) the passing of a constitutional law (*ustav*) which transferred all the power in the state to a senate of 17 members appointed, it is true, by the prince, but incapable of being removed from office. Miloš found himself forced to abdicate in favour of his son Milan (June 1, 1839). But the latter was dying and only lived 26 days longer, without ever knowing he had been raised to the throne. His 16-year-old brother Michael then inherited the throne and with it the hatred of Russia and of the members of the Senate. Russia and the Porte took part in the struggle that followed between his followers and the party known as the defenders of the constitution (*ustavobranitelji*). Russia compelled the return of the banished opposition leader Vučić, who stirred up the people against Michael and forced him (end of Aug. 1842) to escape to Semlin. On Sept. 14 the Skupština declared that Michael and the whole Obrenović family had forfeited the throne. In the reign of his successor, Alexander Karadjordjević (1842—1858), European culture and civilisation entered Serbia but with them liberalism. In the Crimean War Alexander remained neutral, to the disgust of the Russian panslavists. Although the peace of Paris freed Serbia from the Russian protectorate, and replaced it by a guarantee of all the great powers, Russia's hostile policy to the ruler still made itself felt in Belgrade. Disturbances, conflicts between the court camarilla and the Senate triumvirate (Vučić, Garšanin, Anastasijević) and a conspiracy against the prince's life ended in the Skupština of St. Andrew's Day (Dec. 11, 1858) which deposed Alexander but, against the wish of the triumvirate, summoned the aged Miloš Obrenović to the throne for a second time. After a brief reign filled with vengeance, the 80-year-old ruler died on Sept. 26, 1860, and was succeeded by his son Michael, also for the second time. He followed in his father's footsteps in seizing all the power, but he was an enlightened despot. Under the influence of the national youth movement (*omladina*) then beginning, he prepared a great scheme for uniting all the Southern Slavs under Serbian hegemony. The first thing to do was to clear the country of Turks which after much bloodshed was done in 1866 with Russian support, for the Turks declared themselves prepared to evacuate all fortresses, only in future the sultan's flags were to fly alongside of the Serbian as a sign of

Turkish suzerainty. Michael is also rightly regarded as the father of the idea of a Balkan alliance. For in the spring of 1867 we find him discussing with Bulgarian emigrants and with Greeks and Rumanians a great joint enterprise against the Turks. His assassination in the park at Topčider (June 10, 1868) brought all his schemes to an end: nor did it help the partisans of the Karadjordjevići. General Blaznavatz (really Milivoje Petrović, perhaps an illegitimate son of Miloš) with the help of the garrison of Belgrade placed on the throne Michael's nephew, the 14 year old Milan Obrenović. After four years of tyrannical rule by the regents (Blaznavatz, Ristić and Gavrilović), Milan himself seized the power in 1872 but had at first, under the influence of Ristić, the Russophil leader of the liberals (older group of the intelligentsia), to be guided in his policy by Russia. Relying on the friendship of Russia, he adopted a defiant attitude on the occasion of the Bosnian and Bulgarian rising of 1875—1876, and finally (June 30, 1876) declared war on the Porte, jointly with Montenegro. After initial successes under the leadership of the Russian general Černajev, the Serbians suffered a defeat at Deligrad in September and another in October at Djunis. At Milan's request, Russia forced a truce upon the Porte (Nov. 1, 1876) which was followed on Febr. 28 through English intervention by a peace based on the status quo. It was only after the fall of Plevna that the Serbs decided to take part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878. The preference shown by Russia to Bulgaria at St. Stefano induced the Russophil Ristić to turn to Austria, who obtained for Serbia at the Berlin Congress, in return for the promise of a railway Belgrade-Vranja-Pirot, the districts of Pirot, Niš, Vranja, Leskovatz and the Toplitza valley. But as there was great discontent in Serbia at the allocation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, Ristić's cabinet, formed in October 1878, returned to the old Russophil policy. An Austrian ultimatum regarding the nonfulfilment of pledges given to the monarchy threatened to bring about a conflict. The progressive party that had arisen in the seventies (Naprednjaks, younger group of the Serbian intelligentsia) opposed the allpowerful statesman, and Milan, tired of the tutelage of the masterful Ristić, entrusted one of its most important members Piročanatz with the formation of a cabinet (Nov. 1880). Peace was made with Austria and even a secret treaty concluded (June 28, 1881) in which the Vienna government promised Serbia the Vardar valley and western Macedonia in return for her abandonment of all irredentist plans. The Piročanatz cabinet had also to fight a vigorous opposition, eager for a reform of the constitution the radical party founded, in the seventies and led by the young engineer Nikola Pašić. Great discontent prevailed in the country, which, in spite of the proclamation of Milan as king (March 6, 1882), increased, especially as a result of the financial crisis produced by the building of the railway, and reached its height in an attempt on Milan and in the great rising of Zaječar (October 1883) which was put down with great cruelty by the Christić ministry. Garašanin's Austrophil cabinet formed in 1884 had not only to deal with internal disturbances but also to wage a war with Bulgaria, declared on Nov. 13, 1885 by king Milan who described the union of eastern Rumelia to Bulgaria as disturbing the equilibrium of the Balkans: his army however suffered a disastrous



defeat by Nov. 19 at Slivnitsa. Only the intervention of Austria saved Serbia from a greater disaster: she procured for her in the peace of Bucarest (March 3, 1886) the territorial status quo. This misfortune and the increasing national debt intensified the radical opposition. When Milan's last attempt to secure his position by the introduction of a liberal constitution (Dec. 22, 1888-Jan. 3, 1889) failed, he abdicated on March 6, 1889 in favour of his 12 year old son, Alexander.

The reign of the last Obrenović (1889—1903) was a succession of foreign and domestic difficulties to which Milan who was continually striving for influence greatly contributed. He stirred up bitter strife between parties, regents, governments and Skupština and brought about the *coup d'état* of April 13, 1893 which handed over the reins of government to Alexander, now only 17. Unceasing ministerial and financial crises, as well as court scandals, the expulsion of Milan and of the queen mother Natalja, Alexander's marriage, generally disapproved of, with Draga Mašin, the widow of an engineer, constitutional experiments (introduction of the two chamber-system, restoration of the constitution of 1869), autocratic rule and influence of favourites, finally the plan for making the queen's brother, Lt. Nikodem Lunjevitz, successor to the throne, made the situation so bad that a conspiracy of officers sought a solution by force. In the night of June 11, 1903 the Obrenović dynasty was wiped out by the assassination of the king and queen.

Peter Karadjordjević, born in 1844, son of the dethroned prince Alexander, who had received a democratic education and was summoned to the throne by the Skupština on June 15, 1903 as Peter I, left the government to the parliamentary majority and the leader of the strongest party, the radicals, Nikola Pašić, thus guided the fortunes of Serbia. He held office with few interruptions till the end of his life. As he adopted in his political programme the irrendentist, Greater-Serbian plans of prince Michael, the change of dynasty also meant a radical change of policy: a complete alienation from Austria and a closer association with panslavist Russia. The centre of the Greater Serbian policy of the Belgrade government was the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In public meetings in Serbia the mandate of occupation was declared to be merely provisional, and the sultan to be the real sovereign of Bosnia. Austria therefore hastened to annex the two lands (Oct. 7, 1908). Serbia's protests and demands for compensation were rejected by the great powers in the interests of the peace of Europe. Panslavist agitation and especially the anti-Austrian activities of the Russian ambassador Nikolaus von Hartwig in Belgrade gradually made the relations between Austria and Serbia worse and worse.

Hartwig organised the Balkan alliance which at first was directed more against Austria than against Turkey: he was the originator of the Balkan war, in the first phase of which the Serbs won several victories (Kumanovo, Prilep, Bitolja), fighting their way to Saloniki and the Adriatic coast and conquering extensive areas of what had once been Dušan's empire. In the quarrel that broke out among the allies regarding the division of the spoils, the Serbs who, by the creation of Albania, had lost the lands promised them in this area and access to the sea, demanded compensation by an alteration of the partition of Macedonia already settled. The refusal

of this demand by Bulgaria led to the second Balkan war (April 1913) in which a battle was fought between Serbs and Bulgars on the Bregalnitsa from June 30 till July 5, 1913, which is regarded as one of the bloodiest in the world's history and ended in the victory of the Serbs. By the peace of Bucarest (Aug. 10, 1913) Serbia was almost doubled in area by receiving the old Serbian territory and Macedonia with Skopje and Bitolja. It increased from 48,303 sq km with 2,957,207 inhabitants to 90,303 sq km with nearly four million inhabitants. These successes contributed very much to strengthen the Greater Serbian movement and in Serbia men began to talk openly of liberating their brethren beyond the Save and Drina. Several Greater Serbian revolutionary organisations set themselves this task, notably "the Black Hand" ("Crna Ruka") or, as it was still called, "Union or Death", which planned the Sarajevo assassination on the anniversary of the battle of Kosovo on Vidovdan (June 28, 1914), and provoked the World War. In this the Serbs at first attained successes against the Austrians (at Arangjelovatz and Ripanj in Dec. 1914), but attacked on three sides in Oct. 1915, by Austrians, Germans and Bulgarians they were defeated in spite of their brave resistance (Dec. 1915). The remnants, some 50,000 men, after an unspeakably difficult and painful march through the ice and snow of the Albanian mountains reached the coast and were taken by Italian ships to Corfu. Here they recuperated and next year were re-equipped and sent with 60,000 other Serbian troops who had assembled in Saloniki, to the Saloniki front. By a bold attack (Sept. 30, 1916) when they stormed the defences of Kajmakčalan they were able to bring to a stop the Bulgarian offensive against Sarraïl's army. Soon afterwards they took Bitolja. Two years later, on Sept. 17, 1918, the Serbian troops broke through the Bulgarian front at Dobropolje and on Sept. 29 occupied Skoplje and forced the Bulgarians to conclude the truce of Saloniki. No one impeded their march northwards. On Oct. 12 they occupied Niš, and three weeks later (Nov. 4, 1918) the prince regent Alexander entered Belgrade. The collapse of the Danube monarchy made possible the union of the Southern Slavs of Austria-Hungary with Serbia, and on Dec. 1 the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed.

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**SHĀBĀSHIYA**, the name of a sect of extreme Karmāṭians in the region of Baṣra and al-Aḥsā led by hereditary chiefs, the Banū Shābāsh shāikhhs (the *rubūbiya* is handed down from father to son). Their political activity lasted over a century (about 380 to 480 = 990—1090) in the Persian Gulf. (The form *Shabbāsiya* should be dropped).

Two of them, in spite of their excommunication by orthodox writers were viziers to the Būyid governor of Baṣra: Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Faḍl (or Ḥasan) Ibn Shābāsh (d. 444 = 1052) and his son Salīl al-Barakāt (mentioned in 487 = 1094 by Ghazālī). It is remarkable that the Druzes regarded them as followers of their religion for we have in the Druze canon an epistle of Muḥtānā of 428 (1037) which is dedicated to them. — We know also that in the ninth (xv<sup>th</sup>) century there were still links between the Druzes and the islands of the Persian Gulf (cf. Poliak, in *R. E. I.*, 1934, p. 255).

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**SHĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD MUḤAMMAD**, BADAKHSHI, called Mullā Shāh, *Lisān Allāh* and, as a poet, *Shāh*, a Kādirī saint, was born in 992 (1584) at Arkasā, a village near Rustāk in Badakhshān. In 1023 (1614—1615) he settled in India and became a disciple of the great saint of Lahore, Miyan

Mir [see the article MIYĀNDĀD]. Thenceforward he lived partly at Lahore and partly in Kashmīr. In 1049 (1639—1640) Shāh Djahān's eldest son Dārā-Shikōh [q. v.] was accepted by him as a disciple and became a devoted adherent. In the reign of Shāh Djahān he narrowly escaped death on a charge of heresy, and a similar charge was brought against him in the reign of Awrangzēb. According to his disciple Tawakkul Beg, he died at Lahore on 15<sup>th</sup> Šafar 1072 (Oct. 10, 1661) [according to others in 1069 (1658—1659) or 1070 (1659—1660)].

He is the author of several *mathnawīs* (MSS. in the India Office and at Bānkīpūr), of *ghazals*, *rubā'īs* etc. (MSS. in the British Museum, the India Office, at Bānkīpūr and Berlin), and of a Šūfī commentary, *Tafsīr-i Shāh* or *Shāh-i Tafsīr*, on Sūra's i.—iii. and xii. (MSS. in the India Office, at Bānkīpūr and Calcutta).

*Bibliography*: Dārā-Shikōh, *Sakinat al-Awliya'* (Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i. 357), fol. 86—118; 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhawri, *Pādishāh-nāma*, i. 333 [bis]; Tawakkul Beg Kulālī, *Nuskhā-i Aḥwāl-i Shāhī* (Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, No. 130); A. von Kremer, *Mollā-Shāh et le spiritualisme oriental* (a summary of the *Nuskhā-i Aḥwāl-i Shāhī*), in *J. A.*, 1869, i. 105—159; Sher Khān b. Muḥammad Amdjad Khān Lōdī, *Mir'āt al-Khayāl* and other *tadhkiras*; Ghulām Sarwar Lāhawri, *Khasinat al-Asfiya'*, i. 172; T. W. Beale, *Miftāḥ al-Tawārikh* (Agra 1849), p. 401—402; Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: its history* etc. (Lahore 1892), p. 59, 175—176, 178; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 18—19; the catalogues of Persian MSS. in the British Museum (Rieu, ii. 690—691), the India Office (Ethé, No. 1580), the Bānkīpūr Library (iii., No. 326), the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Pertsch, p. 921—922) and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow, No. 969); Portrait in Binyon and Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate xxxiii. (a similar portrait is prefixed to the India Office MS. of his *mathnawīs*). (C. A. STOREY)

**SHAHR-I SABZ**. [See KASH.]

**SHĀIDĀ**, MULLĀ, Persian poet and satirist born and brought up at Fathpūr Sikri (near Āgra), was for some time a companion to Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the Khān-i Khānān, and afterwards in the service of Prince Shahryār, son of Djahāngir. Later on he entered the service of Shāh Djahān and was enlisted as an *aḥdī*. He retired in his old age in Kashmīr on a pension from Shāh Djahān, and died probably in 1052 (1642).

'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhōrī says that Shāidā was poor in learning, but other authors hold just the opposite view. He could write excellent verses in no time, and it is said that he composed 100,000 couplets in all. His *kaṣida*, in which he enumerates at length the defects and shortcomings of each and every couplet of a *kaṣida* by his contemporary, Kuḍsī (Hādjdjī Muḥammad Djān), and his *mathnawī Dawlat-i Bidār* are well known. As he wrote satires of Tālībā (of Āmul), Mir Ilāhī and other contemporary poets, he was also lampooned and ridiculed by others. Hence the well known *munāḡara* of Shāidā with Shaikh Firōz at Adjmēr in 1024 (1615).

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhōrī, *Badshāh-Nāma*, i., Calcutta 1867, p. 358—359; Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'i's *Bayāḍ*,



Br. Mus. Or. 1680, fol. 271<sup>a</sup> (Rieu, iii., p. 933); *Shēr Khān* b. Muḥammad Amdjad Khān Lōdī, *Tadhkira-i Mir'at al-Khayāl*, Calcutta 1831, p. 147—151; Ghulām 'Alī Āzād (of Bilgarām), *Ma'athir al-Kirām*, ii. (= *Sarv-i Āzād*), Haidarābād 1913, p. 82—84, also p. 61—63, 228; 'Alī Aḥmad Khān Hāshimī (of Sandilā), *Tadhkira-i Makhsan al-Gharāib* (MSS. Bodl., and the "Dār al-Muṣannifin", Aḥmadgarh, India); Shibli Nu'māni, *Shi'r al-'Adjam*, iv. (3rd edition, Aḥmadgarh 1923), p. 173, 206, 209; v. (1st edition), p. 187; 'Abd al-Ghānī Khān, *Tadhkira-i Shu'arā'*, 'Aligarh 1916, p. 78 (read 1052 for 1042).

(A. SIDDIQI)

\***SHAIKH**. — This title given to the founder of a religious brotherhood is also borne by his successors at the head of the hierarchy of the order and also by the heads of the various branches.

The *shaiikh al-ṭarīqa*, at once the spiritual and the temporal director of his group, must possess all moral qualities: he ought to be high-souled, austere, endowed with all the virtues, he must also possess all knowledge. Favoured by God who has endowed him with *baraka* (grace), he is the intermediary between the divinity and man. He has a perfect knowledge of the divine law or *shari'a* [q. v.]; he knows the wickednesses of and the cures for souls. As founder or heir of the particular teaching of the *ṭarīqa*, he possesses the *sirr* (impregnation of his own will by the will of the All-Powerful); he is the continuer of the traditions of the *ṣūfis*. He is inspired by no other thoughts than those which are suggested to him by God and the *shaiikh* founder of the order, all powerful, seated in the other world beside the divine throne and imbued with the thoughts of the supreme being. In theory the *shaiikh*, omnipotent and omniscient, possesses the gift of miracle-working.

It frequently happens that the aspirants to a brotherhood (*murīd*, pl. *murīdūn* [q. v.]) follow or have followed the direction of several *shaiikhs*. The latter are then given a subsidiary title which indicates the part played by them in the mystical education of the neophyte. From this point of view we have first the *shaiikh al-irāda*: he is the highest in the brotherhood, he whose will is mingled in the divine decision and to whom or under whose inspiration the initiate is affiliated, body and soul. The *shaiikh al-iktidā'* is the one to whose pattern one should conform, who ought to be imitated in word and deed. The *shaiikh al-tabarruk* is the one whom the initiates visit in order to be steeped in grace (*baraka*). The *shaiikh al-intisāb* is the one through whose intervention the initiate has received affiliation and whose *khādim* (religious servant) he becomes, whose commands he receives for his worldly tasks. The *shaiikh al-talkīn* is the spiritual teacher who allots to each member of the brotherhood the number of prayers he has to recite. The *shaiikh al-tarbiya* is the *shaiikh* who takes charge of the neophytes. The various offices which we have mentioned may be filled by a single or several persons.

The place where the *shaiikh* of a brotherhood lives is usually called a *zāwiya* [q. v.]. The *shaiikh* has also a certain number of assistants and servants to help him in administering the *zāwiya*: the *khālifa* or *nā'ib*, his lieutenant and chief assistant; — the *muḥaddim*, district director of a group of the brotherhood, the real propagandist of the

teaching, the general instructor; — the *rākīb* or *shāwīsh*, whose task is to carry the summons, written or verbal instructions of the *shaiikh* or of his *muḥaddims*; — the *saiyāf*, who in the summer travels among the tribes among whom the *shaiikh* has followers and collects alms; — below these officials there are a large number of minor officials who, according to the district or the brotherhood, are known as *khwān*, or *faḳir* (pl. *fukarā'*), or *aṣḥāb*, or *khādim* (pl. *khuddām*), or *darwīsh*.

As to the succession, spiritual and temporal, of the *shaiikhs*, it devolves in the *sharifi* brotherhoods upon the descendants in the direct line of the *shaiikh*, founder of the order, by virtue of the principle of the transmission of the divine drop. In the brotherhoods founded by devout men not *sharifs*, the *shaiikh* is appointed by the principal dignitaries of the *ṭarīqa*; this is the less frequent case. The series of *shaiikhs* who have succeeded to the head of a brotherhood is given in the *silila* or mystic chain.

*Bibliography*: Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 193—194; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, Algiers 1923, s. v.; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 207, 273 and references given; Massignon, *al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, *passim*; do., *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 269; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, *passim*; Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the xvth Century*, Edinburgh, *passim*. — On the necessity for the believer to have a *shaiikh* as spiritual guide, on the qualities of *shaiikhs* and on the number of *shaiikhs* with whom association is sought, cf. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, iii. 244 (in medio); Muḥammad al-Fāṣī, known as Ma'yāra, *Mukhtaṣar al-Durr al-ṭhamīn*, Cairo, n. d., p. 79.

(A. COUR)

**SHAIKH AL-DJABAL**. [See RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN.]

**SHAIKH AL-ṬARĪKA**. [See ṬARĪKA.]

**SHĀR**. The word *Shār* meaning "greatness and lordship" was the title of the rulers of Gharshistān who were under the overlordship of the Sāmānids of Bukhārā. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Asad, a contemporary of Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid (365—387 = 976—997), is the first *Shār* mentioned by the Muslim historians. He was an accomplished prince and his love of learning attracted many scholars to his court. When his son Shāh Muḥammad grew up to manhood, he entrusted the government of the country to him and devoted his time to study. In 384 (994) Abū 'Alī Simdjūri who had rebelled against Amīr Nūḥ, attacked Gharshistān. The *Shārs*, as the father and the son are called, leaving their country in the hands of Abū 'Alī, took refuge in an inaccessible fort; but shortly after that when Subuktigīn, who had come to the assistance of Amīr Nūḥ, drove Abū 'Alī Simdjūri out of Khurāsān to Djurdjān, the *Shārs* again took possession of their country. In 389 (999) after he had overthrown the Sāmānid 'Abd al-Malik, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna sent Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-'Uṭbī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, on an embassy to the *Shārs* to persuade them to read the *khutba* in his name. They consented to do so and maintained loyal relations with Sultān Maḥmūd till about 402 (1011—1012) when the younger *Shār* offended the Sultān by his arrogant refusal to accompany him on one of his expeditions to India. Maḥmūd sent an army to attack Gharshistān. The

father submitted and surrendered himself, but the younger Shār prepared to resist and took refuge in a strong hill-fort which was besieged and taken. Both the Shārs were sent to Ghazna and Gharchistān was annexed to the Ghaznawid Empire. The younger Shār was kept in close custody till his death a few years later, but his father Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, was treated with respect and consideration, and was given a position of honour at the court of the Sulṭān. Abū 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maimandī, the wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, had great respect for him and did all in his power to mitigate the degradation of his fall. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad died in 406 (1015—1016). He was a man of great learning and possessed profound knowledge of Arabic.

*Bibliography:* al-'Utbi, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, Lahore ed., p. 78, 251—259; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 104—105, 184; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, p. 205—206.

(MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

\***SHURṬA** (A.), a body of men who under the Caliphate assisted governors of provinces in maintaining law and order (*Taḏqī al-'Arūs*, v. 164). The Caliphs from the beginning maintained, for their own protection at the capital, a body of troops who normally kept order wherever the sovereign went. In time this body came to be regarded as being primarily a police force, so that, to take an example, during the troubled period at the beginning of al-Muqtadir's reign, it was Mūnis, the royal treasurer, who patrolled Baghdād with a force of 9,000 men in order to maintain peace (Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, i. 20). Similar bodies of the shurṭa were to be found in those cities important enough to be the seat of a governor or other representative of the Caliph, while in the lesser places there was the ma'ūna which had like duties. The officer in charge of the force was the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* or *ṣāhib al-ma'ūna*, who was called in Egypt *wālī* (i. e. *wālī 'l-aḥdāth wa 'l-ma'ūn*) and who was charged with the policing of the city which he controlled and with making nocturnal rounds in order to suppress crime (Maḥrizī, *Khīṭat*, ii. 220). In general also he had to investigate offences committed and punish the guilty. He made his decisions in accordance with the *'urf* [q. v.], while the *kāḍī* and *muhtasib* were concerned with the *shar'*. The *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* had wider jurisdiction than the *kāḍī*, and, unlike the latter, he could act on the reports of his subordinate officers and without waiting for complaint from an aggrieved party. Also he could imprison a suspect and could torture him in order to force confession (this in spite of the rule that confession under duress was invalid: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 107). Further, he could hear the evidence of *dhimmis* and of other persons whose word was not valid in the *kāḍī's* court, and finally he could hear complaints of assaults for which there were *ḥudūd*, or specific penalties. The men who filled the post of *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* were notorious for their cruelty and unscrupulous character (cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, p. 33).

*Bibliography:* Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniya*, ed. Enger, p. 375—378; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatremère, i. 400 sqq.; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mamlouks*, i. 109, note 140.

(R. LEVY)

\***AL-SĪD**. The study of the Latin and Catalan documents by R. Menéndez Pidal (*La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929) as well as the discovery of new Arabic documents by E. Lévi-Provençal, have thrown new light on the story of the adventurous career of the Cid Campeador. Apart from the work cited above — which is fundamental, but too apologetical — the reader may be referred, for a survey of the question, to E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le Cid de l'histoire* (in *Revue Historique*, Paris 1937) and *Nouveaux documents arabes sur le Cid*, in *Études d'histoire hispano-musulmane*, first series [under the press]. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**SIMĀW**, a *ḥaḍā'* (administrative district) in the *wilāyat* of Khudāwendigār (Brussa) in the *sandjak* of Kūṭāhiya, and the capital of the district, about 80 miles S. W. of Kūṭāhiya. Even before the war the whole district was exclusively inhabited by Muḥammadan Turks and had over 40,000 inhabitants, who led a primitive, patriarchal self-supporting, but not poverty-stricken, existence. The capital Simāw, the ancient Synaos, with 6,000 inhabitants is picturesquely situated at the foot of the Simāw Dagħī on the bank of the stream of the same name, the ancient Makestos, and of the lake nestling in green. It is well supplied with running water and has 10 mosques, 9 masjdīd's, 2 monasteries, 6 medreses, several schools, 5 *khāns*, barracks, a depot and a library built of stone, while the other buildings are mainly of wood, so that severe fires are frequent.

The town has highly developed manufactures of carpets and mats. The raw material for the former is supplied by the cattle-rearing of the numerous nomads for whom Simāw is the market, and for the latter by the reeds of the lake. Fishing and the cultivation of opium are also flourishing industries. The climate is damp and unhealthy.

The ancient hill of the Acropolis is now covered with the houses of the well-to-do citizens. Above it rises a hill with the remains of the Byzantine citadel.

Simāw in 783 (1381) was incorporated by Murād I in the Ottoman empire by the marriage of his son Bāyazīd with Sulṭān Khātun, daughter of Germiānoğlu, who brought her husband Kūṭāhiya, Simāw, Eyri Göz and Tawshanlı as a dowry (Neshri, *Diḥān-numā*, Vienna MS., fol. 63 and 65; manuscript of the Bāyazīd Mosque, fol. 59 and 60; 'Ashīk Pasha-zāde, *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1333, p. 57).

Simāw was the birthplace of several *shaikh*s, e. g. *Shaikh* 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī, d. 896 ('Ashīk-Pasha-zāde, p. 224, note 7) and *Shaikh* Kara Shams al-Dīn (Ewliyā, *Siyāhat-name*, Constantinople 1314, iii. 377). The conjecture going back to v. Hammer that the son of the judge of Simāwene *Shaikh* Badr al-Dīn, who provoked a great *darwish* rising and was hanged in Seres in 823 (1416), was born in this Simāw, is refuted by the brilliant arguments of Mehmed Sheref al-Dīn's: *Simāwene Kāḍīs Oghlu Shaikh Badr al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1925 (1341), p. 5 sqq. According to him Badr al-Dīn was born in a place Simāwene situated in the neighbourhood of Adrianople.

*Bibliography:* Ewliyā Çelebi, *Seyahat-namesi*, Istanbul 1935, ix. 44—48; F. Babinger, *Scheich Badr ed-din, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi. (1921), 1 and the references there *ibid.*, p. 22, note 2. — Besides: Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1895, iv. 73—



74; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Erg.-Heft, Gotha 1913, iii. 22 sqq.; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. by Babinger, Hannover 1925, p. 38; *Sāl-nāme-i Khudāwendigār*, 1302, year 12, p. 462—464 and 1324, year 33, Brussa 1324, p. 433; Sāmī, *Kāmūs*, iv. 2625.

(TH. MENZEL)

#### \*SUBKĪ

D. **SHAIKH MAHMUD** (B. MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD) **KHAṬṬĀB AL-SUBKĪ**, a religious reformer and founder of the Subkiya, born 1274 (1858) in Subk al-Uwaiḍāt (Manūfiya) and died in 1352 (1933) in Cairo. Early influenced by mysticism (member of *Khalwati* and other orders) and inspired by religious fervour but intended for a secular life, he only entered al-Azhar somewhat late. Even while a student he disputed with his teachers on the *Qurʾān* and *Sunna*, composed pamphlets against the *bidʿa*'s and went into the country preaching reform. After obtaining his certificate of scholarship (*shahādat al-ʿālimiya*) he was able to give until his death publicly the lectures which he had already begun to give privately in al-Azhar. To carry out his ideas he founded in 1331 (1913) a society called al-*Djamʿiya al-sharʿiya li-taʿawun al-ʿāmilīn bi l-sunna al-Muḥammadiya* (statutes: Cairo 1331; obligations of the preachers to be appointed: in the biography; see below), whose members bound themselves to avoid all *bidʿas*, to give a definite contribution monthly, as far as possible to trade only with one another, and to take one another's advice on personal matters. The society builds mosques (in 1935 there were said to be over 100 in the whole of Egypt), maintains preachers, and distributes charity; its main source of revenue in addition to the offerings of members is the manufacture of Egyptian cloths. In 1344 (1926) the *shaiikh* made his house in the Ḥārat al-Djōkhḍār at the Bāb Zuwēla, a foundation (*wakfiya*, printed Cairo 1344) which is now the centre of the Subkiya; alongside of a mosque and living-rooms for the relatives and followers of the founder is a shop which sells cloth, a bookshop, an office, a barber's shop etc. On the death of the *shaiikh* he was succeeded by his son Amin at the head of the society and the administration of the foundation.

As a Māliki (but without preferring this *madhhab* in principle: his son Amin is a *Shāfiʿi*) the *shaiikh* was influenced by the *Kitāb al-Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādīdj (d. 737 = 1336—1337). He objected to *bidʿas* in all fields, notably in worship; thus he demanded a slow performance of *ṣalāt*, had no *mihrāb*, reduced the *minbar* to a simple seat with two steps, regarded the singing of the *adhān*, the special recitation of *sūra xviii.* and especially many religious practices of the darwishes as contrary to the *sunna*. He forbade smoking, the shaving of the whiskers and the wearing of the simple *ṭar-būsh*. In keeping with his orders his followers like to wear white, wear over a white cap (or also a red *ṭar-būsh*) a turban with pieces of cloth hanging from it (*ʿadhāba*), give the hand only at meeting and not at parting. After the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* the *shaiikh* used to and his successor still does sit in an anteroom of the mosque on a skin and answers the questions of his followers.

His profession of faith in his biography is thoroughly orthodox. In the *furūʿ* of the law he recognises the *Qurʾān*, the *sunna* of the Prophet

and the *idjmāʿ* of the imāms entitled to *idjtihād*; anything contradictory to these authorities is of no importance. Less from this principle than from the application he makes of it, the *shaiikh* is repeatedly at variance with the majority of theologians and their recognised authorities. He was reproached with being a Wahhābi, cutting himself off from the community of Muslims, declaring all who are not of his opinion unbelievers and claiming the right of *idjtihād*. Finally the view prevailed that he was an earnest, although in many respects an extravagant, Muslim whom one could allow to go his way. The number of his followers, to whom his influence is limited, is estimated by themselves at "several thousand" in Cairo and particularly in the country. They call themselves simply *sunni*'s. The chief interest of the movement is in the combination of religious reform with a social and economic programme.

The *shaiikh*'s principal work is a very full commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd entitled *al-Manḥal al-ʿadhb al-mawrūd*, which began to appear shortly before his death and was continued by his son Amin (Cairo 1351 sqq.). At the beginning of vol. i. the latter has placed a laudatory biography of his father with a list of his works (26 in all). Of his writings on reform may be mentioned: *Isābat al-Sihām Fuʿād man ḥada ʿan Sunnat khair al-Anām* (Cairo 1320); *Taʿdīl al-Kaḍāʾ al-mubram li-Mahḥ man saʿa didd Sunnat al-Rasūl al-ʿaẓam* (Cairo 1330); *Ithāf al-Kāʾināt bi-Bayān Maḍḥab al-Salaf wa l-Khalaf fi l-Mutashābihāt* (Cairo 1350). Muṣṭafā Abu l-Saif al-Ḥammāmī wrote against him *Istikḥṣāf al-Sirr al-maḥṣūd min Kutub al-Shaiikh al-Subkī Maḥmūd* (the second part has the separate title: *Rafʿ al-Hidjāb ʿan Balāyā Ibn Khaṭṭāb*) (Cairo 1336); *Shaiikh al-Subkī* was defended by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Idwī in a two brochures *Tariḥ al-Wuṣūl ilā Ibtāl al-Bidʿ bi-Ilm al-Uṣūl* and *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb bain al-Shaiikh Muṣṭafā al-Ḥammāmī wa l-Shaiikh Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb* (Cairo n.d.), and by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Afīf in *al-Ḥusām al-sāmī li-Mahḥ Tuḡarwul Muṣṭafā al-Ḥammāmī* (Cairo 1336).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

\***SUDĀN** (Eastern). The Sudān of the medieval Arabic writers is the area of West and Central Africa south of the Sahara. It was only in the sixth century that the name came to be applied also to the countries of the Nile basin, which were conquered by the troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1820—1822 and thereafter known as the Egyptian (now the Anglo-Egyptian) Sudān. In a *firḡān* granted to Muḥammad ʿAlī by the Porte in 1841 the territory committed to his rule is described as comprising Nubia, Dār Fūr, Kordofān, and Sennār with their dependencies. Subsequently Egyptian rule was extended to the countries of the Upper Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, which do not belong to the Sudān in the geographical and historical sense.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudān of the present day comprises an area of about 1,000,000 square miles between 2° and 3° North Latitude, within which there are found a variety of physical conditions, ranging from sandy desert to sub-tropical forest, and a variety of racial types. The unifying factor is the Nile which traverses the country for more than 2,000 miles. The character of the different

climatic areas is determined by the rainfall, which divides the country into a number of vegetation belts running from W. S. W. to E. N. E. The northernmost belt is rainless desert incapable of supporting a population except on a narrow strip on the banks of the Nile. To the south of the desert is shrub steppe, where scanty summer rains provide pasturage for camels, sheep and goats, and thus enable a nomadic population of stock-breeders to exist. South of 15° Latitude the seasonal rains increase, and the country assumes the character of savannah, excellent for stock-breeding and producing crops of millet and maize. Extensive forests of stunted thorny trees yield large quantities of gum arabic. South of 12° Latitude the country enjoys an abundant rainfall, and consists partly of vast treeless plains covered with high grasses, and partly of savannah forest. Tropical forest is found along the banks of streams in the extreme south.

The 12th parallel of Latitude, broadly speaking, forms the dividing line between the Muslim Sūdān and the pagan south. Amongst the negroid tribes of the south there is an astonishing variety of languages and cultures, which renders a satisfactory classification extremely difficult. Certain linguistic families stand out clearly; in other cases inclusion within a group is based on a consensus of physical or cultural traits, or merely on the geographical area inhabited by the group. Following Evans-Pritchard we thus distinguish the following divisions: 1. Nilotes, a well-defined group comprising the Dinka, Shilluk, and Nuer who speak closely related languages, and possess many cultural elements in common. 2. Nilo-Hamites, comprising the Bari and other Bari-speaking tribes, as well as a number of tribes, linguistically distinct from the Bari and amongst each other, to the east of the Nile. 3. Tribes of the Ironstone Plateau, a heterogeneous group of small tribes in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl area. 4. The Azande. 5. The Hill Tribes of Southern Kordofān often referred to as Nūba [q. v.]; they are split up into a large number of small groups speaking different languages which belong to ten distinct linguistic families. 6. The tribes of Dār Fung (Fundj) between the upper reaches of the Blue Nile and the White Nile, divided into five or six linguistic groups.

Notwithstanding the close contact between the North and the South, resulting from a common administration and from trade, Islām has shown no tendency to expand in the pagan areas. Although many detribalised individuals of negroid (often slave) origin profess Islām, paganism has not been seriously attacked in its own country, and even on the fringes of the area, where both systems live side by side, as in the Nūba mountains, there has been little inter-penetration. Muslim communities consisting of government employees, merchants, ex-soldiers etc. are found in many of the administrative and trading centres of the south, but they do not appear to exert any considerable propagandist influence on the pagan tribes.

In contrast to the racial and cultural confusion of the South the North possesses a large measure of homogeneity brought about by Muḥammadanism and by the predominance of the Arabic language and culture. With few exceptions (Nubians, Bedja [q. v.], and certain tribes of negroid origin in Dār Fūr [q. v.]) all Sūdān Muslims speak Arabic and, with more or less justification, claim Arab descent.

The migration of Arabs into the eastern Sūdān [see article NŪBA] led to a fusion of the immigrants with the indigenous population and thus produced the Sūdān tribes of the present day. The relative purity of their Arab descent varies in the different groups and cannot be assessed by the criterion of language alone; the term "Sūdān Arabs" therefore has no clear racial significance, but is used to designate the tribes of Arabic speech as distinct from Nubians and Bedja though it must be borne in mind that not only have Nubians and Bedja been absorbed into Arab tribes, but that the reverse process has also taken place in certain cases.

Following MacMichael's classification the Sūdān Arabs fall into two main divisions: the Dja'liyin-Danākla group which includes most of the riverain tribes as well as many of the sedentary folk of Kordofān; and the Djuhaina [q. v.] group, tracing descent from a certain 'Abdullāh al-Djuhanī, which includes the Baḳkāra and many of the camel-breeding nomads.

As in the matter of descent, so in material culture and customs it is difficult to disentangle the Arab elements from those of indigenous African origin. Certain widespread practices, such as the infibulation of women, the ceremonial "avoidance" of relations by marriage, the use of the (Hamitic?) termination *-āb* to form patronymic names of families and tribes (Rubātāb, 'Alīyāb etc.) may be held to be of non-Arab origin. The Baḳkāra who do not practise infibulation and do not use the *-āb*-suffix, have on the other hand acquired certain negroid characteristics both in appearance and temperament, owing to their close connection with the black tribes of the south. When every allowance has been made for these factors we are still justified in speaking of the tribesmen as Arabs, not only in the linguistic sense, but because the predominant features of their culture, their racial consciousness, and their historical traditions are all of Arab ancestry.

Within this unity of religion and language there are wide divergencies in habitat and in mode of life; the following divisions are readily distinguished:

a. Camel-breeding nomads (*Abbāla*), occupying the dry steppe land between the 13th and 18th degrees of Latitude, where conditions closely resemble those prevailing in northern Arabia. The mode of life and the customs of these people accordingly show great affinity to those described in ancient Arabic verse and in the travel literature on Arabia, the differences, which nevertheless are not negligible, being partly due to the absorption of Bedja and Nubian elements, and partly to adaptation to a new environment. The most prominent tribes are those of northern Kordofān (Kabābish, Dār Ḥamid, Ḥamar); the Laḥāwīn represented both in Kordofān and in Kassala; the tribes of the Buṭāna (Shukriya, Baṭāḥīn); the Bedja-speaking tribes of Kassala Province; and the Banī 'Amir on the borders of Eritrea who speak Tigrē.

b. Cattle-breeding nomads (*Baḳkāra*); though tracing their descent to the same origins as the camel-owning tribes, they differ from them not only in their mode of life but also in physical appearance and in dialect. They range over a vast area south of the 13th degree of Latitude stretching from the White Nile across southern Kordofān and Dār Fūr, and they overflow the boundaries of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān into Wadā'ī [q. v.]



and Bornū [q. v.]. In their southern grazing-grounds they are brought into close contact with the negroid tribes of the Upper Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [q. v.], and they seem to have acquired a larger admixture of black blood than other Sūdān Arabs. "The men have usually thick lips and snub noses . . . and the prevailing colour everywhere is dark rather than light" (G. D. Lampen). Yet, according to the same writer, they have succeeded in maintaining their pride of race and "in spite of certain noticeable peculiarities one is always realising how great are the resemblances between the branches of the great Arab race, so much so that Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* would be a most valuable introduction to work amongst the Baḳḳāra." Their main interest is in their cattle which amongst them occupy the same prominent place which camels have in the life of the northern Arabs. They also rear horses and have a reputation as bold hunters of giraffes and elephants. In the old days their warlike spirit found an outlet in slave-raids, and during the Mahdiyya they provided many of the amirs of the Darwish armies. The chief Baḳḳāra tribes in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān (from west to east) are the Awlād Ḥumaid, the Ḥawāzma, the Misiriya, the Ḥumr, the Rizaikāt and the Ta'ā'isha.

c. Sedentary villagers: In many cases the distinction between nomads and villagers only refers to the mode of life, the racial and tribal origins being similar in both cases. The large riverain tribes north of Khartoum are the Nubian-speaking Danākla, followed by the Shā'ikiya, the Rubāṭāb, and the Dja'liyin of whom there are a number of sub-tribes. Their cultivation is confined to the river bank and carried out by means of the water-wheel (*sākiya*) and the *shādūf*, or on the foreshore after the subsidence of the Nile flood. In years of good rainfall crops are also raised in the steppes away from the river, which also provide the villagers with seasonal grazing-grounds. The villages consist of rectangular mud buildings devoid of ornament. Both Danākla and Dja'liyin have sent colonies of cultivators to Kordofān and the White Nile, and as traders they are found everywhere in the Sūdān. The Shā'ikiya have a taste for military service and are found in large numbers in the Arab units of the Sūdān Defence Force and in the Police.

The sedentary population of the central Sūdān is less homogeneous than in the north. The villagers of the "Djezira" do not differ materially from their congeners on the river; those of Kordofān are probably the result of a fusion of Danākla immigrants with the indigenous people. The Arab strain is strongest in the north and gets gradually weaker in the south. But though the racial purity of these villagers has been affected by non-Arab elements even more than that of the nomads, the Arab and Islāmic cultural tradition has imposed itself with undeniable force. Cultivation in these areas is dependent on the summer rains, the chief crops being millet and maize. Subsidiary products are sesame and groundnuts, and an additional source of revenue is provided by the collection of gum arabic. The cultivation of cotton, which has existed on a small scale since remote times, has been developed in recent years, especially in the area irrigated by means of the Sennār Dam, and it now forms one of the most important economic assets of the country. The typical form of building in the villages is the circular mud

hut with conical roof thatched with the stalks of the millet plant, and often the whole hut is built of thatch or grass.

d. Town-dwellers: The older towns — Dongola, Berber, Sennār [see the articles] — have lost much of their former importance. Khartoum (Khartūm) [q. v.], the administrative centre, was founded after the Turco-Egyptian conquest, and Omdurman [q. v.], the native capital, only rose to prominence during the Mahdiyya. In recent years El-Obeid (al-Ubaiyad) in Kordofān and Wad Medani in the Djezira have become important centres of commerce. The mixed population of the towns is drawn from all the sedentary tribes, Dja'liyin and Danākla being strongly represented everywhere. There is also an important Egyptian and Levantine element chiefly engaged in handicrafts and commerce.

Language. In the Muslim North Arabic is predominant and, even where other vernaculars survive, Arabic is the only language of letters and of the administration. The non-Arabic vernaculars are: Nubian, spoken along the Nile from Aswān to Dongola; To-Bedawie, the ancient Hamitic tongue of the Bedja tribes; and Tigrē, spoken by the Bani 'Amir near the Eritrean border. In these communities many of the men are bilingual. In Dār Fūr a number of indigenous languages are spoken by *soi-disant* Muslim tribes such as Fūr, Dādjo, Masālit (Māba), Midōb (a dialect of Nubian).

The spoken Arabic of the Sūdān occupies an independent place amongst the modern vernaculars. The dialectal varieties are many, corresponding to differences in locality, tribe, and social condition; the nomad dialects are clearly distinguishable from the speech of the villagers, and the Baḳḳāra dialect occupies a place of its own. Notwithstanding these differences there is enough similarity to constitute a distinct dialect-group. Owing to the isolation of the country, the language has retained many ancient features, and the influence of the surrounding African idioms has been inconsiderable except in the vocabulary of some groups.

Noteworthy phonetic features are: the pronunciation of *djim* as the front palatal plosive = *dy*; the change of original *dh* to *d* (*kiḍib*, lie; *qubbān*, flies); the pronunciation of *djim* as *d* under the influence of a sibilant (*dēsh*; *shadar*; *dahsh* for *djaish*; *shadjar*; *djahsh*); original *k* is pronounced *g*, and is often interchanged with *gh*. The sedentary tribes of Kordofān have lost the sounds of *hā* and *ain* for which they substitute *hū* and *hamza*. Possibly due to African influence are the sounds *ny* and *ē* (= *ty*, not derived from original *k*) which occur in a number of words (possibly loanwords), especially in the dialect of the Baḳḳāra.

Compared with other dialects Sūdān Arabic is rich in vowels: thus nouns of the form *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l* take the forms *kalīb*, *kiḍib*, *ḍuhur*, and there is a tendency to resolve consonant groups by the addition of vowels, as in forms like *rikibta*, *marākta* for reg. *rikibt*, *marākt*. Equally common is ellipsis of the final consonant (*nidim*, I repented; *ḥasām be rabbī*, I have sworn by the Lord); in the west the same tendency produces forms like *tarakit*, *shufit* for *tarakt*, *shuft*.

An interesting development in grammar is the formation of an imperative with pronominal suffixes to express a command or invitation in which the speaker is included, e. g. *aḥ'udāk*, sit

down with me; *kūmāk*, let us both get up; *al'abā-kun*, let us play together. In the northern and central Sūdān the pronominal suffixes of the plural take the forms *hun* and *kun* for the masculine, and *hin* and *kan* for the feminine. The relative pronoun is *al* (*el, il*). Though in general the dialect is of pronounced eastern type (certain correspondences with Yamanī are to be noted), the Maghribī shibboleth — sg. *naf'ul*; pl. *naf'ulū* — occurs on the White Nile and in Kordofān. In the noun the frequent use of *tanwīn* (*an*, without distinction of case) is to be noted: *ḡanāyan Shukrī*, a boy of the Shukriya; *ba'īran ḡurī*, a yellow camel; *ab rāsān kawwī*, a headstrong man.

The vocabulary of the northern riverain speech has adopted a number of words from Nubian, especially a number of terms connected with the water-wheel and the cultivation of the soil, and in the east Bedja has exercised some influence. The vocabulary of the Baḡḡāra shows the greatest divergence from the common type and contains a considerable number of words borrowed from negroid languages, but detailed studies are lacking.

In the southern Sūdān a debased form of Arabic, introduced by the slave-traders and known in Uganda as Nūbī, is largely used as a *lingua franca*. It has lost all the phonetic and grammatical features of Arabic and undergone a development analogous to that of "pidgin" English.

Religion. Medieval Nubia was a Christian country, yet as early as the ivth (xth) century Islām had made some progress amongst the Nubians between the First and Second Cataract, and in the Bedja country, though the majority of the Bedja were still pagan. At Sōba in southern Nubia there were Muslim residents who occupied a special quarter. Muslim tombstones of the xth and xith centuries have been found at 'Aḡīḡ on the Red Sea coast. It was not, however, until the viiith (xivth) century, as a result of Arab immigration and the establishment of an Egyptian protectorate [see the article NŪBA] that Islām acquired predominance in the north, while in the south Christianity lingered on for another century and a half. A Muslim king of Dongola is first heard of in 716 (1316), but Ibn Baṭṭūta in 756 (1355) still speaks of the Nubians as Christians, though he mentions a king who bears a Muslim name (Ibn Kanz al-Dīn). The first Muslim dynasty in southern Nubia was established by the Fundj [q. v.] about the year 905 (1500). Native tradition connects the rise of Muslim institutions and the spread of Muslim learning with the advent of foreign scholars and holy men in the xth (xviith) century, to whom the Fundj kings and their Arab vassals accorded protection.

Of the religious life during the Fundj period we possess a valuable account in the *Ṭabaḡāt* of Muḥammad Wad (walad) Daifallāh (d. 1224 = 1809), a biographical dictionary of Sūdānese scholars and saints. Sūdānese Islam was entirely lacking in the cultural background provided in other countries by the tradition of an older civilisation, and the dominant features were the cult of saints and the immense influence of "holy men" (*fuḡarā'*; *fakī* is used as the singular), a term which includes both the students of religious learning and the claimants to mystical enlightenment and sainthood. Learning, especially the study of Mālikī law, was cultivated in numerous schools (*ḡhalwa*), and there was some contact with the schools of Mecca

(as a result of the pilgrimage) and with al-Azhar in Cairo, but the range of studies was limited, and the prevailing tendencies were those of popular superstition and pseudo-mysticism.

The Egyptian conquest opened the way to foreign influences which, however, had little effect on the mass of the people. The most notable result was the spread of certain *ṭarīḡas* of foreign origin, especially the Mirḡhanīya or Khatmiya, introduced early in the sixteenth century by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirḡhanī, a native of al-Tā'if; other *ṭarīḡas* still retaining their importance are the Sammānīya and the Aḡmadiya-Idrīsīya. The Tīdjanīya has a number of adherents in the west.

Mahdism, the movement preached in 1881 by Muḥammad Aḡmad [q. v.], had its roots in the superstitious environment of Sūdānese Islām, and its founder was in every respect a typical *fakī* (*faḡīr*). The movement assumed dangerous proportions owing to the discontent engendered mainly by misgovernment, and it proved temporarily victorious on account of the incompetent measures with which the authorities sought to counter it. In his teaching the Mahdī combined elements derived from Wahḡbī and Sanūsī sources (return to primitive Islām; opposition to innovations and to foreign influences; prohibition of pilgrimages to tombs; prohibition of music and tobacco) with the eschatology of the popular Mahdī-traditions and with the thaumaturgic features of Sūdānese Islām. The four *madḡāhib* were held to be superseded by the Mahdist dispensation, and the study of non-Mahdist religious literature was forbidden. Under the reign of the Mahdī's successor, the Kḡhalifa 'Abdullāhī, the theocratic state became a military despotism.

Since the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian government the educated element amongst Sūdānese Muslims have taken part in increasing measure in the intellectual life of the other Muslim countries. The old *ḡhalwas* have lost much of their importance, and religious studies are carried on at the *Maḡhad 'Ilmī* in Omdurman, an institution supervised by an official board of *'ulamā'*, while training for *ḡādis* for the *sharī'a* courts is provided in a government college. Amongst the masses superstitious practices are still very prevalent, and adherence to the *ṭarīḡas* plays an important part in the religious life. The followers of the Mahdī have organised themselves in a community resembling a *ṭarīḡa*, the head of which is the surviving son of the Mahdī.

History. The eastern Sūdān has formed a political unit since the Egyptian occupation. For the earlier history of the separate territories reference should be made to the articles BEDJA, DĀR FŪR, FUNDJ, KASSALA, KORDOFĀN, NŪBA, SENNĀR. The expansionist policy of Muḥammad 'Alī [q. v.] and the hope of gaining access to sources of wealth led to the annexation of the territories which had formerly been under the suzerainty of Sennār. The Fundj kingdom, disorganised and torn by internal dissension, was incapable of organised resistance. After victories over the Shā'īḡiya Arabs in Dongola and the Dār Fūr troops in Kordofān the occupation was accomplished without serious difficulty (1820—1822). In Kassala the resistance of the Bedja tribes was finally overcome in 1840. Dār Fūr and the southern areas for the time being retained their independence.

An administration was set up staffed largely



by Turks and Albanians, and supported by troops of the same nationalities. Irregular forces (*Bashî-buzzuk* or *Dalatîya*) were recruited from the *Shā'îkiya*; and at a later stage the regular troops consisted largely of enslaved black soldiers.

Under the successors of Muḥammad 'Alī vast new territories were added to the original conquest. The superiority which the possession of fire-arms conferred on the Arabs enabled them to penetrate into the black countries of the Upper Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, nominally for the purpose of trading in slaves and ivory, but in reality as conquerors. The expeditions were at first undertaken by merchant-adventurers without official participation. The traders, *Dja'liyin*, *Danākla*, Turks, and even Europeans, fitted out ships manned by mercenaries, and established themselves in fortified trading-posts (*dēms* or *zaribas*) from which they virtually ruled the surrounding country. Prominent amongst the adventurers was Zubair Raḥma, a *Dja'li*, who made himself paramount in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl area and finally, in 1874, conquered the ancient kingdom of Dār Fūr.

By this time the government had been obliged to assert its authority in the countries hitherto left to the lawless activities of the traders. The devastation of the country and the ruthless oppression of the natives, of whom large numbers were carried off into slavery, had become a public scandal to which the Egyptian authorities could not remain indifferent. In 1869 the Khedive Ismā'il Pāshā [q. v.] entrusted Sir Samuel Baker with the task of establishing administrative stations in the Equatorial Province and curbing the activities of the slave-traders. During his period of office Egyptian authority was extended to Unyoro and Uganda, but little was accomplished against the slave-trade owing to the obstruction of the Khartoum authorities. He was succeeded in 1870 by Colonel (later General) C. G. Gordon who was nominated governor-general of the Equatorial Province with supreme authority from Fashoda to the Great Lakes. The keeping of private military forces was now declared illegal, and the stations of the slave-traders were closed down. Aided by European and American assistants Gordon laid the foundation of ordered administration, and in 1877 he was appointed governor-general of the whole Sūdān, an office which he held until 1879. His tireless efforts to reform the administration were, however, hampered by risings in Dār Fūr and military complications with Abyssinia.

The administration of the northern Sūdān under its Turco-Egyptian governors had produced very grave abuses; the fiscal system was oppressive and corrupt, and the population was brought to the verge of ruin by official and non-official exactions. The control exercised by Cairo was ineffective, and a scheme of administrative and financial reform promulgated by the Khedive Sa'īd Pāshā [q. v.] in 1857 remained a dead letter. During Gordon's tenure of office the worst abuses were checked, but his uncompromising attitude in the matter of slavery aroused the hostility of the Arabs. When he resigned his office in 1880 the Sūdān was overripe for revolt, and the universal discontent was fanned into flame, when a leader appeared who united the various discontented elements under the flag of religion, and who appeared to prove the divine character of his mission by the victories which his ill-equipped followers

gained over the government forces. (For an account of the movement see the article MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD).

In 1896 the joint forces of Great Britain and Egypt began the reconquest of the lost provinces. The military object was achieved by the defeat of the Darwīsh army at Omdurman (battle of Kerreri: September 2, 1898); and by an agreement dated January 19, 1899 the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān was constituted as a condominium under the joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt, a status which has since been reaffirmed by the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936.

The new administration took over a devastated country. It is estimated that of a population numbering about 8,500,000 before the Mahdist rebellion some 3,500,000 had been killed by famine and disease, and some 3,250,000 in battle and internecine strife. There followed a period of slow and patient reconstruction under the guidance of Sir Reginald Wingate, who had succeeded Lord Kitchener as governor-general in 1899. Internal peace presented numerous problems in the turbulence of tribes which had never known a civilised administration, and the danger of fanatical risings inspired by the Mahdist tradition, but peaceful advance in the revival of the economic life and in general well-being proceeded at a steady pace.

The tributary sultānate of Dār Fūr, which since the fall of the Khālifa had been ruled despotically by a descendant of its ancient royal house, reverted to the administration of the Sūdān in 1916, as a result of the hostile attitude assumed by the sultān during the European War.

The main events of the post-war period lie in the spheres of administrative and economic development. The wealth of the country has grown as a result of irrigation (the Sennār Dam was completed in 1926) and of the facilities for trade provided by modern means of communication. A policy of "native administration" inaugurated in 1927 has done much to restore and preserve the social structure of the people, and to guide their advance on progressive lines, but in conformity with their own tradition and culture. There has also been a steady advance in education, which has led to a vigorous cultural movement, as a result of which the people of the northern Sūdān are beginning to take their rightful place amongst the Arab nations of the Near East.

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\*AL-SUK (A., pl. *aswāk*), market, fair. All the ideas associated with the conception of market have already been discussed in the main article and need not be further considered here. A few remarks however seem to be necessary regarding the significance of the market in the history of early Islām; we shall confine these to the old market-place and the rise of the city markets.

Of the old Arabian markets that of 'Okāz [q. v.] is the best known as a result of the part it plays in poetry. While the position of the other markets associated with it, *Dhu 'l-Madjāz*, *Madjanna* and to some extent also *Ḥubāsha*, can hardly be determined with certainty, we have a much more distinct picture of 'Okāz, which in many respects may be taken as typical of early markets.

The intertribal market-place was usually chosen at a place visible from a long distance, at the junction of roads and, if possible, on neutral ground. All these conditions held for 'Okāz: it lay on a great plain ten miles broad S. E. of Mecca, three days' journey from it and one from Ṭā'if, to which it belonged. Here the tribes of North and South Arabia met to trade with those of Najd; from here roads ran to the Yaman, to Syria, to the Persian Gulf and Babylonia. 'Okāz itself was a village hardly worth mentioning and empty except

at the time of the fair; it was more suitable for international trade than Mecca for example. Associated with the market there were often other assemblies met together for other purposes; in particular the periodical religious festivals according to which the fairs were arranged (cf. the German "Messe"); during this period a truce reigned ("peace of the fair"). The old Arab markets were originally sites of cults, which fell into oblivion with the increasing importance of the Meccan sanctuary. 'Okāz had *anṣāb* [cf. NUṢB] and a *ḥaram* [q. v.]; near it, in Uḥaidā, the *ṭawāf* was made round the rocks [q. v.]. In Muḥammad's time we have no longer any trace of this cult. Although the fairs were gradually thrust into the background by the Meccan *ḥadijī* [q. v.] from the religious point of view, they profited by its proximity in other respects. For the majority of pilgrims the fairs were the main thing: *mawāsim* [see MAWSIM] and *manāsik* were practically synonymous. In order to increase the attendance at the markets the four holy months had been instituted, in which all feuds were dropped. Without this institution the law of blood vengeance would have crippled the trade of Arabia. Besides a religious and commercial significance the fairs had also their social and political side: here the relationships between the tribes were regulated on neutral ground, here the poet found a public for his panegyrics and lampoons (an excellent description of the scene at 'Okāz in Wellhausen, *Reste*<sup>2</sup>, p. 88). We know that in the last two months of the year after the fair of 'Okāz others followed in the vicinity in a definite rotation, but we know very little about these other *mawāsim al-ḥadijī*. They seem to have been second-rate markets as 'Okāz is called the great fair, to which the tribes of all Arabia came. Here could be found goods which had come from a long distance and could not be obtained elsewhere. Foreign rulers used to send merchandise to it and here merchant-princes met to deal with one another. From the commercial point of view 'Okāz is rightly called a "fair". For a trading centre like Mecca the regular opportunities for transport which the markets afforded were of the utmost importance. Although they were outside of their territory, the business-like *Quraysh* [q. v.] were able to take full advantage of the neighbouring markets and finally to incorporate them in the trade of their own city. In this way they sank more and more into insignificance and the final triumph of Islām hastened their end. We are told that the market of 'Okāz first failed to be held in the year 129 (746—747) when the *Khārīdīs* [q. v.] under Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-'Azdi occupied Mecca (Azraki, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 131). But certainly long before this, after Islām had abolished the four holy months, the uncertainty on the roads had increased to such an extent that visitors to the fair went in fear of life and property. In particular the conquests had brought the Arabs far beyond the frontiers of the peninsula where they found far more suitable trading centres than the now remote 'Okāz which moreover was only accessible by land. The conquest of Mesopotamia opened a direct route to India, and trade henceforth avoided the circuitous route through the Arabian desert.

The *mawāsim al-ḥadijī* were not the only markets of the early period. In lists of the *aswāk al-'Arab* we find 14 or more given, always including 'Okāz, but the others vary very much. The order



is sometimes said to have been such that one came after the other and one or two fairs could be visited each month (cf. e.g. L. Cheikho, in *Mach.*, xix., 1921, p. 446). In any case in addition to the Ḥiǧāz fairs there were other kinds of local markets, which had their own local significance. As the word *sūk* has the same comprehensive meaning as our "market", it is difficult in the particular case to say exactly which type we have to deal with. The *sūk* of the Banū Kainukā' [q. v.] and the *Sūk al-Nabiṭ* (see Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 302, note 3) were certainly local markets in Medina. An annual market was held for example in al-Ḥira [q. v.] (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xvi. 99, 8). Some smaller places were only known by their markets and the word *sūk* (or the diminutive *suwaiḳa*) became part of the name.

The early towns planned by the Arabs, like Baṣra, Kūfa and Fustāt, were, as we know, simply great military encampments on the edge of the desert. Market-places were not provided for in the original plan. Of Mirbad, a caravan station about three miles west of Baṣra, we are told that at it during the great markets the poets held poetical tournaments (*mufaḥḫharāt*; q. v.) "as at 'Okāz". *Sūk Baghdad*, an annual market on the site of the later town, which the Arabs plundered in the year 14 A. H., may also in a way be compared with 'Okāz (see Ṭabarī, i. 2203 sqq.). Many cities arose out of an old market-place, like al-Aḥwāz [q. v.] for example. The history of Baghdad is a good example of the *sūk* growing into a city. Originally the markets were in al-Manṣūr's round city, but he built the southern suburb of Karkh [q. v.] for them. Already in Ya'qūbī's time (c. 278 = 891), the strict division into separate trades, as it is still usual in the East, had been instituted. Each had its own bazaar which bore its name (or that of the founder, like the *Sūk 'Abd al-Wahid*). There were over 100 booksellers' shops in the *Sūk al-Warrāḳin*. When the eastern city rose to prosperity, the *Sūk al-Thalāthā*<sup>2</sup>, on the Naḥr Mu'allā, became the centre of commerce. According to Abu 'l-Fida' (*Géographie*, Paris 1840, p. 295), this market goes back to the time before the foundation of Baghdad and was originally held once a month on a Tuesday. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time (727 = 1327) the *Sūk al-Thalāthā* had extended considerably beyond its original area, and formed a long business street which traversed the whole town, parallel to the Tigris. Here the word *sūk* has gone through nearly all gradations of meaning beginning with "annual market". About 100 years later al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khitaṭ* (Bulāḳ 1270, ii. 94–

107) describes fully the *sūks* and *suwaiḳas* in Cairo and also goes into their history.

The accounts by early and modern travellers of markets in the East are very numerous. Just as the word *sūk* is used for all kinds of markets, so at the present day we can still find all kinds: from primitive wooden booths to the splendid bazaars which fill those who see them with admiration (such for example as Ibn Ḍjubair, *Travels*<sup>2</sup>, p. 252 describes for Aleppo). We can still get some idea of what the old annual markets of Arabia were like, when we see the colour and life in the plain of 'Arafa at the *ḥadǧī*. But the fair of 'Okāz was unique in its universal significance as an economic and intellectual centre of the Arab world.

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## T

**ṬABAQĀT**, "book of categories". The word means when used of place: "similar, lying above one another" and with regard to time: "similar, following one another"; e.g. Sūra lxvii. 3; lxxi. 14, of the seven heavens placed one above the other; also the "storey" of a house (glossary to Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leyden 1866, p. 338; Sobernheim,

inscr. N<sup>o</sup>. 41, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxv.; Fagnan, *Additions*, s. v.); *ṭabaqāt al-'ain* "the successive skins of the eye" (*Khawārizmī*, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 154). With reference to time, it means especially "generation" (the lexicographers give *karn* as a synonym). Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 8) and others use *ṭabaqāt* for the old royal dynasties of Persia. Titles of books like *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*

etc., indicate that in them successive generations of poets, singers, jurists, traditionists etc. are dealt with, that men living at the same time form a *ṭabaḳa*, a generation, stratum or category. In Tradition this idea has been still further narrowed down and given precision, in as much as the nuance, important for the criticism of tradition, is brought in that the men included in one *ṭabaḳa* are those who have heard traditions from those in the preceding one and have transmitted to the members of the following category. Ibn al-Salāh, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, Aleppo 1931, p. 413 for example explains *ṭabaḳa* as an expression for "people of the same kind" (*al-ḥawm al-mutashābihūn*) in age and *isnād* (cf. Nawawī, *Takrīb*, in *J.A.*, ser. 9, xviii. 144; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, Cairo 1307, p. 267).

The history of the meaning of the word makes it probable that the *ṭabaḳāt* literature did not arise out of the necessities of the criticism of Tradition, as Loth thought, but that it has simply been given a special application in this branch of knowledge. It much rather owes its origin to the interest of the Arabs in genealogy and biography. For there already existed before, or at least contemporary with, the well-known "book of categories" of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 = 845) a series of *ṭabaḳāt* works, most of which have not survived, on readers of the Qur'an, legists, poets and singers. Apart from the works, quite isolated in this early period, of Wāsil b. 'Aṭā' (d. 131 = 748—749), *Ṭabaḳāt Ahl al-ʿIlm wa 'l-Djahl* (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vii. 225; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii. 171), there were the following: Ismā'il b. Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī (ca. 200 = 815—816), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 51; Yāqūt, ii. 359); al-Haiṭham b. 'Adī (d. 207 = 822—823), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā' wa 'l-Muḥaddithīn* and *Ṭabaḳāt man rawā 'an al-Nabī* (*Fihrist*, p. 99; Yāqūt, vii. 265; Ibn Khall., ii. 204); Abū 'Ubaida (d. 208 = 823—824), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fursān*, i.e. probably of the poets (Yāqūt, vii. 169); Muḥammad b. Khālid (d. 220 = 835), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā'* (al-Dabbī, *Bughya*, No. 101); Khālifā b. Khaiyāt (d. 230 = 844—855 or 240 = 854—855), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Kurrā'* (*Fihrist*, p. 232; Ibn Khall., i. 172); Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231 = 845—846), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'* (ed. Hell, Leyden 1916); 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238 = 852—853), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā'* wa 'l-*Ṭabī'in* (Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rikh*, No. 814); Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī (d. 243 = 857—858), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'* (*Fihrist*, p. 110; perhaps however only a transmitter of Djumaḥī's work); Dī'bil b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'ī (d. 246 = 860—861), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'* (*Fihrist*, p. 161; Yāqūt, iv. 197); Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 247 = 861—862), *Kitāb Akhbār al-Shu'arā' wa Ṭabaḳatihim* (*Fihrist*, p. 106). It would take us too far to follow up the further biographical literature of the different groups of scholars and professions.

But as the arrangement in strata by generations was difficult to use and prevented a particular man being found rapidly, the arrangement was later schematised; periods (centuries, decades) of equal length were taken together and an arrangement, usually alphabetical, adopted within each period. The oldest example of this is the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iya* of al-Sulamī (d. 414 = 1022—1023). Other works of the same kind are the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iya* of al-Subkī (d. 771 = 1369—1370), Ibn al-Mulāḳḳin (d. 804 = 1401—1402) and Ibn Duḳmāk (d. 809 = 1406—1407), which go by

centuries, and of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851 = 1447—1448), who takes periods of 20 years.

The best means of avoiding these difficulties was however found by the group of *ṭabaḳāt* books which later became predominant with an alphabetical arrangement throughout, which of course departed completely from the true meaning of *ṭabaḳa*, this usually being expressed in some addition to the title. The oldest work of this kind seems to have been the lost *Ta'rikh Ṭabaḳāt al-Kurrā'* of 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-Dānī (d. 444 = 1052—1053) (Ibn Khair, *Fihrist*, p. 72). On the same lines are Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 833 = 1429—1430), *Ghāyat al-Nihāya fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Kurrā'* (ed. Bergsträsser and Pretzl, Leipzig 1933—1935); al-Kurashī (d. 775 = 1373—1374), *Djawaḥir al-muḍ'ā fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafīya* and many others.

*Bibliography*: Loth, *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaḳāt*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. (1869), 593—614; Flügel, *Die Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, viii. (1860), 270 sqq. — Somewhat incomplete collections of *ṭabaḳāt* works are: Ḥādīdjī Khālifā, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv. 132—155; Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, Vienna 1850, vol. i., p. clxxii. sqq. (inaccurate!); Bergsträsser, *Die Quellen von Jaḡūt's Irshād*, in *Z.S.*, ii. (1924), 184—218; *Katalog der Handbibliothek der orientalischen Abteilung der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek*, Leipzig 1929, p. 34—42. — The following deal specially with Shāfi'i legists: Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-Schāfi'i*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxxvi. (1890), 7 sqq. — With Kur'an-readers: Nöldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, Leipzig 1929, iii. 157—160.

(HEFFENING)

**ṬABL**, the generic name for any instrument of the drum family. Islāmic tradition attributes its "invention" to Tūbal b. Lamak (Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, viii. 88—89), whilst another piece of gossip says that Ismā'il, the founder of the *mustarība* [q. v.], was the first to sound it (Ewliyā 'Ālebi, *Travels*, i/ii. 239). The word may be equated with the Assyrian *ṭabbalu* and perhaps the Egyptian *tabn*. According to al-Faiyūmī (1333—1334), the term *ṭabl* was applied to a drum with a single membrane (*ḡild*) as well as to that with two membranes. This, however, does not include the *duff* or tambourine [q. v.]. The *ṭabl* family may be divided into two classes, viz.: 1. the cylinder type; and 2. the bowl type.

1. The cylinder type. There are two kinds of cylinder drums, viz.: a. the single membrane; and b. the double membrane. Of the former we have several shapes although generally the body (*ḡisim*) is either cylindrical or goblet shaped. The earliest name for the cylindrical drum with a single membrane would appear to be *kabar* which we find mentioned as early as Ya'qūb al-Madīstūn (d. 780—781) (Ibn Khallikān, iv. 270). It is identified by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 920) as a drum (Stambul MS., fol. 38), and Ibn Khallikān (iv. 272) affirms that it had one membrane. The Arabic lexicographers confuse this word (cf. also the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, p. 85, 562 and Farmer, *Studies*, p. 59). The name was probably derived from the Amharic *kabaro*, and we know that the Arabs borrowed at least one drum from Abyssinia (Lane, *Lexicon*, col. 2013). A more definite clue to the identity of this particular kind of drum is to be found in al-Shaḳundī (d. 1231—



1232) where an instrument called the *akwāl* is mentioned (al-Maḥḥārī, *Analektes*, ii. 144). It still exists in the Maghrib. Dozy says that it is a Berber word and Meaken writes it *agwāl*. It is delineated by Höst who, however, gives it as a goblet shaped drum and calls it the *akwāl* (p. 262, tab. xxxi., 9). Nowadays it is known in Algeria as the *gullāl* and it is generally about 60 cm. long. In Tripolitania a similar instrument called the *tabdaba* is used among the folk (Delphin et Guin, p. 39; Lavignac, p. 2794, 2932).

The goblet shaped instrument may have been the *dirridj* mentioned by earlier Arabic writers such as al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (*op. cit.*, fol. 21) although he thought that it was a pandore (*ṭunbūr*), as do many of the Arabic lexicographers. That it was a drum we know from al-Maidānī (d. 1124). According to Ibn Mukarram (d. 1311), the proper vocalisation is *durraidj*, and to-day it is this name, with colloquial variants, which is heard in the Maghrib (Crosby Brown, iii. 51, 53: *A.M.*, xx. 239). The كرج and كرج given in al-Maḥḥārī (*Anal.*, i. 143, and the translation by Gayangos) are copyist's errors for دريدج. East of Morocco the instrument has come to have a different name. In Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania, it has long been called the *darbūka* (Salvador-Daniel, p. 79; Christianowitsch, p. 31; Delphin and Guin, p. 43; Laffage, vi., xxxii.; Lavignac, p. 2935), whilst in Egypt and Syria it carries the name *darbukka* [q. v.], *darabukka*, *dirbakka*, *darābukka*, or *darābukka* (Villoteau, p. 996; Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, chap. xviii.; Darwish Muḥammad, p. 13; El-Hefny, p. 660). Dozy and Brockelmann suggest that the word is derived from the Syriac *ardabkū*. The دربكة mentioned in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (i. 244) is possibly intended for دربكة. For illustrations of both these instruments see the authorities quoted above, whilst specimens may be found in most museums, notably Paris (N<sup>o</sup>. 954-957, 1457), Brussels (N<sup>o</sup>. 112, 330-334, 680), and New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 335, 345, etc.). In some parts the *darbūka* is known as the *ṭabla* (Farmer, *Studies*, i. 86).

In Persia the instrument is known as the *dumbak* or *tanbak* although wrongly registered by lexicographers as a bagpipe. See Advielle, p. 13, and pl.; Kaempfer, p. 742, fig. 6; Lavignac, p. 3076.

The double membrane drum is also found in several shapes. We read of the *kūba*, a drum shaped like an hour-glass which was forbidden to be used by Muslims, as early as 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d. 639). It is condemned by several legists including Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 894) because of its association with people of low character (Berlin MS., N<sup>o</sup>. 5504, fol. 58v). The Ikhwān al-Safā' (x<sup>th</sup> century) call it the *ṭabl al-mukhannath* (i. 91). According to al-Djawharī (d. ca. 1002) it was "a small drum, slender in the middle", although al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) says that it was "long" (*Iḥyā*, ii. 186). Mediæval designs of the *kūba* may be seen in the xi<sup>th</sup> century woodwork at Palermo (*B. Z.*, ii. 384), a xiii<sup>th</sup> century bowl from al-Mawṣil (Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1856, N<sup>o</sup>. 2734/56), and in a MS. of al-Djazari (dated 1354) at Constantinople (Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia*, ii., pl. 2). The *ṭabl* of which we read so frequently in the *Kiṭāb al-Aghānī* (viii. 161; ix. 162) as a rhythmic instrument in concert music was probably either the *kūba* or *dirridj*

(= *darbūka*). It is rarely seen nowadays in the Islāmic East, except in India.

The cylindrical or barrel shaped drum has been more favoured. The former was probably the shape of the early warlike drum of which we read among the 'Abbāsids in the ix<sup>th</sup> century (*Aghānī*, xvi. 139). It is to be seen in several MSS. on automata by al-Djazari dating from the xiii<sup>th</sup> and xiv<sup>th</sup> centuries (Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii.; *The Legacy of Islām*, fig. 91). This long bodied cylindrical drum was popular until the beginning of the xix<sup>th</sup> century and designs may be seen in Höst (tab. xxxi.) and Niebuhr (tab. xxvi.); Villoteau (p. 996) calls it the *ṭabl al-turkī*. Since mediæval times it has been played with a curiously crooked drum stick. By the xviii<sup>th</sup> century a second percussive implement, a switch, was in use. Of modern times this drum has been superceded by a drum with a shorter body. In early times this seems to have been known in Persia and Arabic speaking lands as the *duḥul*. It is mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1060-1061) as one of the martial instruments of the Fātimids (*Sefer Nameh*, p. 43, 46, 47), and by al-Zāhiri (d. 1468) among the Mamlūk sultāns (al-Maḥḥārī, i/i. 173-174). That it was different from the *ṭabl* we know from both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*G.M.S.*, N.S., iv/3, p. 159). In Egypt of modern times it is known as the *ṭabl al-baladī* (Villoteau p. 996; Lane, *op. cit.*, chap. xviii.). Specimens may be seen at Brussels (N<sup>o</sup>. 336, 338, 341) and New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 417, 1321). Kaempfer (N<sup>o</sup>. 740, fig. 4) calls the Persian cylindrical drum the *danbāl* and delineates it. We see the same instrument in the sculptures at Takht-i Bustān (Flandrin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 10, 12). The *tabir* of Firdawsī may have been similar. See also the *dhol* of India. The *dāwul* in Turkey is said by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Travels*, i/ii. 226) to have been first used by Urkhān Ghāzī (1326-1359) but we know of it in the time of 'Uṭmān I his predecessor. The Turks like the Arabs used a drumstick (*čangal*) and a switch (*dainak*) to play this drum.

In modern Persia the *dohol* is a barrel shaped drum (Advielle, *loc. cit.*; Lavignac, p. 3076; cf. Kaempfer, p. 743, fig. 12). The Arabic *ṭabl* or the Persian *tabir* was the parent of the European *tabel*, *atabal*, *tabor*, *tambour*, etc.

2. The bowl type. This is represented by the kettledrum. Although tradition says that Bābā Sawindik, the Indian, played the kettledrum (*kūs*, *naḥḥāra*) in the wars of Muḥammad (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/ii. 226), it is more likely, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us (*N. E.*, xvii. 44) that the Arabs did not use drums in wartime at this period. The early Muslim legists discriminate between the *ṭabl al-ḥarb* (war drum), the *ṭabl al-ḥaḍḍaj* (pilgrimage drum), and the *ṭabl al-lahw* (pastime drum). The first two were allowable but the last was not (al-Ghazālī, ii. 186). The two former were doubtless identical with the modern *naḥḥāra* and *ṭabl al-shāmī*.

The largest of the kettledrums used by Islāmic peoples was the *kūrğa* and *kūrgā* which was greatly favoured by the Mughals. It was the royal drum which conveyed commands. The *ṭabl al-kabir* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 127) was doubtless the *kūrğa*. We get an idea of the size of this drum from the *A'in-i Akbari* (Blochmann, i. 50-52) where it is nearly the height of a man. Abu 'l-Faḍl says that the *kūrğa* and *damāma* were

identical (i. 50) but the *damāma* of India is a much smaller kettledrum (see specimen at New York, N<sup>o</sup>. 26). 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarqandī (d. 1482) clearly distinguishes between the *kūrḡa*, *damāma* and *naqqāra* (*N. E.*, xiv. 129, 321). See also Farmer, *Studies*, ii. 12—13.

The kettledrum next in size was the *kūs* which, among the Arabs of the x<sup>th</sup> century, was the largest of their kettledrums (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, i. 91). This also was a martial instrument and for use see TABL KHĀNA. There is a xiii<sup>th</sup> century Arabic MS. reproduced by Schulz (*op. cit.*, pl. 8) showing three pairs of *kūsāt*.

The ordinary kettledrum was what the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (x<sup>th</sup> century) call the *ṭabl al-markab* (mounted drum). They say that its tone was softer than that of the *ṭabl al-kūs*. Another early name for this drum was *dabdāb* or *dabdaba*. Later it came to be known as the *naqqāra*, a word, together with the instrument, which was adopted by Europe as the *naker*, *nacaire*, etc., whilst Persian *ṭinbal* became the European *timbale*, *tymbala*. For mediæval designs of the *naqqāra* see Schulz (*op. cit.*, tab. ii.), *The Legacy of Islām* (fig. 91), the *Kitāb al-Bulhān* (Bodleian MS., Or. 133, fol. 38), and the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Edinburgh University, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, 157). See also TABL KHĀNA. Modern examples are delineated by Villoteau (p. 992—993), whilst actual specimens may be seen at Brussels (N<sup>o</sup>. 335) and New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 1232). For the Turkish *dunbalak* or *ṭablak* see my article in *J. R. A. S.*, 1936.

A medium sized kettledrum is named by Villoteau the *naḡrazān* (sic). In Turkey, an instrument of this size is known as the *kudūm*, and it is said to have been played at the nuptials of Muḥammad and Khadija (Ewliyā Çelebi, i/ii. 234). It is to be found in the *darwish* communities.

The smallest of the kettledrums is the *nuḡaira* or *ṭubaila* which belongs to concert music. We read of the former among the 'Abbādis (xi<sup>th</sup> century) of Moorish Spain (Dozy, *Abbad.*, ii. 243), and in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1505) the word equates with the Spanish *atabala*. In Russell's *Aleppo* (1794) there is a design (pl. iv.) of the *naqqāra* (= *nuḡaira*) whilst another may be found in Höst (tab. xxxi. 10) and Christianowitsch (p. 32, pl. 12), the latter being copied by Fétis (ii. 163) and Lavignac (p. 2793).

Villoteau, speaking of Egypt at the close of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, mentions a number of small hand kettledrums but, with the exception of one called *ṭabl-i bāz*, most of these names are unknown to-day (Villoteau, p. 994). It was, obviously, a drum used for decoying birds or recalling the hawk (*bāz*), but by this time it had become the favourite instrument of the criers at Ramaḍān and the *darwish* fraternities, and was actually known as the *ṭablat al-musahhira*. There are specimens at Brussels (N<sup>o</sup>. 329) and New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 421, 2661). It was held in one hand and beaten with a short stick held in the other hand. A slightly larger instrument was the *ṭabl al-midjiri* (sic). This was beaten with a leathern strap.

Shallower types of kettledrums were the *ṭabl al-shāmī* and the *ḡaṣ'a*. The former was probably the *ṭabl al-ḡadīdī* so frequently quoted by the legists. It was suspended from the neck the head or membrane being perpendicular. There is a representation (xv<sup>th</sup> century) of pilgrims with these drums in the Bodleian Library (Or. 430, fol. 15). For

modern designs and details see Villoteau (p. 992—994) and Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chap. ii., vii., xviii.). There are specimens at New York (N<sup>o</sup>. 386, 494). The *ḡaṣ'a* of the Maghrib to-day has a flat bottom like a dish (*ḡaṣ'a*) hence its name. It is played upon with rods called *maṭārik* (Delphin and Guin, p. 44; Lavignac, p. 2932). In the past it was a martial instrument (see the *Kitāb al-Fakhri*, text, p. 30. In the French translation *ḡiṣa'* is given as "cymbales": *A. M.*, xvi.).

*Bibliography*: al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Kitāb al-Malahi* (Sambul MS.); Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*; Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et de la musique arabes*; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*; Crosby Brown, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Coll. of Musical Instruments*..., New York; Salvador Daniel, *La musique arabe*, 1879; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*; Laffage, *La musique arabe*, Tunis; Villoteau, in *Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, fol. ed., i.; Darwish Muḥammad al-Ḥariri, *Ṣafā' al-Awḡāt*, Cairo; El-Hefny, *Congrès de musique arabe*, Cairo; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum*...; Mahillon, *Catalogue descr. . . . du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique de Bruxelles*; Chouquet, *Le musée du Conservatoire National de Musique*, Paris; *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, *Rasā'il*, ed. Bombay; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1908; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ed. Bülaḡ; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*; Advielle, *La Musique chez les Persans*; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i.; Fétis, *Hist. gén. de la musique*; Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*. (H. G. FARMER)

**TABL KHĀNA** (NAQQĀR KHĀNA, NAQQĀRA KHĀNA, NAWBA KHĀNA), literally the "Drum House", "Kettledrum House", "Military Band House", is the name given in Islāmic lands to the military band and its quarters in camp or town. These names are derived from the drums (*ṭabl*, *naqqāra*) which formed the chief instruments of the military band, and from the name given to the special type of music (*nawba*) performed by this band. Originally the *naqqāra khāna* or *ṭabl khāna* consisted of drums only, and in some instances of particular kinds of drums. This we know from several authorities. Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 1412) speaks of the "kettledrums (*dabādīb*), i. e. the *ṭabl khāna*". Al-Zāhiri (d. 1468) alludes to "three sets (*aḥmāl*) of *ṭabl khāna* and two trumpets". Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 1524) has a reference to "the *ṭabl khāna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*)" (al-Makrizī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, transl. Quatremère, Paris 1845, ii/i. 123; ii/i. 268; al-Khazradjī, *The Pearl-Strings*, in *G. M. S.*, vol. 3, London 1906—1918, iii/v. 135, 229). As for the *nawba*, this was a special piece of music, which later comprised several movements (*fusūl*), performed by the *naqqāra khāna* at the five hours of prayer [see ṢALĀT] by royalty, but at the three obligatory hours of prayer by dignatories of lesser rank. The sounding of the *nawba* was not only jealously guarded as one of the attributes of sovereignty, but its performance necessitated respectful silence from auditors (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 188; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1835, i. 75). The custom of the *nawba* is said to have been handed down from the days of Alexander the Great (al-Nasawī, *Hist. du Sultan Djelal ad-Din Mankobirti*, in *P. E. L. O. V.*, Paris 1895, p. 21).



The Ancients. Instruments of percussion appear to have been specially favoured by peoples of the Orient for their martial display from time immemorial. According to the Greeks, who only used the trumpet and flute in war, instruments of percussion belonged to the barbarians. Yet in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callesthenes of the "History of Alexander the Great" (transl. Budge, p. 96) we find that the world-conqueror added drums to his martial music. If we turn to the Pseudo-Aristotelian Arabic treatise the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (viii<sup>th</sup>—ix<sup>th</sup> century) and the contemporary works of Mūristus [q. v.], also in Arabic, it would seem that Alexander also introduced a monster organ (*urghanūn*) of the hydraulis type as a means of signalling to his troops and to spread dismay in the ranks of the enemy (Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, London 1931, p. 119—138). Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.) says that the youth of Persia were called to arms by the sound of brazen instruments, and that the kings of India moved in public to the din of drums and cymbals (*Geogr.*, xv/i. 55; xv/iii. 18). Plutarch (d. ca. 120 A.D.) speaks of the Parthians using kettledrums to frighten the enemy (Crassus, xxiii. 10). The pages of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi (d. 1020) abound with details of the military music of Persia of old. Here we read of instruments of the horn and trumpet type (*karranāy*, *shaipūr*, *būk*), the reed and brazen-pipe (*nāy*, *ruwīn nāy*), the drum and great kettledrum (*tabira*, *kūs*), as well as the Indian bell, sonette and cymbal (*hindī darāy*, *sang*, *sindī*).

The Arabs of the Dǧāhiliya. Clement of Alexandria (ii<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.) says that the Arabs of pre-Islāmic days used cymbals in war (*Paedagogos*), but Arabic authors only mention the tambourine (*duff*) of the matrons and singing-girls (*ḥiyān*) in battle. This is what we see at Uḥud and Badr, although it is highly probably that the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) was also an instrument of martial music in these days (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 10—11; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḡ, ii. 172). That highly imaginative Turkish writer, Ewliyā Ćelebi (d. ca. 1680) avers that in the time of Muḥammad it was neither the trumpet nor the flute that sounded in his wars but only the great kettledrum (*kūs*; *Travels*, transl. von Hammer, London 1846, i/ii. 194). On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) says that the early Muslims used neither horns (*abwāḡ*) nor drums (*ṭubūl*; *N. E.*, xvii. 44). It is certain that although the Arabs used the horn (*būk*) in civil life, it was not a military instrument with them since it is specially mentioned in the ix<sup>th</sup> century as being used by Christians (al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḡ*).

Umayyads and 'Abbāsids. Under the Umayyads (661—750), the drum and kettledrum appear to have been introduced into martial music and served as better accompaniments to the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) than the tambourine (*duff*; Seyyid Ameer Ali, *Short Hist. of the Saracens*, London 1899, p. 65). Persian influences, which so strongly asserted themselves under the early 'Abbāsids (750—1256), led to the Persian reed-pipe (*surnāy*) being adopted in place of the more primitive *mizmār* (*Aghānī*, xvi. 139, but read سرنای instead of سرناب). With the Persians the *surnāy* (= *suryānai*) went with the drum (*ṭabl*; al-Mas'ūdī, Paris 1861—1877, viii. 90). By the x<sup>th</sup> century several types of kettledrums were in use in martial array: the *ṭabl al-*

*markab* or "mounted drum" which was probably identical with the *dabdāb* or *dabdaba* and the *naḡḡāra*, and a larger type, the great kettledrum called the *kūs* (*Rasā'il Iḡhwān al-Safā'*, ed. Bombay, i. 91). These were used in pairs and were carried on either side of a horse's or camel's neck. The *būk* or horn had also been adopted into military music by this time. Although originally fashioned out of the natural horn of an animal like the more primitive *ḡarn*, it came to be made in metal, and Ewliyā Ćelebi says that the metal form (*ṭirindī būrū*) was introduced by the Saldjūkid Alp Arslān (d. 1072; *Travels*, i/ii. 238). The trumpet proper was the *naḡir*. This was first known as the *būk al-naḡir* or "military *būk*" (Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 30).

The Buwaihids. Up to the x<sup>th</sup> century, the *naḡḡāra khāna* or *ṭabl khāna*, which by this time comprised kettledrums, drums, trumpets, horns and reed-pipes, was part of the insignia (*marātib*) of the caliph and reserved, with the *nawba*, for the Commander of the Faithful alone (Ibn Khaldūn, in *N. E.*, xvii. 42; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. 418). With the decline of the caliphate and the rise of petty rulers there came demands from all and sundry for the privilege of the *naḡḡāra khāna* and the *nawba*. Thus the custom arose that when the caliph conferred regality on subject rulers, a drum or kettledrum usually accompanied the other patents or symbols of authority sent by the caliph, such as a diploma, banner, or standard; the type of instrument, the number, and the specific use of the *nawba*, being determined by the rank of the recipient. Mu'izz al-Dawla (d. 967), the Buwaihīd amīr, sought from the caliph al-Muṭṭi' (d. 974) the privilege of the *naḡḡāra khāna*, but was refused. Yet in 966 this caliph allowed a general to sound kettledrums (*dabādīb*) during a campaign, an honour which the latter appears to have retained. It is said however, that the first prince to obtain these coveted musical honours was the Buwaihīd amīr 'Aḡud al-Dawla (d. 983). He was granted the *naḡḡāra khāna* by the caliph al-Ṭā'ī in 979, but he was only allowed the three-fold *nawba* at the obligatory hours of prayer, the five-fold *nawba* being reserved for the caliph. One of the Buwaihids, Abū Kālīdjār (d. 1048), assumed the five-fold honour in Baghdād and although asked by the caliph to content himself with the three-fold one, he refused. Yet the caliph had already permitted others to have or assume this privilege. In the year 1000, under the caliph al-Kādir, a minister was allowed to beat a drum (*ṭabl*) for the five-fold *nawba*, and in 1017, the Buwaihīd Sulṭān al-Dawla was allowed or had assumed a similar honour (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 418; Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate*, ii. 264, 396; iii. 345).

The Saldjūkids. Considerable extensions of the privileges of the *naḡḡāra khāna* were made under these rulers. The caliph al-Muḡtadī (d. 1094), in appointing a governor to a province, conferred the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) on him, with permission to sound the five-fold *nawba* within his province, but only the three-fold one outside of this. When the two Saldjūkid princes Barkiyārūḡ and Muḥammad took the titles of *sulṭān* and *malik* respectively in 1101, they adopted the five-fold and three-fold *nawba* with these respective ranks. Both Alp Arslān (d. 1072) and Kizil Arslān (d. 1191) used the five-fold honour (Ibn al-Djawzi,

Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 1506, fol. 105; al-Bundārī, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 2127, fol. 206v).

The Arabs. In Yaman in the ixth century the Ḳarṁāṭi al-Manṣūr b. Ḥasan had thirty drums (*ṭubūl*), and Saʿīd al-Aḥwal (d. 1089) of the Banū Naǧāh had horns (*būḳāt*) and drums (*ṭubūl*). Later we read of the *ṭabl khāna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) and kettledrums (*naḳḳārāt*; Kay, *Yaman, its Early Medieval History*, London 1892, p. 84; al-Khazraǧī, *op. cit.*, iii/i. 103, 160; iii/ii. 3, 75; iii/iii. 52). At Zafār in ʿUmān in the xivth century the sulṭān had reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) at his gate. At al-Ḥilla the military music consisted of horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, ii. 98, 212). At the beginning of the xith century the ʿUkailids favoured the horn (*būḳ*) and kettledrum (*dabḍāb*) in their martial music (J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 755, 785), whilst elsewhere we find a small shallow kettledrum called the *ḩaṣ'a* in use. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, the most imposing martial musical display is made up of reed-pipes (*zumūr*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), drums (*ṭubūl*), and cymbals (*kāsāt*, *kuṣ*), but the more general combinations that we read of are horns (*būḳāt*) and drums (*ṭubūl*), or cymbals (*kāsāt*) and drums (*ṭubūl*), or horns (*būḳāt*), drums (*ṭubūl*), and kettledrums (*kūsāt*), or just drums (*ṭubūl*) or kettledrums (*kūsāt*) by themselves.

Egypt. The Fāṭimids dispensed musical honours upon subject rulers on very much the same lines as the caliphs of Baghdād (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Naṣīrī*, transl. Raverty, London 1881, ii. 616; al-Badāʿunī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, transl. Lowe and Ranking, Calcutta 1884—1898, i. 94, 310). When al-ʿAzīz (d. 996) marched into Syria he had five hundred horns (*abwāk*: not "tambours": *N. E.*, xx. 51) sounding (*N. E.*, xvii. 45). We read of the *nawba* being performed by quite a large military band at the Fāṭimid palace on one occasion. Naṣīr-i Ḳhusraw describes the Fāṭimid military band (ca. 1047) and mentions that it comprised such instruments as the horn (*būḳ*), reed-pipe (*surnā*), two kinds of drum (*ṭabl* and *duḩul*), the latter a Persian variety, kettledrum (*kūs*) and cymbal (*kāsa*; *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881, p. 43, 46, 47). In the year 1172, when Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḩ al-Dīn were together at Damascus, the former, who was the suzerain of the latter, sounded the five-fold *nawba*, whilst the latter contented himself with the three-fold one (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 419). Under the Mamlūk sulṭāns, the military band was organized on more elaborate lines and, similar to the practice in al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Maghrib, it was linked up with the banners, standards and similar emblems of authority, as Ibn Iyās informs us (al-Maḳrīzī, i/i. 226). According to al-Zāḩirī, the band of sulṭān Baibars I (d. 1277) comprised forty great kettledrums (*kūsāt*), four drums (*duḩul*), four reed-pipes (*zumūr*), and twenty trumpets (*anfār*). He says that the *duḩul* and *zumūr* were of recent adoption, but we have seen them in use under the Fāṭimids, the *zanr* and *surnā* both being reed-pipes. Ibn Taghribirdī says that under Kalāʾūn (d. 1290) a *wazīr* possessed a *ṭabl khāna*, and we read of a similar privilege in 1418, although we are told that the custom was not usual. Ibn Ḳhaldūn states that the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) were allowed to each *amīr* and general (*N. E.*, xvii. 46), yet according to Ibn Taghribirdī it was only the *umarāʾ* commanding a thousand men who

were granted this honour. Among the instruments used in the *ṭabl khāna* of an *amīr*, says al-Zāḩirī, were the drum or *duḩul* (two), the reed-pipe or *zanr* (two), and the trumpet or *naḩīr* (four), but not the great kettledrum (*kūs*). An *atābak* was allowed twice this number, whilst an *amīr muḳaddam* was only permitted to have a horn or *būḳ*. By the xvth century however, an *amīr* of forty cavaliers was permitted to possess a *ṭabl khāna*, but for a time he was only allowed to sound it when on duty. When the ʿOṯmānli Turks conquered Egypt in 1517, the bands of the *umarāʾ* were suppressed (Quatremère *ap.* al-Maḳrīzī, i/i. 173—174; i/ii. 272). For instruments of martial music in xviii<sup>th</sup> and xix<sup>th</sup> century Egypt see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1776, i. 145—146, tab. xxvi.; Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, fol. ed., i. 701—703, 931—940, 948—949, 976—997 and plates.

The Maghrib. Ibn Ḳhaldūn says that the nomad Arabs of North Africa employed an improvisator (*manṣhid*) who sang at the head of the troops just as the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula did in the *ḍjāhiliya*. This custom was borrowed by the Banū Zanāta of Morocco (990—1069). The *ḍjāwīsh* of the Mamlūk sulṭāns of Egypt and of the Mughal Ilḳhāns may have been a survival of this practice. The early rulers of Western Islāmic lands appear to have guarded the regality of the *ṭabl khāna* as jealously as elsewhere, and the instruments used were sometimes of costly construction, such as the gold mounted horns (*būḳāt*) of al-Ḥakam II (d. 979) of al-Andalus (al-Maḳḳarī, *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl. P. de Gayangos, London 1840—1843, ii. 158). The loss of the instruments of the *ṭabl khāna* to the enemy was generally considered a grievous blow, as we know from the drums which an Aghlabid general had to abandon to the enemy in 862—863 in Sicily. The victors on the other hand always prized and displayed such trophies (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*). The Banū Zanāta had ten to twenty drums (*ṭubūl*) in their *ṭabl khāna*, but in time the privilege of the use of drums was extended to governors and others. The Muwaḩḩids (1130—1269) suppressed these extra regal bands and reserved the use of the *ṭabl khāna* for royalty alone (*N. E.*, xvii. 45—46). This was formed into a separate company with the standards (*bunūd*) which became known as the *sāḩa*. The first Muwaḩḩid sulṭān ʿAbd al-Muʿmin (d. 1163) had more than two hundred drums (*ṭubūl*) and among them were such large instruments that the ground quaked when they were played (al-Marṛākushī, *Hist. des Almohades*, ed. Dozy, Leyden 1881, p. 165). The Marinids (1217—1554) possessed a large drum of this type and this passed into the possession of the Saʿdian dynasty (1511 *sq.*). It was an enormous instrument and could be heard a great distance (*Nuṣṣat al-Ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1888—1889, p. 117). For designs of xviii<sup>th</sup> century instruments of martial music in Morocco see Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787, tab. xxxi., p. 261).

The Sūdān. In the xivth century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was at Maḳdashaw in the Eastern Sūdān and heard the *ṭabl khāna* of the sulṭān which comprised reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*abwāk*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*). Here, as in other lands, there was respectful silence during the performance of the *nawba*, and "nobody stirred or moved". At Māllī in the Western Sūdān, the sulṭān's military band was made up of horns (*abwāk*) and drums



(*aṭbāl*), the former being made out of elephant's tusks (ii. 108; iv. 403). One of the last of the Sunni rulers of the Songhoy of Gāo (1335—1493) named 'Alī (d. 1492) used a drum as a symbol of authority. The successors, the *askiya* kings (1493—1590), also used the drum, and under the *askiya* al-Ḥājjī Muḥammad troops were assembled in 1493 to the beating of the drum (*ṭabl*). In 1500—1501, a large trumpet called the *kakaki* was adopted by the cavalry of the Songhoy. The *askiya* Muḥammad Bunkan (d. 1537) invented a horn called the *futurifu*. There was also a drum known as the *gabtanda*, and both this and the *futurifu* were used at Gāo. He fixed the limit outside a town where no drum save the royal drum (*ṭabl al-sulṭāna*) could be sounded. This royal drum continued to be used until the end of this dynasty. On the Moroccan conquest in 1590, and the rule of the *pasha*'s in the place of the native kings, a change came in the martial music. Under Pasha Aḥmad al-Khalifa (1694—1695) reed-pipes (*ghayāt*), drums (*aṭbāl*), and other instruments, including the native tambourines (*dufūf al-asākī*), were counted among the martial instruments of the *pasha*'s court. The military music of the Bambara chiefs were horns (*būkāt*) and tambourines (*dufūf*), and one chief had great horns (*būkāt al-kibār*) as tall as a man (*Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh*, ed. Houdas and Delafosse, in *P.E.L.O.V.*, Paris 1913, p. 49, 54—55, 70, 84, 153; *Tadhkirat al-Nisyan*, ed. Houdas, in *P.E.L.O.V.*, Paris 1901, p. 43, 45, 93, 120, 152; *Ta'rikh al-Sudān*, ed. Houdas, in *P.E.L.O.V.*, Paris 1900, p. 79, 122, 197).

The Mughals. Under the early Mughal *Ilkhāns* a royal prince was allowed kettledrums and a drum, whilst a *wazīr* had a kettledrum. The commander-in-chief was given drums, and an *amīr* of 10,000 (?) men, as well as tributary princes were allowed a [kettle]drum (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 581; iv. 96, 187, 566; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876—1788, iii. 296). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives a picturesque account of the military music of the *Ilkhān* Abū Sa'īd (d. 1355) at Baghdād. It consisted of drums [and kettledrums] (*ṭubūl*), trumpets (*anfār*), horns (*būkāt*), reed-pipes (*surṭāyāt*), and singers. According to this writer, the *umara'* had horns (*būkāt*) as well as drums (*ṭubūl*), and each royal princess (*khātūn*) had a drum, whilst the *Ilkhān* himself had a special monster kettledrum called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the *ṭabl al-kabīr* ("great drum"), but known to the Mughals as the *kūrgā* (*Tuhfa*, ii. 126). The *kūrgā* was the personal musical emblem of the *Ilkhān* and at his death it was destroyed, as Rashīd al-Dīn, the Mughal historian, has related. In times of mourning it was also customary to refrain from sounding the *nawba*. This was an old practice which we find as early as the caliph al-Muktadī who, when he lost his son Muḥammad in 1087, forbade the beating at the hours of prayers (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Bibl. Nat. Paris*, MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 1506, fol. 198). Similarly, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn having suffered a reverse at the hands of the Crusaders, abandoned the *nawba* until he had won a victory (al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, i. 42). During the Tīmūrid régime, according to the apocryphal *Tūsūkāt* ("Institutes"), the military band was carefully regulated and was part of the insignia which included the banners and standards of the *tūk* class. A beglerbeg had a kettledrum (*naḥḥāra*) and a horn (*būrghū*: for *بورغوي* read *بورغو*), and

the *amīr al-umara'* and an *amīr* of the four-tailed (*tūk*) had a kettledrum only. A *ming pāshā* had a trumpet (*nafir*), and a *yūz pāshā* and *ōn pāshā* a drum (*ṭabl*), whilst an *ōymāk* (tribal chief) had a horn (*būrghū*; *Institutes, Political and Military*, ed. Davy and White, Oxford 1781, p. 290—292). In India, the Mughals maintained the *naḥḥāra khāna* as one of their attributes of sovereignty. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa points out that when the Madīna *sharīf* Abū Ghurra visited India he caused great consternation by his use of drums (*ṭubūl*) and trumpets (*anfār*) because here, unlike al-ʿIrāk, Egypt or Syria, nobody but the king could use the *naḥḥāra khāna* (i. 422—424). Al-ʿUmārī (d. 1349), in his *Masālik al-Aḥsār*, speaks of the five-fold *nawba* of the sultān of Delhi being played by two hundred pairs of kettledrums (*naḥḥārat*), forty pairs of great kettledrums (*kūsāt al-kibār*), twenty horns (*būkāt*), and ten pairs of cymbals (*ṣunūdī*; *N.E.*, xiii. 189). The *naḥḥāra khāna* of Akbar the Great (d. 1602) is described by Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī. It was made up of the monster kettledrum called the *kuwargā* or *kūrgā* (about 18 pairs), the kettle-drum or *naḥḥāra* (about 20 pairs), the drum or *duhul* (four), the reed-pipe or *surṭā* (nine, both Indian and Persian types), the large trumpet known as the *ḥarranā* or *ḥarnā* (four or more), the trumpet or *nafir* (Indian, Persian and European types), the horn or *sing* (two) and the cymbals or *ṣindī* (three pairs; *ʿĀmī Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873—1894, i. 50—52). A description of the *nawba* is also given in this latter work. By this time kettledrums were sometimes conferred on high civil or military functionaries, but the latter had to be of the rank of two thousand *suwār* at least, and they could not be sounded in the presence of the emperor nor within a certain distance from his residence. In conferring this privilege the recipient had miniature drums placed around his neck (Thorn, *Memoir of a War in India*, 1818, p. 356; *J. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 161). For other details of the *naḥḥāra khāna* of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century see Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1665—1668*, ed. Constable, p. 363; Manucci, *Storia del Mogor, or Mogul India 1653—1708*, transl. Irvine. For later information see Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, p. 30, 196, 207; Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, London 1891, p. 96; Meadows-Taylor, *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, ix/i.

The ʿOṯmānī Turks. Until comparatively recent times the Turks made a special feature of their military music which, like the Mughals, they linked up with the insignia of flags, banners and *tūks*. When ʿOṯmān I, the founder of the dynasty, was made a prince by 'Alā' al-Dīn in 1289, he was invested with a drum, flag and *tūk*. At the ceremony, absolute silence was insisted on during the performance of the *nawba*. This latter custom lasted until the reign of Muḥammad I (d. 1421) who abolished the silence (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, i. 75). It was Orkhan (d. 1360) who is reputed to have introduced the drum called *duhul* (Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Travels*, i/ii. 226). The large kettledrums called *kūsāt* were used in the time of ʿOṯmān I (d. 1326) when they were carried by elephants on some occasions. Ewliyā Ćelebi, who mentions this latter point, gives a few details of the military music of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century (*op. cit.*, i. 225—226, 236—239). Murād IV (d. 1640) introduced the

large trumpet called the *karnā* from Persia. Military music was regularly organised during this century and Turkish bands comprised the large reed-pipe or *ḥabā zūrā* (two), the small reed-pipe or *ḡura zūrā* (three), the flute or *nai* (one), the big drum or *ḥabā dukhul* (one), the ordinary drum or *duhul* (three), the great kettledrum or *kūs* (one), the kettledrum or *naḥḥāra* (two), the cymbal or *zill* (one large and two small pairs) and the "jingling Johnny" or *ḥaghāna* (two) (Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, 2nd ed., ii. 184). Coeck, in his *Les Mœurs... de Turcs* (1553), ed. W. S. Maxwell in 1873 as *The Turks in 1553*, gives a woodcut of a party of Janissaries headed by reed-pipes and kettledrums. In the xviii<sup>th</sup> century a *pasha* of three tails had the reed-pipe or *zūrā* (five), the trumpet or *būrū* (seven), the kettledrum or *naḥḥāra* (two pairs), and the cymbal or *zill* (two pairs; de Marsigli, *Stato militare dell' imperio Ottomanno*, 1732, ii. 54—55 and pl. xviii. The numbers and description given by d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1787—1820, vii. 155; and Russell, *Natural Hist. of Aleppo*, London 1794, i. 151, do not agree with the above). The sultān's military band comprised sixty-two players under the command of an officer called the *mir mehtār ṭabl wa-alam*. It was instrumented as follows: the reed-pipe or *zūrā* (sixteen), the trumpet or *būrū* (eleven), the drum or *duhul* (sixteen), the kettledrum or *naḥḥāra* (eight), the great kettledrum or *kūs* (four), and the cymbal or *zill* (seven pairs). In time of war this combination was doubled (d'Ohsson, *Tableau général...*, vii. 23). See also the band depicted in Wittman, *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria*, 1803, frontispiece, and the information given by Toderini, *Literatura Turchesca*, 1787, i. 238—239, and Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v. 2981.

Persia. Before the rise of the Mughals we find how important the *naḥḥāra khāna* and the *nawba* were in the Middle East. Ghīyāth al-Dīn the Ghūrīd (d. 1202) had great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) of gold which were carried on a chariot (*Ṭabakāt-i Nāṣirī*, i. 404). Djalāl al-Dīn Manḡubartī (d. 1231), the last Shāh of Khwārizm, had his *nawba* performed on twenty-seven drums of gold encrusted with precious stones, the players being sons of subject rulers (al-Nasawī, *op. cit.*, p. 21). A fine pair of bronze kettledrums from Daghestān, but probably of Persian facture, were exhibited at the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London 1931, but were not catalogued. They belonged to the xii<sup>th</sup>–xiii<sup>th</sup> century. At the same exhibition there were numerous exhibits displaying military music, notably Nrs. 174, G (xiii<sup>th</sup> century); 457, b (xiv<sup>th</sup> century); 629 (xv<sup>th</sup> century). For the military music of the Mughal domination of Persia see above. Persian art teems with representations of military bands (see *Bibliography: Iconography*). Details of the *naḥḥāra khāna* in Persia during the xvii<sup>th</sup> century may be gleaned from Chardin, *Voyages du Chev. Chardin en Perse*, 1735; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum...*, 1712, p. 740; Poulet, *Nowvelles relations du Levant*, 1668, ii. 147. From the latter it would appear that the English trumpet was known in Persia, as it was in Turkey (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/ii. 238). In these works we find that the instruments used in Persian military music were the reed-pipe

(*surnā* or *surnāy*), the large trumpet (*karnā*), the trumpet (*naḥḥāra*), the horn (*shāḥḥ*), the large kettledrum (*kūs*), the kettledrum (*naḥḥāra*), and the drum (*duhul*). For modern instruments see Laborde, *Essai sur la musique*, 1780; Jourdain, *La Perse...*, 1814; Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries in the East*, 1819; Fétis, *Hist. générale de la musique*, ii.; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, 1885; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p. 3073–3077.

Modern Conditions. In almost every Islāmic land to-day the march of Western civilisation has brought Western ideas of the military band. Brass and reed instruments of European manufacture and of equal temperament are gradually ousting the old conception of the *naḥḥāra khāna*. Yet in the Middle Ages, it was Europe that borrowed from the Muslims. The *naḥḥāra khāna* was an indispensable factor in military discipline, exercise, and tactics, as Christian armies soon found out. It was the rallying point in battle and the silence of the band was a sign that the banners and standards were in danger. Europe soon adopted the device, and up till the xviii<sup>th</sup> century at least the colours and the regimental music were kept together (Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, London 1899, i. 14 sq.; Farmer, *Rise and Development of Military Music*, London 1912, p. 13). The West also borrowed the *naḥḥāra* as the *naker*, *nacaire* etc., the *ṭabl* as the *tabel*, *tabor* etc., the *tinbāl* as the *timbale*, the *ḥaṣa* as the *caisse*, the *[al]-būḥ* as the *alboque*, the *[al]-naḥḥāra* as the *anafil*, whilst such terms as *fanfare* and *tucket* may possibly be derived from *anfār* and *tuḥā* (see Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London 1930, p. 18—19). The percussion instruments in the modern military bands of Europe were adopted from Turkey in the early xviii<sup>th</sup> century, and when adopted in orchestral (string band) music they were for a long time called "Turkish Music".

The English "Jingling Johnny" (Fr. *chapeau chinois*; Germ. *Schellenbaum*) with its horse-tails, carries a relic of its Turkish name *ḥaghāna* (= "Johnny"). It has been superseded by the portable glockenspiel. European military bands still play pieces of music at reveille (sunrise) and retreat (sunset), and these, together with the three fragmentary flourishes which conclude these pieces, may very well be survivals of mediæval Oriental practice.

*Bibliography:* The most important references to the *naḥḥāra khāna* and *nawba* are to be found in the following works: Walley, *Year Book of Oriental Art 1924—1925*, 1929; al-Makrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, as cited; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena* (N. E.), xvii., as cited; al-ʿUmārī, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār fī Mamālik al-Aḥṣār*, transl. Gaudefoy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, lvi.—lviii.; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, as cited; Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, as cited; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 109, 154, 206–208. — *Iconography*. Printed books: Many of the numerous works on Oriental art and painting contain pictures of the military band and the *naḥḥāra khāna* quarters, and among them: Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the viii<sup>th</sup> to the xviii<sup>th</sup> century*, 1912, ii., pl. 12, 183; Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 136, pl. xxxi., xlv.; N.



C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay 1926, p. 93, pl. 38; *Ars Asiatica*, vol. 13, pl. i, xxix, lv. — Manuscripts: In all the great public collections of illustrated Oriental MSS. examples of both the military band and the quarters of the *naḥḥāra khāna* are to be found. The following, in the British Isles, present special features: British Museum, Add. 27302, fols. 53<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>, 184, 223<sup>v</sup>, 285; Add. 5600, fol. 295; Add. 25900, fol. 231<sup>v</sup>; Add. 18188, fol. 60; Add. 24944, fols. 77<sup>v</sup>, 315<sup>v</sup>; Royal Asiatic Society, N<sup>o</sup>. 29, fols. 144<sup>v</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>, 267<sup>v</sup>, 428<sup>v</sup>; Edinburgh University Library, N<sup>o</sup>. 265, fols. 142<sup>v</sup>, 186<sup>v</sup>, N<sup>o</sup>. 20, fols. 54<sup>v</sup>, 157; Bodleian Library, Or. 133, fol. 38; Eliot, N<sup>o</sup>. 19, fols. 12, 34; Trinity College, Dublin, N<sup>o</sup>. M. 2.1., fols. 29, 58, 95<sup>v</sup>. — Instruments: For instruments used in the *naḥḥāra khāna* see the catalogues of museum collections mentioned in the *Bibliography* attached to articles on MIZMĀR, ṬABL and BŪḲ.

(H. G. FARMER)

**TADLĪS**, according to the Arabic lexicon, means "to conceal a fault or defect in an article of merchandise from the purchaser", and according to the traditionists, "to conceal the defects of the *ḥadīth*, either in the text, in the chain of narrators or in the source", i. e. the teacher from whom it is learnt.

Tadlis is of three kinds. They are: 1. *tadlīs fi 'l-isnād* (tadlis in the chain of narrators); 2. *tadlīs fi 'l-matn* (tadlis in the text) and 3. *tadlīs fi 'l-shuyūkh* (tadlis in the teacher from whom the tradition is learnt).

a. Tadlis in the chain of narrators. It is classified under seven heads, viz.:

1. The narrator narrates a *ḥadīth* from a teacher from whom he has learnt other *ḥadīths*, but the particular *ḥadīth* is not directly learnt from the teacher but through a person who had learnt from the teacher.

2. The narrator mentions the chain of narrators from whom the *ḥadīth* is learnt, but omits the names of those who are considered weak traditionists, or are of minor age, or are untrustworthy.

3. The narrator mentions also another name, or names, along with the source from which he has heard the tradition, but he has actually never heard it from such a person or persons.

4. The narrator pauses for a moment after saying *ḥaddathanā* and after a while mentions the name of the person from whom he has not learnt the tradition.

5. A teacher gives permission to a student to narrate *ḥadīth* though the latter had not actually studied under him.

6. The narrator does not say *ḥaddathanā* or *akhbaranā*, and ascribes the *ḥadīth* to his *shaiḥ* (teacher) along with the chain of narrators though he had not heard it from his *shaiḥ*.

7. The narrator mentions the name of a famous place, but he does not mean that place, but another place of the same name. This the narrator does in order that people might know that he has wandered through distant places in search of *ḥadīths*.

b. Tadlis in the text. Tadlis in the text is also called *mudrađī fi 'l-matn*, i. e. inserted into the text, or interpolation.

The narrator includes in the narration his own statement, or of some other persons, thereby making people to believe that it is also a part of the

*ḥadīth*. Such a kind of tadlis might occur in:

a. The beginning of the text of *ḥadīth* and is termed *mudrađī fi awwal al-matn*; b. the middle of the narration and is termed *mudrađī fi waṣ. al-matn*; c. the end of the narration and is called *mudrađī fi ākhir al-matn*.

c. Tadlis in the teacher from whom the tradition is learnt. The narrator narrates that he learnt the tradition from his teacher and instead of giving the familiar name of the teacher, he mentions his nick-name, or some other appellation, or some of his unfamiliar names. The narrator does this because the teacher might be a weak traditionist, and in this manner his weak points might escape attention, and the hearers might be led to think the *ḥadīth* to be true.

Sibt Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (d. 841 = 1438) in his work *al-Taḥīn li-Asmāʾ al-Mudallisin* has said that tadlis had hardly occurred after 300 (912). Al-Ḥākim (d. 405 = 1014) has stated that he did not know in later traditionists anyone who had practised tadlis except Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Bāghandī (d. 312 = 924).

The first author who wrote a book on tadlis is Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Karābīsī (d. 245 = 859); he was followed by al-Nasāʾī (d. 303 = 915), al-Daraqūṭnī (385 = 995), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdaḍī (d. 463 = 1071) and Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 = 1176). Later authors who have written on this subject are al-Dhahabī (d. 748 = 1348), al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 761 = 1359) and others. The works of the early authors are not available.

Al-Dhahabī wrote a treatise in poetry on tadlis (a portion of it is found in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, v. 218). Al-ʿAlāʾī has composed a treatise in prose under the title *Kitāb al-Mudallisin* and has added more names to those mentioned in al-Dhahabī's poem. Al-Ḥafīz Abū Maḥmūd Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Makdisī, a pupil of al-Dhahabī, supplemented al-Dhahabī's poem with materials from al-ʿAlāʾī's work so as to make the poem complete. Zain al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806 = 1403) added a few more names on the margin of al-ʿAlāʾī's book. A further supplement, as an independent treatise on the subject, is attributed to Abū Zarʿa (d. 826 = 1422). Sibt Ibn al-ʿAdjamī added more names to the last supplement and wrote a treatise under the name of *al-Taḥīn li-Asmāʾ al-Mudallisin*. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852 = 1449) completed the list by adding of more new names and wrote a book called *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisin*, or *Taʾrīf Ahl al-Taḥdīs li-Marātib al-Mawṣūfīn bi 'l-Tadlīs*.

The total number of names given in the book of al-ʿAlāʾī is 68. Abū Zarʿa added 13 names, Sibt Ibn al-ʿAdjamī 32 and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAskalānī 39. With all these additions the total number comes to 152. A detailed list of these traditionists is given in Ibn Ḥajar's *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisin*, printed in Egypt, 1322 H.

*Bibliography*: *Zafr al-Amānī fi Mukhtaṣar al-Djurḡānī*, p. 213 sqq.; *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1856, p. 218, vol. ii., 1936, p. 1 sqq.; Salisbury, *J. Am. O. S.*, vii., 1862, p. 92, i.; Risch, *Commentar des 'Izz ad-Dīn über d. Kunstausrücke der Traditions-wissenschaft nebst Erläuterungen* (Leyden 1885), p. 20; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, iii., p. xcix. and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 48.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

**TAGHLIB**, along with the Bakr the most important tribe of the Rabi'a group in early Arabia.

The real name of the founder of the tribe is said to have been Dithār; when one day his father wished him success in the words *taghlib* "thou shalt conquer", this name remained attached to him, but "according to all Semitic analogy" (cf. Yashkur, Yadhkur, Jacob, Isaac etc.) it is not to be interpreted as 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. masc. but as 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. fem. imperf. The gender shows that the tribal name is older than the fable about the mythical ancestor; besides the older poets down to al-Farazdaq actually describe Taghlib as the daughter and not the son of Wā'il (Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, p. 13 sq., 253 sq. [with literature]; Lammens, *Omayyades*, p. 214; Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. [1886], p. 169 nevertheless thinks "that such a distinctly verbal name as Taghlib is originally a collective expression which describes the whole tribe as victorious"). According to Djawhari, the Taghlib are also called *al-Ghalbā* (*nisba: Ghalbāwī*; Kalkashandī and Suwaidī, *loc. cit.*). To distinguish them from these Taghlib b. Wā'il (also Taghlibu Wā'ilin) the Yamanī Taghlib b. Hulwān, from which are descended among others the tribes of al-Namir (subdivision: the Mashdja'a: Balādhuri, p. 111) and Kalb b. Wabara, also the Tanūkh [q. v.] and Kināna b. Bakr b. 'Awf, are called Taghlib *al-ulyā* (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 433). — The *nisba* is *Taghlabī*, but often *Taghlibī* (e.g. *Lisān al-'Arab*, ii. 145, 14; *Tādī al-'Arūs*, i. 414, 34; according to Wright, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, i. 159 *Taghlibī* is preferable. The names of subdivisions were not used as *nisbas*: 'Ikḍ, ii. 38—39, 46, 2; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 399). Taghlibiya is, according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, v. 148, the name of a wife of 'Alī, the mother of Omar and of Ruḳaiya (i.e. al-Ṣahbā, called Umm Habib; cf. Wüstenfeld, *ibid.*, p. 145; Lammens, *ibid.*, p. 118; see below).

Their genealogy is: Taghlib b. (bint) Wā'il b. Kāsiḥ b. Hibn b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Djadila b. Asad b. Rabi'a b. Nizār; brother-tribes were the Bakr and 'Anz ('Ikḍ, ii. 45, 22; Robertson Smith, *ibid.*, p. 12 sq.). The sons of Taghlib were 'Imrān, al-Aws and Ḡhanm, whose son 'Amr was the father of Mu'āwiya and Hūbaib. The four sons of Mu'āwiya are called *al-Khannākūn* (Wüstenfeld, p. 129), the six sons of Bakr b. Hūbaib ('Ikḍ, *loc. cit.*, Mālik is omitted): *al-Arākīm* (explained in Akhtal, *Dīwān*, p. 127; *Naḳā'id*, p. 266, 373; Lyall, *op. cit.*, p. 51; *al-Arākīm* means often the Taghlib in general; two battles are called after them: *Naḳā'id*, p. 400, 761). The two main branches of the Taghlib (*Naḳā'id*, p. 266, 373: called *al-Rawḳān*) are the Banū Djusham b. Bakr (included among the *Buyū'āt al-'Arab*: 'Ikḍ, ii. 37, 11; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 400) and the Mālik b. Bakr b. Hūbaib. From Usāma b. Mālik was descended in direct line Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, the ancestor of the Ḥamdānids [q. v.]. Two of this family bore the name Taghlib: Abū Wā'il Taghlib b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdān and Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣīr al-Dawla known as *al-Ḡhaḍanfār* (q. v.; Wüstenfeld, p. 459 or 435).

**Localities.** With the other Rabi'a the Taghlib after the separation of the tribes occupied the highlands of Nadjd, the Hīdžaz and the frontiers of Tihāma. Their immigration into Mesopotamia was a slow and gradual process which occupied

centuries and only came to an end in the Muslim period in the later so-called district of Diyār Rabi'a. The Basūs war (at the beginning of the fifth century A. D.) took place in the period when the Bakr and Taghlib were still living in Nadjd, as the emigration is to be placed in the time of Dhū Nuwās about 480 A. D. The places which became famous in this war are in the area, which is bounded in the south by Bahraïn and the 'Arid range, and in the north by the latitude of the later Baṣra (Blau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. [1869], p. 579 sq.). Of the boundary between the Taghlib and Bakr we can only say this much that the former dwelled more within the northern part of the territory, nearer the "Syrian frontier". Wüstenfeld, *ibid.*, p. 434, mentions (from Bakrī) the following settlements of the Taghlib (only occurring in quotations from poets!) "on the frontier of Syria": al-Aḥfār, al-Azāghib, al-Muwathḥadī, 'Aliz, 'Unāza, Kāthira, 'Aniya and al-Nahy (Nihy) the latter of which, known as a battlefield of the Basūs war, is located in *Marāṣid*, iii. 255 between Bahraïn and Yamāma. In the next (sixth) century the Taghlib were still occupying in part the same areas but were gradually establishing themselves on the lower course of the Euphrates. In the Djahiliya, Kabāth north of al-Anbār was a market of the Taghlib (*Marāṣid*, ii. 475). In the first century A. H. the centre of their territory was central Mesopotamia between Karḳisiya, Sindjār, Naṣībīn and al-Mawṣil in the north and 'Ana and Takrit in the south, a kind of peninsula formed by the Khābūr, Tigris and Euphrates. A number of them lived in tents on the right bank of the Euphrates at Manbiḍj and al-Ruṣāfa (later up to the vicinity of Kinnasrīn and Damascus), south as far as 'Ain al-Tamr and the Ilāha (Lāha) mountain, and again between Khaffān and al-Uḍhaib, while another section went across the Tigris to Ḍhar-baidjān (Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 96 sq., 121 sq.; *Mo'awia*, p. 381, 398—400; *Omayyades*, p. 214, 240, 266 sq.; Musil, esp. *Euphrates*, p. 42, 170, 285, 359; *Palmyrena*, p. 175, 248, 281 sq.). — The works of Musil [see *Bibl.*] are indispensable for the historical topography of the Taghlib districts.

**History.** We first hear of the Taghlib under Shāpūr II, who invaded the land of the Bakr and Taghlib "between the Persian empire and the lines of the Romans in Syria" and settled some of them in Bahraïn, Kirmān, Tawwadj and al-Ahwāz, probably in order to be able better to control them (Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, p. 56 sq., 67). In his campaign against Nadjd, the Ḥimyarite Abrahā (?) placed the Kalbi Zuhair b. Djanāb over the Bakr and Taghlib (*Aghāni*, xxi. 95; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 367 sqq.). Both tribes then tried with other Ma'add tribes to shake off the Yamanite yoke and the result was the battles of al-Sullān and Khazāzā (on the situation cf. Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'allagāt*, i. 44, 84) where Rabi'a b. al-Hārith or his son Kulaib [q. v.] is their leader ('Ikḍ, iii. 66, 31; Reiske, *op. cit.*, p. 182). To avenge the latter's assassination his brother Mulhalhil began the celebrated Basūs war [q. v.] against the Bakr (the number, order and readings of the names of the battles vary: cf. Bakrī, p. 842—843; Reiske, p. 164, 181—198; *Aghāni*, iv. 143; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 384—397<sup>b</sup>; Blau, *loc. cit.*; on their positions see Wetzelstein, in *Ztschr. f. allg. Erdk.*, NS, xviii. [1865], p. 262 sqq., 415; Musil, *Palmyrena*, p. 62 sq.). After their defeat at Qid(d)a (also called Yawm al-Tahlāk,



al-Taḥālūk or al-Thaniya) the Taghlib tribes are said to have separated (Bakrī, p. 56; *ʾIkd*, iii. 69, 15; other "days": *ibid.*, p. 68, 27; with the Yarbū: [2nd] day of Zarūd: *ibid.*, p. 59, 27; cf. Yāqūt, ii. 928; with the Riyāḥ b. Yarbū: day of Irāb: Kuṭāmi, *Diwān*, p. 16; *Naḳā'id*, p. 760 sq. — As a rule very few battles of the Taghlib are recorded: the reason [?] given in Lammens, *Mo'āwīa*, p. 399, note 6). For the further history of the Taghlib under the Kinda and further details on what has been said above see the article BAKR. At the instigation of Mundhir III whose object probably was to have these two large tribes available for his raids, peace was made in Dhu 'l-Madżāz [cf. \*sūk] (on the hostages see Rothstein, *op. cit.*, p. 137). It was really a very enduring peace for we never hear again of a serious war between the tribes (cf. Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'all*, i. 53 sq., 73). While the Bakr were devoted to the Lakhmids the Taghlib refused to follow 'Amr b. Hind, who wished to avenge on the Ghassānids the death of his father, Mundhir III. He is said to have punished them for their disobedience through the Tamīmī al-Ghallāk (not al-'Allāk: Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'all*, p. 76). A new dispute between Taghlib and Bakr was brought for settlement to the same Lakhmid by the *mu'allaka* poets 'Amr and Hārith as spokesmen for their tribes (*ibid.*, p. 51 sq.; perhaps it was he who first ended the Basūs war?: *Aghānī*, ix. 178—180). The pride of 'Amr b. Kulthūm irritated him and when the latter insulted 'Amr on another occasion, he slew the chief on the spot (Rothstein, p. 100 sq., 135). The Taghlib seem thereupon to have become independent and even to have been at open enmity with them. It is uncertain however whether 'Amr's brother, Murra b. Kulthūm, put to death the Lakhmid prince Mundhir, a son of Nu'mān Abū Kābūs (*ibid.*, p. 112). In the battle of Dhū Kār (q.v.; for the places named: *ibid.*, p. 121) the Taghlib took part under the leadership of their chief Nu'mān b. Zur'a (on him: see Kuṭāmi, *Diwān*, p. 33), who advised Khusrāw how he could best take the Bakr by surprise (Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, p. 334; *ʾIkd*, iii. 81 sq.). It is remarkable that al-Akḥṭal (*Diwān*, p. 226) at a later date claims this victory of the Bakr over the Persians for the common glory of the two brother-tribes.

Through intercourse with Christian neighbours, Christianity found its way among the Taghlib not long before Islām (in 'Amr's *Mu'allaka* there is no hint of Christianity: Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'all*, i. 19, 46; on the other hand, Cheikho, *al-Naṣ-rāniya*, p. 125). Previously, like the Bakr, they worshipped the god Awāl or Uwāl (on the etymology: Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 194). Although the new faith did not take deep root (see below), they retained it against all attempts at conversion by Islām in its early centuries. Only a small section, perhaps the Taghlib who lived next the Tayi (Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, iii. 433 sq.), may have early adopted the Prophet's teaching for their own safety. Thus we are told that in the year 9 A. H. an embassy from the Taghlib, some Muslim, some Christian who wore golden crosses, came to Medīna and the latter concluded a treaty with Muḥammad: they were to retain their faith but not baptise their children. It was probably however the Taghlib themselves who proposed this arrangement in order to avoid paying *ḡizya* for Muḥammad never forced Christians to go over to Islām (so Wellhausen,

*Skizzen*, iv. 156). As at a later date 'Omar is made to treat with the Taghlib on a similar basis this is certainly a later invention (see below). Equally doubtful is the story in *Aghānī*, xvi. 53 (Cheikho, *ibid.*, p. 454) that the Prophet asked Zaid al-Khalī to use force of arms to bring the Taghlibī chief al-Djarrār to adopt Islām (in Sprenger, iii. 391: al-Ḡazzār); he is said to have refused and been put to death. During the *rida* in the year 11 A. H. the prophetess Sadjāh [q.v.] who had been brought up in Christianity among the Taghlib, set off for Yamāma with Taghlibis and Tamimis and ended, it is said, her life among them in Mesopotamia (Balādhuri, p. 99 sq.; Lammens, *Mo'āwīa*, p. 304). For a time the rebel Shaibān, Taghlib and al-Namir were under the leadership of a certain Mafrūk (Ṭabari, i. 1973). The Taghlibis who had migrated with Sadjāh supported in 12 A. H. the Persians in 'Ain al-Tamr, where Khālīd b. al-Walīd massacred them and even their chief 'Akka b. Abi 'Akka lost his life. To avenge themselves they took part in the campaign now planned on a great scale by the Persians under Zarmihr and Rūzbih. Their leader al-Hudhail b. 'Imrān encamped in al-Muṣaiyakh (Bani 'l-Barsha'), where the Persians defeated at Ḥusaid joined him under Mahbūdhan; Khālīd fell upon them with three divisions and only a few escaped the slaughter. He then routed Rabi'a b. Budjair al-Taghlibī (whose captured daughter was bought by 'Alī; see above) in al-Thani and surprised another camp in al-Zumail (al-Bishr), while Hilāl b. 'Akka was able to escape in al-Ruḍāb. His advance as far as al-Firād on the Euphrates united Persians, Byzantines and the Arab tribes of Taghlib, Iyād and al-Namir against the common enemy; they suffered a terrible defeat: 100,000 (?) are said to have perished (Ṭabari, i. 2062—2075; Wellhausen, *ibid.*, vi. 45). When Khālīd hurried to Syria by command of Abū Bakr, at al-Muṣaiyakh (this is the correct reading) and al-Ḥusaid he came upon and routed apostate (*murtadd*) Taghlibis under Rabi'a b. Budjair (Balādhuri, p. 110). After the unfortunate "battle of the bridge" and the retreat of the Muslims as far as Khaffān a cavalry detachment under al-Nusair and Hudhaifa is said to have advanced as far as Takrit and defeated the Taghlib on the way (*ibid.*, p. 249). Although the chronology of these events is not established with certainty on all points (cf. Wellhausen, vi. 46 sqq.; de Goeje, *Mémoires*, N<sup>o</sup>. 22, p. 38 sqq.; on the topography of Khālīd's campaigns: Musil, *Euphrates*, p. 300—314; do., *Arabia*, p. 553—573), these stories show that the Taghlib used every opportunity to attack the Muslims. It therefore does not sound very credible that before the battle of al-Buwaib horsemen of the Banu 'l-Namir and Taghlib offered their help to al-Muthannā (Ṭabari, i. 2189 sq.); in this we have probably to recognise with C. H. Becker (in Caetani, *Annali*, Year 14, § 32 note b.) a tendentious report by Saif b. 'Omar [q.v.]. In the same year al-Muthannā sent a detachment from al-Anbār against the Taghlib encamped in al-Kabāth (see above) and then another detachment against the Taghlib and al-Namir in Šiffin, who were able to escape by flight (Ṭabari, i. 2206—2208; Wellhausen, vi. 69; Musil, *Euphrates*, p. 321; an incident shows that the old enmity between the Bakr and Taghlib was not quite forgotten). When in 16 A. H. the combined Persians, Byzantines and Arabs of the tribes of Iyād, Taghlib, al-Namir and others occupied a fortified position

at Takrīt, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tamm arrived before Takrīt with 5,000 men and during the long skirmishing endeavoured to enter into secret negotiations with the Christian Arabs. Only after the Byzantines tired of fighting and withdrew did the Christians yield to his appeals and adopt Islām. With their help he succeeded by a stratagem in taking the hostile camp and also al-Ḥisnain (Ṭabarī, i. 2474–2477). A deputation of the Taghlib are said to have come with the embassy sent by 'Abd Allāh to Medina and to have concluded a separate treaty with 'Omar. He proposed to them either to adopt Islām and become equal to other Muslims in every way or to pay *ḍjizya*. As they would not accept this offer, 'Omar agreed to impose upon them the *ḍjizya* "like the *ṣadaqa* of the Muslim" on condition that they did not baptise the [newborn] children (of parents converted to Islām [so Ṭabarī, i. 2482]) (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ii. 410). It is only at the end of Saif's story of the conquest of Mesopotamia (Wellhausen, vi. 85 sq.) that we have in Ṭabarī, i. 2510 the widespread version (e.g. *Tādīj al-Arūs*, i. 414, 32; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 283) of the levying of the "double *ṣadaqa*", brought about by the measures of al-Walid b. 'Uqbā (cf. Wüstenfeld, p. 461 sq.) and the pride of the Taghlib, who objected to the word *ḍjizya*. Alongside of these stories there are many others, varying in details (e.g. in the prohibition of baptism; Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 110 sq. even makes 'Omar I into 'Omar II!). We have clearly here a coalescing of traditions of different periods which seek to explain the special position of the Taghlib and their relation to the other members of the community (Balādhuri, p. 181–182 is remarkable: one should not eat their cattle or marry their women: they do not belong to us nor to the *Ahl al-Kitāb*). — Further details in Caetani, *Annali*, Year 20, §§ 37–49).

At first friendly with 'Alī, the Taghlib soon became followers of the 'Omāyads and fought at Šiffin for Mu'āwīya (who settled them in Kūfa: Ṭabarī, i. 1920; cf. i. 2482, 2488–2495), in the Harra for Yazid and at Mardj Rāhiṭ for Marwān (Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 49, 118, 381, 400, 435; do., *Yazid-fer*, p. 229 = 231; *Marwānides*, p. 59 sq.). It was not till their participation in the factional conflicts between Muḍarris and Yamanis that their fame was again commemorated in poetry [see RABĪ'A]. At first allies of the Kais against the Kalb (*W.Z.K.M.*, xv. [1901], p. 6), after the latter had been displaced friction broke out between the Kais and Taghlib. Open war (69–73 = 688–692) began when 'Omair b. al-Ḥubāb settled with his Sulaimis on the Khābūr and came into conflict with the Taghlib there encamped [see KAIS-'AILĀN]. After initial skirmishing a battle was fought at Mākisin (Mākis) where the Taghlib and al-Namir suffered a considerable defeat. Then (70 = 689) after several smaller encounters (al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, v. 313–328 in agreement with Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 255–263 mentions the "days": 1st and 2nd of al-Tharthār, al-Fudain, al-Sukair, al-Ma'ārik, al-Shar'abiya [but cf. Kuṭāmi, *Diwān*, p. 5; *W.Z.K.M.*, loc. cit.], al-Balikh; Kuṭāmi, p. 6 has also al-Niṣf) came the battle of al-Ḥaṣṣhāk in which 'Omair fell (in *Naḳā'id*, p. 373, 394, 400 also called *Yawm al-Arāḳim* along with "the day of Sindjār" [see above]). To avenge his death, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith inflicted a severe defeat on the Taghlib at al-Kuhail. A sequel to this fighting was the day of al-Biṣhr [q. v.] (or al-Rahūb, also called *Yawm*

*Mudjāshin* [not *Mukhāshin*: Bakrī, p. 179] and *Yawm Mardj al-Salawṭah*; Kuṭāmi, p. xiv., note 1; Wüstenfeld, p. 434; on the whole: *Aghāni*, xi. 57–63; xx. 126–128; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 127–130; Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 381–398; do., *Omāyades*, p. 256–261; on the location of the places mentioned: Musil, *Euphrates*, p. 56 sq., 60, 82–84, 336; do., *Palmyrena*, p. 172 sq.). All these "days", in spite of Islām and Christianity, are in no way distinguishable from the pre-Islāmic, indeed the slaughter was even crueller; for example captured women were slit up. It is no wonder that this bitter party hatred survived for a long time and flared up again from time to time.

With this fighting the Taghlib made their last appearance of note in history. More important events in their later history may be briefly noted. After a first encounter with one of Ḥārūn al-Raḥṣid's collectors of *ṣadaqa*, called Rūh b. Šāliḥ, whose death his brother Ḥatim b. Šāliḥ ruthlessly avenged on the Taghlib in 171 (787), there was a rising seven years later of the Taghlib led by al-Walid b. Ṭarīf, who fell fighting against Yazid b. Mazyad who had been summoned to assist by the caliph (Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 78, 97–99, 101; Ṭabarī, iii. 631, 638; Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 462, 256). In the reign of al-Ma'mūn, the Taghlibi Mālik b. Ṭawḳ b. Mālik b. 'Attāb, the founder of al-Raḥba, subdued the neighbouring Kais; on his son Aḥmad and the rising of the Taghlibi Djamān (336 = 947–948) see the article AL-RAḤBA (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 301; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 213; H. C. Kay, in *J. R.A.S.*, N.S. xviii., 1886, p. 504; Musil, *Euphrates*, p. 340 sq.). In 250 (864) the Taghlibi al-Ḥasan b. 'Omar b. Khattāb built Džazirat b. 'Omar (Yāqūt, ii. 79; cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 180). The Taghlibi Ishāk b. Aiyūb in 267 (880) formed a coalition of the Taghlib, Bakr, Rabī'a, Yamanis etc. against Ishāk b. Kundāḍī(ḳ) but was defeated by him (Ṭabarī, iii. 1991 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 231 sq.; on Taghlibis in al-Mawṣil see the article MŌṢUL). The disorders in Mesopotamia in the second half of this century finally led to the migration of the Taghlib; only a section of them remained in the country round al-Raḥba and Džazirat b. 'Omar, another perhaps went over to Byzantine territory. In the iv<sup>th</sup> (x<sup>th</sup>) century we find the leading Taghlibi clans in Baḥrain where they encountered the Sulaim and 'Uḳail... b. 'Āmir b. Ša'ṣa'a and soon joined in the Ḳarmaṭian rising. (As, since the time of 'Omar, only Islām was permitted in the Arabian peninsula [see e.g. Ṭabarī, i. 2482; Bakrī, p. 9 to some extent contradicts this prevailing opinion], they must have abandoned Christianity). After the defeat of the Ḳarmaṭians in 378 (988–989), the Taghlibi leader Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Aṣfar drove out the Sulaim with the help of the 'Uḳail and then forced the latter also to migrate. The latter were next driven by the Saldjuks back to Baḥrain [see 'ŌKAILIDS], where they were able to overthrow the now weak Taghlib power (Kay, *ibid.*, p. 505, 524 sq.). A portion of the Taghlib had perhaps gone at an earlier date to the Farasān islands [q. v.] (cf. Sprenger, *Geogr.*, p. 31, 254; Yāqūt, iii. 497, 874; on the alleged descent of the Copts from the Taghlib see the article RABĪ'A) while the majority may later on have become scattered over the Syrian desert. At Ḥimṣ in 681 (1282) we still find them fighting victoriously against the Tatars (Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh*, ed. Šālḥānī, p. 504), and



al-Kāḷkashandī also records their presence in Syria at this time. From the ixth (xivth) century the name of this interesting tribe is no longer mentioned in history (cf. Lammens' investigation at the end of his *Chantre*). It is all the more remarkable therefore when a modern tribe traces its descent from the Taghlib, as do for example a part of the Dawāsir (Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Ḳalib Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, Mecca 1352, p. 150) and the Shammar, said to be a mixture of Taghlib, 'Abs and Hawāzin (*Hand-book of Arabia*, i. 75; W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative* . . ., London 1865, i. 118 [the source?; cf. i. 459] learned from inhabitants of the Djabal Shammar that this mingling took place after the Basūs war [after the battle of Ḳiddā?; see above]. On the well of *Shakīḳ* [cf. RUWALA] as a "work of the Christians" [i.e. the Taghlib etc.] see Palgrave, i. 88).

On the social life of the tribe we are well informed by their own poets and by the attacks of their rivals. The Taghlibī leader 'Abd al-Masīḥ told Ḳhālīd that they were not "Arabs" (i.e. Bedouins) but "arabised Nabaṭaeans" (i.e. agriculturists with Bedouin customs; see Mas'ūdi's *Hist. Encycl.*, ed. A. Sprenger, London 1841, i. 249; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 64 sq.). Al-Akḥṭal (p. 222) speaks of their date-palm groves and cornfields (Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 96); they were celebrated as horsebreeders (do., *Mo'āwia*, p. 398). It is particularly remarkable that they were sailors [see SAḤĪNA], and their shipping trade was a source of wealth and influence (cf. Akḥṭal, p. 307; Lammens, *Omayyades*, p. 214 sq., 226, 265—268). If we remember also that the trade route to India ran through their territory and that Mesopotamia in general was crossed by trade routes from all directions, we understand Tabrizī's remark in the commentary on 'Amr's *Mu'allaka* (ed. Lyall, p. 108, 4): "Had Islām come a little later, the Banū Taghlib would have swallowed up all mankind" (Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 97; *Mo'āwia*, p. 398; *Omayyades*, p. 267). This explains 'Omar's forbearing treatment of this proud and powerful tribe. Later others were somewhat jealous of this privileged position and traditions directed against them were invented. Two ascribed to 'Alī are very significant: in the one he expresses his wish to exterminate the Taghlib because in spite of their agreement with 'Omar they have gone on baptising their children (Balādhuri, p. 183; cf. *Ikḍ*, iii. 256, 4); in the other, often quoted, he says the Taghlib had only taken over wine-drinking from Christianity (Zamakhshari and Baidāwī on Sūra, v. 7; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, Year 20, § 37). The last "bishop of the tribes" was actually appointed at the beginning of the ivth (xth) century (on the lists of bishops see esp. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 76—83), and although their religion was superficial, as was general with Bedouins (Goldziher, *op. cit.*; Lammens, *Omayyades*, p. 236—239, 249), they stubbornly defended it for centuries (their spirit of opposition is emphasised: Ṭabari, i. 2510; Balādhuri, p. 181 sq.; martyrs were not rare among them: Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 438; Nau, p. 109 sq.; Charles, p. 98—100). The patron saint of the tribe was Sergius; they made pilgrimages to his grave in al-Ruṣāfa [q.v.] and went into battle under his banner, for which poets of other tribes long ridiculed them (Lammens, *Omayyades*, p. 214, 217, 239—242; *Mo'āwia*, p. 435; Musil, *Palmyrena*, p. 267, 269; Cheikh, *al-Naṣrāniya*, p. 99 sq.). Their wine-

drinking was another feature often held up to scorn by their opponents (Goldziher, *op. cit.*; Ḳuṭāmī, p. ix. sq., 9; on the places for the best wines see Lammens, *Omayyades*, p. 253, 256) and more remarkably their greed and lack of hospitality (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, vi. 151 sq.; *Ikḍ*, iii. 84, 93, 232, 236; *Aghāni*, vii. 186). If this reproach has a deeper foundation than a mocking mood of Ḍjarīr's it may well be asked whether the prosperity and the justified pride of the Taghlib (Kulaib was the personification of it!) did not shut them off from envious neighbours who were on a lower level.

A number of celebrated poets have sprung from the Taghlib. Cheikh, *Shu'arā'*, p. 151—204 deals with Kulaib [q.v.], Muḥalhil (in the opinion of the Taghlib the first poet to compose a regular poem; according to Aṣma'ī, the first to give the *ḡaṣida* 30 lines: Fresnel, p. 76, 84), al-Saffāḥ (i.e. Salama b. Ḳhālīd, the leader of the Taghlib at al-Kulāb [see BAKR]), al-Akḥnas b. Shihāb, Ufnūn (epithet of Ṣuraim b. Ma'shar), 'Amr b. Kulthūm [q.v.], Ḍjābir b. Ḥunayy (see Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'all*, i. 19) and 'Amira b. Ḍju'ail (in Ḳutaiba, *al-Shi'r*, p. 411 alongside of 'Omaira); we may add: Ka'b b. Ḍju'ail (*ibid.*); Lammens, *Chantre*, p. 102—105, 134; *Mo'āwia*, p. 188, note 8; al-Akḥṭal [q.v.], al-Ḳuṭāmī [q.v.], al-'Attābī, a later descendant of 'Amr's (Nöldeke, *ibid.*), and others. Other poets and famous Taghlibis are given by Ibn Duraid, *al-Iṣṭikḡāḳ*, p. 202—205; Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 301 sq.; *Ikḍ*, ii. 45, 24 sqq.; cf. Reiske, *op. cit.*, p. 161, 269.

The language of the Taghlib is described as not pure on account of their proximity to the Greeks (Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 592; Suyūṭī, *Muṣhir*, Būlāḳ 1282, i. 105). In the *Ikḍ*, ii. 33, 26 they are credited with the peculiarity of *kashkasha* and the Bakr with *kaskasa*; according to the parallel passage, i. 207, 35, the former is however peculiar to the Bakr and *fashfasha* to the Taghlib (? not in Suyūṭī, i. 109 sq.; for *kashkasha* cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, viii. 233, 17 sqq.; *Taḍjī al-'Arūs*, iv. 345, 11 sqq.; esp. A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, p. 62 sq., 79, 84). On peculiarities of the language of Akḥṭal see Nöldeke, in *W.Z.K.M.*, vi. (1892), 348 sq. — Cf. also G. W. Freytag, *Einleitung* . . ., Bonn 1861, p. 75, 91.

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(H. KINDERMANN)

**ṬĀ-HĀ**, two isolated letters at the head of Sūra xx. in the *Qur'ān*. — It has been proposed to explain them as an abbreviation, either of an imperative (from the root *w-ḥ-*<sup>2</sup>; Ḥasan Baṣrī) or from a proper name (Ṭalḥa, Abū Huraira) meaning the *ṣaḥābīs*, who supplied this Sūra to the first editors of the *Qur'ān*.

The important thing to note is that Muslim tradition since the third century has made Ṭā-Hā one of the names of the Prophet and as a result to this day we find boys in Egypt and the 'Irāq given the name "Muḥammad Ṭā-Hā". From the

ivth century A. H., mystics unanimously see in Ṭā-Hā the purity (*ṭahāra*) and rectitude (*ihtidā'*) of the heart of the Prophet. Such are in *djafr* [q. v.] the classical meanings of the two letters.

On the other hand, the two letters *ṭā-sīn* (found at the head of Sūra xxvii.), following the methods of *djafr* which sees in them abbreviations of *ṭahāra* + *sanā*, have been taken by certain early mystics to designate Iblis, whose monotheistic preaching among the angels was parallel with the monotheistic mission of Ṭā-Hā (= Muḥammad) among men (cf. Hallādj, *Ṭāsin al-Azal*. In this connection it may be asked whether *ṭā-sīn* was not formed by the inversion of *shī-ṭān* and this after the year 309 A. H., date of the death of Hallādj, for numerically *ṭā* + *sīn* = 300 + 9).

*Bibliography*: Maidānī, s. v. *Rudda min Ṭāhā ilā Bismillāh*; Baklī, *Tafsīr*, Cawnpore 1883, ii. 18—19 (transl. in Massignon, *Essai sur le lexique . . de la mystique*, 1922, p. 81—82, and do., *Hallāj*, p. 884, n. 1); Rāghib Pasha, *Safīna*, Cairo 1882, p. 395; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, ii., p. 70—79.

(L. MASSIGNON)

**TANŪKH**, an old Arab confederacy which adopted a common genealogy and so is usually regarded as a tribe.

The origin of the name and the early history of the Tanūkh is so enveloped in fable that it is impossible to disentangle it, and nothing really historical can be gleaned out of the traditions, which differ among themselves very much in detail. If we take the version in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xi. 159 sq. as the basis (corresponding: Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 240 sq.; Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, p. 16—17 and Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 444—445) we get the following picture: At the separation of the *Qudā'a* tribes — the story of their expulsion from *Tihāma* precedes this — the Taimallāh (q. v.; alongside of Taimallāt) b. Asad b. Wabara b. Taghlib [q. v.] b. Ḥulwān . . b. *Qudā'a* and a portion of the *Rufaida* b. *Thawr* b. Kalb b. Wabara (*Yāqūt*, ii. 288 mentions the *Shukm* al-Lāt b. *Rufaida*) and a portion of the *Ash'ar* went out of *Nadjd* to *Hadjra* in *Bahrain*, out of which they drove the Nabataeans who were settled there. From a prophetic saying of their seeress (*kāhina*; q. v.) al-Zarkā<sup>2</sup>, sister of one of their chiefs *Mālik* b. *Zuhair* b. 'Amr b. *Fahm* b. Taimallāh, who advised them to "stop and sojourn" (*muḥkam wa-tanūkh*, instead of *tunūkh*; see below) until a raven should give the sign for departure, these tribes received the name of Tanūkh. They were at this time joined by *Azdis* who remained henceforth with them. When after two years the raven appeared they went to the *Irāq* and built the town of *al-Hira* under command of their leader *Mālik* [q. v.]. After they had settled there many of the scum (*sawākif*) of the surrounding places attached themselves to them. *Shāpūr* al-Akbar (*Dhu 'l-Aktāf*) took the field against them and as their battle cry was *yā 'al-'ibād Allāh*, they received the name '*ibād*'. After their defeat the greater part of them under al-*Daizan* b. *Mu'āwiya* al-Tanūkhī went to *al-Ḥaḍr* in *Mesopotamia* which al-*Sāṭirūn* al-*Djarmakānī* had built. There they entered the service of the princess al-Zabbā<sup>2</sup>, and when she was murdered by 'Amr b. 'Adī they seized the power until they were subjected by the *Ghassānids* [q. v.].

An essential distinction between this version and another which is given most fully in *Ṭabari*,



i. 744 *sqq.* and in differing abbreviations in Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii. 237 *sq.*; Yāqūt, ii. 375 *sqq.* and Ibn al-Athīr, i. 243 *sqq.* is to be found in the list of the elements which migrated from Tihāma to Baḥrain. While in the above version only Yamānī tribes are mentioned (the Ashʿar like the Azd belong to the Kahlān group; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 102, 115), in the latter only the Maʿadd are mentioned primarily, although in the details we find alongside of the already mentioned Mālik, also Mālik and ʿAmr b. Fahm b. Taimallāh with their people, and also al-Ḥaikār... b. Qanaṣ b. Maʿadd with all the Qanaṣ and three clans of the Iyād b. Nizār b. Maʿadd (Yāqūt only mentions the Ḡhaṭafān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ṭamathān b. ʿAwdh Manāt b. Yaḥdum b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Iyād; the readings of the names in the two others are not certain and vary in Ṭabarī and Ibn Khaldūn; cf. also Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 567). In Baḥrain, all these joined together to form a confederation for defence or attack and took the name of Tanūkh; according to Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, clans of the Numāra b. Lakhm also joined them here. The Azdis under Djadhīma al-Abrash [q. v.] were gained as allies by his marriage with Lamis, a sister of Mālik b. Zuhair. Al-Zarkāʾ is not mentioned in this version and the story of the raven is omitted completely. The Arabs rather coveted the cultivated lands of the ʿIrāk and took advantage of the strife between the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* gradually to enter it. The first to move was al-Ḥaikār with the Qanaṣ and others; they encountered the Aramānians and Ardawānians, whose lands they won by fighting, and later formed an element in the Arabs of al-Anbār and al-Ḥira. They were followed by the Taimallāh and Iyād with their allies to al-Anbār, then the Numāra b. Qais b. Numāra (? or: and Numāra b. Lakhm?), Kinda tribes and others (in Ṭabarī repeatedly: Mālik and ʿAmr b. Fahm) to al-Ḥira. There is great confusion in the lists of the various tribes. Yāqūt calls them simply Tanūkh, with whom merged in al-Ḥira the south Arabians left behind by Tubbaʾ Asʿad Abū Karib on his passage through. The majority of the Tanūkh, he continues, are settled between al-Anbār and al-Ḥira in an area bounded in the east by the Euphrates and in the west by the desert; they are called *ʿArab al-dāhiya* ("Arabs of the marches") and live in huts and tents of hair-cloth and not in clay houses (see below). Then comes a list of their "kings": the first was Mālik b. Fahm, who was succeeded by his brother ʿAmr and the latter by Djadhīma al-Abrash (but see above!; for the succession of Djadhīma cf. Rothstein *op. cit.*, p. 38 *sq.*, where different traditions are given), whose kingdom included al-Ḥira, al-Anbār, Baḳka, Hit, ʿAin al-Tamr and the land as far as al-Ḡhumair, al-Ḳuḳṭūṭana and beyond. With his successor, his sister's son ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Naṣr of the Numāra b. Lakhm, the power passed into the hands of the Lakhmids [q. v.]. Yāqūt continues with the story told by Ṭabarī later (i. 821): When Ardashīr b. Pāpak had won power over the ʿIrāk, many of the Tanūkh would not submit to him and went to Syria to the Ḳudāʾa settled there. According to a different version given by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 94 *sq.*), it was Mālik b. Fahm b. Taimallāh with his Ḳudāʾa and Mālik b. Fahm b. Ḡhanm b. Daws b. ʿUdhān (so to be read for ʿAdnān!) al-Azdī with the Azd who made a *ḥilf* alliance in Baḥrain and took the name of Tanūkh, whereupon the Azd went to the ʿIrāk and the

Ḳudāʾa to Syria. This "West-Tanūkh" kingdom was ruled by three kings after the death of al-Zabbāʾ (see above), according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 215 and Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii. 249 = 278, namely: al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr b. Mālik, his son ʿAmr and then his son al-Ḥawārī b. al-Nuʿmān (in Ibn Khaldūn wrongly: b. ʿAmr); thereupon the lordship passed to the Salīh and then to the Ḡhassānids.

To go into further details and make any endeavour to harmonise the different traditions would serve no purpose. The beginnings of the Tanūkh are as obscure as those of the Lakhmids and Ḡhassānids and it was therefore all the more easy to allot them a part in their early history (but even on this point there is no agreement!; cf. Rothstein, *op. cit.*, p. 39, and Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, ii. 200). Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 2 rightly describes Mālik and the others as "persons of doubtful historicity". The question of the actual origin of the Tanūkh is, besides, part of the great problem of the migrations of south Arabian tribes in general. Perhaps they are the earliest example of the merging of a larger number of Arab tribes, as Goldziher, *Mah. Stud.*, i. 66, suggests, who comes to the conclusion: "After clearing away all that is unhistorical, invented by philologists and antiquaries of the second century about this confederation, the fact of this fraternity of tribes remains as the credible historical kernel of the traditions and fables associated with it". The firmness and duration of the bond between them finds expression in the fact that the confederation took a new tribal name: this is clearly expressed by Ṭabarī, i. 746 = Yāqūt, ii. 377: "They obtained rule over the people, the name Tanūkh became associated with them and as a result of this name they represented themselves to be another tribe" (for similar cases and on *ḥilf*-confederations in general see the works quoted in Rothstein, p. 32 and now esp. E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, vi. [1934], p. 191—206; Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 249—50 = Suwaidī, *op. cit.*, p. 101 know of other tribes who do not go back to a single ancestor; Bakrī, p. 372 even mentions a clan of the Tanūkh: the Sāṭīʿ). For the new tribe thus formed, a common ancestor was adopted and with the individual the *nisba* Tanūkhī took the place of his tribal name (on more notable bearers of this *nisba*, cf. A. Wiener, in *Isl.*, iv., 1913, p. 387). The explanation of Tanūkh by *nuḳām* (see above) is of course worthless (similarly the dictionaries *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ii. 487, 11 *sqq.*; Ibn Duraid, ii. 8a, 14 *sq.*: from *t-n-kh* i. or v. in this meaning; in Djawhārī [cf. *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ii. 254, 6 *sqq.*] also *Ḥamāsa*, p. 237 from *n-w-kh* in the form like Taghlib, but only a substantive can stand with *nuḳām*). The name is in any case old and is found in Ptolemy as *Θανουραι*, -εῖραι, -ἡται, *Θανιται* (A. Sprenger, *Geogr.*, p. 208; Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 576). Agreement to any extent regarding the constituents of the Tanūkh is only found as regards the above mentioned Taimallāh and in the statement that they entered the *ḥilf* confederation before they came to the ʿIrāk (in Ibn Khaldūn and Suwaidī, *ibid.*, not till Syria). It is possible also that the occupation of the ʿIrāk took place in several stages. In any case, in all traditions the origin of the state of al-Ḥira is associated with the name Tanūkh and they henceforth — here we are on historical ground — form one of the main elements in its population. Hishām b. al-Kalbī (in Ṭabarī, i. 822; similarly

Yāqūt, ii. 379; Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 170; Hamza, p. 98 sq.) distinguishes three elements in the population of al-Ḥīra in the time of Ardashīr, the first Sāsānid (i.e. he really antedates later conditions to this period): 1. the Tanūkh who lived west of the Euphrates between al-Ḥīra and al-Anbār and farther upstream in tents of hair-cloth (not in houses of clay [see above]), like the completely settled tribes; an intermediate state between Bedouins and agriculturists: see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 24, note 3); 2. the 'Ibād, the (proper) inhabitants of al-Ḥīra, who had firmly established themselves there; and 3. the protected tribes (*aḥlāf*) who had attached themselves to those of al-Ḥīra and settled amongst them without belonging to the Tanūkh or the 'Ibād. As a rule however, the 'Ibād are more accurately described as the Christians of al-Ḥīra originating in various tribes (e.g. *Lisān al-'Arab*, iv. 262, 6; *Tādīj al-'Arūs*, ii. 412, 26) while the *aḥlāf* are shortly before described as such as had done something wrong in their tribe or had become short of food and had therefore migrated to al-Ḥīra. These definitions do not absolutely exclude the Tanūkh: according to al-Suwaidī, *ibid.*, the *aḥlāf* are actually a part of the Tanūkh; and the 'Ibād probably for the most part came from them. This division is by no means clear, and it looks rather like an artificial scheme (for the 'Ibād, into whom we cannot go further here, see Rothstein's remarks, p. 18—28; as an unusual name for "eastern Christians" in general in Ma'sūdī's *Historical Encyclopedia*, transl. Sprenger, London 1841, p. 227, cf. 251). That the Tanūkh formed a not unimportant element in the population is evident from Ṭabarī, i. 853; *Aghānī*, ii. 39, 5 sq.: the king of the Persians gave Nu'mān I (Nöldeke, p. 83, note 3 thinks Nu'mān II more likely) two bodies of cavalry: *Dawusar* (in Ibn al-Athīr, i. 287 on the other hand: *Dawus*) and *al-Shahbā'* (in Maidānī, *Proverbia*, i. 198: *al-Ashāhib*), the first of Tanūkh and the second of Persians, with which he undertook his raids into Syria. The two bodies of soldiers are also mentioned under other Lakhmids (cf. Rothstein *op. cit.*, p. 134—136; Blau, p. 575; for the supposed etymology see also Maidānī, *ibid.*). Bakrī, p. 728 mentions an encounter at Kuḥād (said to be in the 'Irāk) in which the Tanūkh under Kābūs b. al-Mundhir suffered a reverse (Rothstein, p. 105). More celebrated battles are not recorded of them. Abu 'l-Fidā' mentions quite generally their wars with the Lakhmids (ed. Fleischer, p. 184). When Christianity penetrated among them is not known (Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 16 mentions from *Patrol. Orient.*, iii. 19 sqq. Aḥūdemmeḥ between 559 and 575 A. D. as their missionary; the first bishop of al-Ḥīra is mentioned in 410 A. D.: Rothstein, p. 23 sq.; the suggestions made by Cheikhō, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 134 based on the name 'Ibād are of course quite untenable).

In the wars of conquest in the early days of Islām, the Tanūkh are usually found as allies of the partly Christian frontier tribes Bahra', Kalb, Salih, Ghassān etc. Khālīd b. al-Walīd in 12 A.H., after the conquest of 'Ain al-Tamr turned his attention to Dūmat al-Djandal, where many of them had combined under their chiefs, e.g. some bodies of the Ghassān and Tanūkh under Djabalā Ibn al-Aiham, and were pressing 'Iyād b. Ghanm hard. A sortie by the Arabs on the two Muslim armies failed completely; only a part were able to return to the fortress. Shortly afterwards it was taken

and with the exception of the women and children all were put to death (Ṭabarī, i. 2065 sqq.; on the problem of Dūma and Ukaidir associated with this campaign see the full and thorough discussion in Caetani, *Annali*, Year 12, §§ 232—234 and the references there given). When in the same year Khālīd b. Sa'īd was preparing a raid into Syria and collecting a large army in Taimā' the Byzantines on learning of this summoned all the Arabs of the marches, including the Tanūkh, to join in a war against the Muslims. Without offering any resistance, the Christian Arabs, encamped three days south of Zizā', scattered or adopted Islām and joined Khālīd, who thereupon entered the Balqa' victoriously (Ṭabarī, i. 2080 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ii. 308). After the battle on the Yarmūk, where the Tanūkh were under the command of the same Ghassānid (Blau, p. 571, 575), Abū 'Ubaida b. al-Djarrāh turned against Ḥimş and Kinnasrīn, after the conquest of which he compelled the settled population in the vicinity, known as the Ḥādir Kinnasrīn, to adopt Islām. Here Tanūkhīs were settled who, since they had come into Syria, had exchanged tents for houses. Some of them were converted, others remained faithful to Christianity, the Salih there for the most part. Abū 'Ubaida made an agreement with the Tanūkh and others in Ḥādir Ḥalab, and levied the *djizya* on those who did not adopt Islām (Balādhurī, p. 144—145; Yāqūt, ii. 185). When in the year 17 A.H. Heraclius undertook a great expedition for the reconquest of Syria, the people of Kinnasrīn and Ḥalab, as well as the Tanūkh and Salih of the two *ḥādīrs*, joined him; but a diversion ordered by 'Omar of 'Irākī troops to Mesopotamia, who also attacked the nomadic Rabi'a [q.v.] and Tanūkh, was sufficient to induce the Christian Arabs to retire and immediately afterwards the Byzantines left in the lurch by Tanūkh and Salih suffered a severe defeat. Remnants of the Byzantine force with some Ghassān, Iyād and Tanūkh who were trying to join Heraclius, were overtaken by Maisara b. Masrūk al-'Absī and annihilated (Ṭabarī, i. 2498—2503; Ibn al-Athīr, ii. 386, 413; Yāqūt, ii. 73; i. 928 = Balādhurī, p. 164). — From these records of the Muslim period it is evident that the Tanūkh had advanced from al-Ḥadr far to the west and al-Hamdānī actually describes their lands in keeping with this (*Ṣifa*, p. 132, 11): "Left of the Bahra' (cf. Blau, p. 571), in the land which stretches to the [Mediterranean] sea are the Tanūkh. There are the dwellings of the *Fuḍaiḍ* (? see the variants!), who are the lords and the protectors of the Tanūkh (Sprenger, *Geogr.*, p. 209, adds "i.e. the Qaqç [sic!] form the warrior caste among them" [?]). Al-Lādhikiya on the sea coast belongs to them". It is not improbable that they in part occupied the lands of the Djadila of the Tayi after they returned to Nadjd (c. 625?; Caussin de Perceval, ii. 629—632; iii. 494 sq.; cf. *Hamāsa*, p. 175—177; Ibn al-'Adīm, *op. cit.*, p. 1, 45).

Like other Christian tribes (e.g. the Taghlib) they fought at Siffin for Mu'āwiya and at Mardj Rāhiḥ for Marwān (Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj*, iv. 352; Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 261; iv. 123 = Ṭabarī, i. 3324; ii. 478, 484; Lammens, *Mo'āwīya*, p. 427, 435). In the civil wars they did not play a particularly prominent part but as South Arabians they were in sympathy with the Yamanīs; perhaps this sympathy on the other hand determined the genealogists in giving them a stronger Yamanite admixture of blood than they really had (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i. 97).



In al-Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, vi. 84 we read that when Marwān II with his Kais [see KAIS-<sup>5</sup>AILĀN] was passing through the country of Kinnasrīn and Khunāshira, the Tanūkh there attacked the rear-guard of his army (127 = 744–745). According to Barhebraeus (*Chr. syr.*, p. 132 sq., confirmed by the inscription published by Chabot in *J. A.*, ix/xvi. [1900], p. 287), the caliph al-Mahdī (158–169 = 775–785) had the Tanūkayē who lived in tents around Aleppo converted to Islām by force and their churches destroyed. In the troubles that broke out after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd rebels attacked their settlements near Aleppo. The story of Michael Syrus (*Chron.*, iii. 21–30 in Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 108–109) adds that on account of the great area they covered they had no walls but their products and trade made them very rich. The fight raged for about ten days. The Tanūkh then departed secretly by night for Kinnasrīn and their houses, which contained much treasure, were plundered and destroyed. According to al-Balādhurī, p. 146, they did not succeed in taking Kinnasrīn for themselves, so they broke up and went to Takrīt, Armenia and elsewhere.

The bonds between the various Tanūkh settlements were obviously very slack even at this time, or they lived, as these records suggest, in little colonies in the midst of other tribes. Their further scattering and the absorption of single groups into neighbouring tribes, which was a natural result of the change of religion, is therefore all the more difficult to follow. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 30, some Byzantines are descended from the Qudā'a, i. e. the Tanūkh, Bahra' and Salīh who returned from Syria with Heraclius (see above) and dispersed over his empire. Of not much more value are the vague memories of Christian tribes (Taiy, Tanūkh, and Taghlib [q. v.]) among the modern inhabitants of the Djabal Shammar. Fu'ād Hamza's assertion (*Kalb Dīazīrat al-'Arab*, Mecca 1352, p. 233) that there are still survivors of the Tanūkh in Syria is worthy of more attention, as according to M. Hartmann, the name is still to be found among the Druses (see A. Wiener, *op. cit.*). — The Tanūkh are also mentioned among the tribes who entered Egypt and settled in 21 (642) with 'Amr b. al-'Ās around the great mosque of al-Fustāt (see Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 113–114, 119–120, 129).

The level of culture among the Tanūkh was below that of the 'Ibād (to which Rothstein, *op. cit.*, p. 24–28 has done justice). As seminomads the art of writing was probably less familiar to them in the desert than in the town of al-Hira (cf. G. Jacob, *Beduinleben*<sup>2</sup>, p. 162), but according to Michael Syrus they took part with the 'Akūlayē and Tū'ayē in translating the gospel into Arabic (see Caetani, Year 17, § 145; Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 106). In conclusion it should be remembered that too much cannot be deduced from the use of the names Tanūkh and 'Ibād and it may be assumed after what we have said above that much that is recorded of the 'Ibād is generally true of the Tanūkh also.

*Bibliography* (with the exception of works cited in full in the text): the Arab dictionaries and the genealogical handbooks: F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 444–445 and *Tabellen*, 2; al-Kalka-shandī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab*, Baghdād 1332, p. 161; al-Suwaīdī, *Sabā'ik*

*al-Dhahab fī Ma'rifat Kabā'il al-'Arab*, Bombay 1296 (lith.), p. 101; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850, p. 51, 53; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāḥ 'alā Kabā'il al-Ruwāḥ*, Cairo 1350, p. 30, 122. — Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*), *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*), indices; Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, p. 14–18 = F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, in *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, xiv. (1868–1869), p. 107–113; in addition O. Blau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. (1869), p. 567–571, 575–577 (cf. do., *ibid.*, xxii. [1868], p. 660, 663, 667, 670); Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Būlāḳ 1284, ii. 170, 237–241, 248–250, 259, 278; ii/ii, p. 82–84, 107 sq.; Ibn al-'Adīm, in G. W. Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Paris 1819, p. 1–3, 9, 45; al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hidjāziya*, Cairo 1329, p. 19–20. — A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 208–209, 288–291; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 23–25, 33–35, 83; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḡmīden in al-Hira*, Berlin 1899, p. 18, 28–40, 67, 105, 134–136 (the best study for the older period); A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes...*, Paris 1847–1848, ii. 5–34, 42, 46, 186, 199–204; iii. 422 sq., 494–498, 511–515; J. J. Reiske, *Præfationes hist. regn. arab.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847, p. 8–29, 69 sq.; A. von Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p. 49, 58 sq., 83, 137. — On their Christianity: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv. 75, 7–9; L. Cheikhō, *al-Naṣṣāniya wa-Ādābuhā bainā 'Arab al-Djāhiliya*, Bairūt 1912–1923, p. 78, 99, 125, 127, 453–456; H. Iammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Ma'āwīa Ier*, Paris 1908, p. 53, 292, 295, 427, 435; do., *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Bairūt 1930, S. 18, 242; F. Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du VII<sup>ème</sup> au VIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Paris 1933, p. 15–17, 106–109; H. Charles, *Le Christianisme des Arabes nomades sur le Limes...*, Paris 1936, p. 3–4, 55, 77–78. (H. KINDERMANN)

\*TA'RIKH (A.), era, computation, date. The article in vol. iv. received a much needed supplement in the article ZAMĀN and is only of value along with it. Here we give supplements to both these articles and shall refer from time to time to the numerous other articles which are essential to the subject.

The root of the word is *w-r-kh* common to the Semitic languages, which we find for example in the Hebrew *yārēāḥ* "moon", *yeraḥ* "month". The meaning of ta'rikh on this analogy would therefore be "fixing of the month"; the meaning has developed on the one hand into "fixing the period of an event, history" and on the other to "fixing of dates, era, chronology". The survival of a tradition in al-Bīrūnī is interesting (*al-Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 29), also given by al-Khwarizmi (*Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 79), who expressly states that it is to be rejected: according to this, the word is an arabisation of the Pers. *māhrūz*. Here again there is the vague consciousness that the word has something to do with fixing the beginning of the month. This theory may be connected with the story given by several historians which traces the introduction of the Hīdjra year as the Muslim epoch to the advice given

to 'Omar by al-Hurmuzān [q. v.]; cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*

The old Arab names of the months given in the article ZAMĀN from al-Bīrūnī, are taken from the table on p. 69 in Sachau's edition; with slight but not negligible differences they are in the list and verses on p. 60-62 of the same work.

Further, on p. 63, al-Bīrūnī gives the months of the Thāmūd along with a mnemonic by Abū Sahl 'Isā b. Yahyā al-Masīhī (on him cf. Sachau's *Introduction*, p. xxxii.; also Ibn Abi Ūsaib'a, ed. Müller, i. 327 sq. and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 238). Particular days in the month had names; cf. al-Bīrūnī, p. 64.

On the old Arab names of the seven days of the week, cf. Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, i. 220-226. The day as unit of 24 hours is called *yawm*, as distinct from night *nahār*. In the expression "day and night" *laila* is preceded by *yawm*, but *nahār* is mentioned after *laila*; the reason for this is found by Fischer, "*Tag und Nacht*" in *Arabischen und die semit. Tagesberechnung* (*Abh. Phil.-hist. Kl. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, xxvii., N<sup>o</sup>. 21), 1909, to be that the former goes back to the early Semitic calculation of the day from one sunset to another, while the latter reflects the later reckoning of the day from evening to evening, which is connected with the lunar year. *Yawm* was felt to be a comprehensive term and therefore put first, while *nahār*, as a general concept of time which only becomes a *yawm* together with *laila*, comes second in the order which was felt to be the right one.

*Aiyām al-Fidjār* are not "days of treachery" but of "sacrilege" i. e. of waging war in the sacred month [see *FIDJĀR*]. One of them is called that *ghadr* "treachery" by al-Bīrūnī, p. 34 l. 8 (in Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 251, not clearly given). According to the order in al-Bīrūnī (*ibid.*, line 10), this treachery took place before the "year of the Elephant"; *Fidjār* commonly referred to, however, fell in the youth of the Prophet.

On the Hidjra and its introduction as the era of Muslim chronology see the articles *HIDJRA* and *NASR*. The question on what day the 1<sup>st</sup> Muḥarram of the year 1 fell is not yet decided; nor does Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, transl. by H. H. Schaefer (1930), p. 196, contribute anything to its solution. J. Mayr, following Babinger, *G. O. W.* (cf. also *M. O. G.*, ii. 269), is of the opinion that July 15, 622 was originally the first day of the Muslim era. Difficulties emerged later on astronomical grounds and instead of establishing an extraordinary intercalary day to remove them the date was transferred to July 16. In a note Babinger gives his view that the 15<sup>th</sup> was accepted down to the time of Selim I, as the "Thursday" in 'Ashīkpāshāzade, p. 273, 9, shows. After the conquest of Egypt they reckoned from the 16<sup>th</sup> but there is no evidence of this. Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungstabellen* begin with the 16<sup>th</sup>, which Mahler himself seems to think not in order (cf. the preface to the second edition of 1926); cf. also the article ZAMĀN. In any case, it is to be remembered that a Muḥammadan date is only established beyond all doubt when the day of the week is known, as June 15, 622 was a Thursday and the 16<sup>th</sup> Friday (for further information see Ginzel, i. 258 sqq.).

The names of the Muḥammadan months (cf. ZAMĀN) are in Morocco and the east Indian Archipelago altered sometimes phonetically

and sometimes completely; cf. Ginzel, i. 253 (Morocco), 417 (Java), 427 (other islands). In Madagascar [q. v.] the names of the cycle of twelve animals are used, and sometimes names from the Sanskrit names of the months (cf. MADAGASCAR); for the rest see the separate articles on the names of the months.

With the fixing of the beginning of the month by observation of the new moon, then, as stated in the *Dict. of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, s. v. *Ta'rikh*, at most four months of 30 days and three months of 29 days can come in direct succession. On attempts to introduce a solar year for purposes of taxation, cf. Ginzel, i. 264 sq.; al-Bīrūnī, p. 31 sqq., 68; A. v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.*, ii. (1890), p. 415, 513, 757.

On the era of the Deluge (TA'RIKH AL-TUFĀN; cf. TA'RIKH) see al-Bīrūnī, p. 23 sqq. and the table p. 137. According to him, the astronomers fixed the epoch of this era on account of the first conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, which took place 229 years and 108 days before the Deluge; Bukhtnaṣṣar I ascended the throne 2,604 years after the Deluge (but in the table there are between both eras 860,173 days; the 2,604 years are therefore presumably to be counted from the conjunction), and between Bukhtnaṣṣar and Alexander (i. e. the Seleucid era) were 436 years. Abū Ma'shar calculates that the flood took place at the time of a conjunction of all the planets at the end of the animal cycle, 2,790 intercalary (i. e. solar) years 7 months and 26 days before the era of Alexander; al-Bīrūnī, p. 25, notes the difference between the two calculations. In calculating the 2,604 years above mentioned from the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter (i. e. Deluge 2,604 — 229 = 2,375 years before Bukhtnaṣṣar) the results are nearly the same.

The era of Bukhtnaṣṣar [q. v.], also called the old Coptic era (*Dict. of Techn. Terms, loc. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 7; epoch 159,202, according to al-Bīrūnī 159,101, according to Schram 159,436 days before the Seleucid era [i. e. Feb. 26, 747 B. C. given by Ginzel, i. 143] in agreement with the 436 years above mentioned) has the Egyptian names of the months; the year has 12 months each of 30 days and 5 intercalated days. The Philippic era is identical with it, only 424 years (= 154,760 days in al-Bīrūnī, p. 137) later (Ginzel, i. 147), epoch Nov. 12, 324 B. C.

The Alexandrine era, also called the new Coptic (*Dict., loc. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 3; epoch 217,291, according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* [p. 137], 219,242, *Tafhim* [fol. 174], 217,415, according to Schram 217,321 days after the Seleucid era in the time of Diocletian, i. e. Ginzel's era of Diocletian; cf. *Chronologie*, i. 229, with epoch of Aug. 29, 284 A. D.), really begins with the emperor Augustus (Ginzel, i. 224 sqq.) and then has as epoch Feb. 14, 27 B. C.

The Seleucid era (*Dict., loc. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 2; epoch 340,700, according to al-Bīrūnī 340,701, according to Schram 340,731 days before the Hidjra, according to Ginzel, iii. 41, Oct. 1, 312 B. C., according to Schram Sept. 1, 311 [cf. above]) begins 12 solar years after Alexander's death (323) on a Monday; according to others, six years after his accession; according to others, at the beginning of his reign (here we have the common confusion between Alexander the Great and Alexander IV Aigos). According to al-Bīrūnī, p. 28, Alexander



the Great came to Jerusalem at the age of 26 on his campaign against Dārā and ordered the Jews to abandon the era of Mūsā and Dāwūd and take the beginning of his 27<sup>th</sup> year as a new epoch. They did so, but began with the 26<sup>th</sup> year, because, according to their *aḥbār*, a 1,000 year cycle had just expired then (cf. also Ginzel, i. 176, 263; on the months see the separate articles).

The Persian calendar has not yet been sufficiently elucidated; it is certain that the old Persian year was already a solar one with 12 months of 30 days and 5 intercalated days, i. e. of 365 days. The days of the month had names, the Zend and Pehlevi forms of which are given in Ginzel, i. 281 and the modern Persian forms in al-Bīrūnī, p. 43. The 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> days of the month had the same name (see below, as was the case also with the Soghdiāns and Khwārizmians, see Ginzel, i. 307 sq. according to al-Bīrūnī, p. 46 sqq.; on the calendar of the Khwārizmians see KHWĀRIZM). The names of the months are (in the forms used for the separate articles; those on which there are articles are marked with an asterisk):

*Farwardīn (19)	*Murdād̄h (7)	*Ādhar (9)
*Ardībehīšt (3)	*Shahrir (4)	*Day (8, 15, 23)
*Khurdād̄h (6)	*Mīhr (16)	*Bahman (2)
Tir (13)	*Ābān (10)	Isfandārmud̄h (5)

On the meaning of the names see Ginzel, i. 278 sqq.

All the names of the months are also found as names of days: the number of the day which bears the name of the month is put in brackets. To distinguish them, *māh* is put after the name when it is a month, and *rūz* when it is a day. The day on which the name of the month and of the day coincide used to be celebrated; cf. the survey in Ginzel, i. 289 sq.

As a year of 365 days is about 6 hours shorter than the tropic year, its relation to the seasons can be maintained unchanged only by the insertion of an intercalary day every four years, or an intercalary month after 120 years. According to tradition (cf. Ginzel, i. § 67—68), the latter method was in use but it was not strictly observed. The statement found in books that the intercalary month and the intercalated days during a cycle of 1,440 years were inserted after each month in turn so that at the end of the cycle the whole year had been gone through, the intercalated month receiving the name of the month behind which it was inserted with the number II, has been illuminatingly explained by A. v. Gutschmid, *Über das iranische Jahr* (Kl. Schr., iii., 1892, p. 205 sqq.) in this way, that a double year was calculated, one movable and one fixed, the latter with an intercalary month after every 120 years. Up to the first intercalation the intercalary days were at the end of the year. By the first intercalation, Farwardīn of the movable year 121 corresponded to Farwardīn II of the fixed year 120. The intercalations followed in both years on this month and remained during the next 120 years behind Isfandārmud̄h of the fixed year, which coincided with Farwardīn of the next movable year. After the second 120 years the intercalated month coincided with Ardībehīšt of the movable year 241 and was called Ardībehīšt II; the intercalated days followed it and for the next 120 years were behind Ardībehīšt of the movable year = Isfandārmud̄h of the preceding fixed year. In the fixed year the intercalated month and the intercalated days always came at the end, only

in the variable year do they change place and name as above explained. Now as an intercalation took place in the reign of Anōsharwān in which the intercalated days came behind the month of Ābān, at that time (ca. 530 A. D.)  $8 \times 120 = 960$  years must have passed since the first intercalation; the cycle must therefore have begun about 430 B. C. For details see Ginzel, i. 297.

The next intercalation after that in the time of Anōsharwān would have fallen due about 650 A. D., but by this time Persia was Muḥammadan. As there was not a fixed era in Persia but a new one began with each new reign and the series of Persian kings had ended with Yazdegerd III, they continued to count from him (632 A. D.) and thus arose the era of Yazdegerd, which bore just the name of the ruler under whom the empire fell. The era began on Tuesday, June 16, 632 A. D. = day 1,952,063 Julian (Schram) = 3,623 or 3,624 days after the Hidjra (cf. Ginzel, i., § 69; *Dict. of techn. Terms, op. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 4). In the first centuries of the era of Yazdegerd there were no intercalations; the intercalated days therefore continued to be placed behind Ābān of the variable year. For the calculation of dates by this era it is therefore necessary to know where the author puts the intercalated days. In Schram's *Kalendarisch-graphischen Tafeln* intercalation after Isfandārmud̄h as well as after Ābān is given.

As in consequence of the already mentioned omission of intercalation, the New Year's day of the era of Yazdegerd steadily fell behind, the Saldjūk sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh b. Alp Arslān reformed the calendar. On this era see the article DJALĀLĪ. The epoch according to the *Dict. of technical Terms*, N<sup>o</sup>. 5 falls on Friday, Farwardīn 18, Old Style = 163,173 days Yezd., which was counted the first Farwardīn New Style. The date corresponds to the 10<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 471 of the Hidjra (March 15, 1079 A. D.; cf. Ginzel, i., § 70). From this period onwards, a sixth intercalated day was inserted every four years and from time to time a year was missed; cf. also the article NAWRŪZ.

A new reform of this calendar was made by the Ilkhān Ghāzān Maḥmūd [q.v.]. Ginzel, i. 304, says that from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī (see vol. ii. 844<sup>b</sup>) the epoch of this Ilkhānian era is known to be Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup> Radjāb 701 A. H. (March 13, 1302 A. D.). Now these dates coincide, if in opposition to Wüstenfeld-Mahler, we take July 15, 622 as the epoch of the Hidjra. But the weekday does not agree, as the 1<sup>st</sup> Radjāb 701 was either Thursday or Friday and the 13<sup>th</sup> Tuesday or Wednesday. To complete the confusion, the *Dict. of techn. Terms, loc. cit.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 6, gives a Monday as the first day of the era and makes it begin in the year 224 Djalālī which also takes us to 1302 A. D. This era, which, however, is not of any great importance, is therefore not yet fully explained.

On the emperor Akbar's reform of the calendar see Ginzel, i., §§ 108—109.

The *Dict.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 8 gives full particulars of the old Turkish chronology and extends our knowledge on different points. When the author says that the Turks had true, i. e. according to the *Dict.*, s. v. *sana*, tropic years [see SHAMS], he means lunisolar years, i. e. years of 12 lunar months, of 354 or 355 days which were equated with solar years by intercalated months, inter-

calated in a definite order. Of intercalary years there are, he says, 11 in a cycle of 30 years, "as with the Arabs"; the reference is to the 355 days of the Muslim year. On the other hand, the intercalated month was obviously inserted actually 7 times in a cycle of 19 years, as with the Chinese from whom the early Turks took over their calendar (Ginzell, i., § 136: chronology of the old Turkish inscriptions; Thomsen, *Altürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 132 sqq.), and the Jews; the result is the same, as 11/30 and 7/19 differ only by 1/570. The names of the months which the writer gives, agree with those of the Uighurs as given by Ginzell, i. 503, from Ulugh Beg. Intercalation proceeded as with the Chinese (Ginzell, i. 467 sqq.): the year was divided into 24 sections (*isie* and *fi*) of the Chinese of which two should fall in one month. If the second of the sections should fall into the next month, the month in question is regarded as an intercalated month (*zā'id*, "in their language شون آي", i.e. *jun* of the Chinese: Ginzell, i. 474); the intercalated month therefore has not a fixed place in the calendar. The beginning of the year in 16° Aquarii is also Chinese (Ginzell, i. 470 sq.). The length of the year is calculated to be 365.2436 days (0.0001 day = 8.64s = 1 فنك) = 365d 5h 0m 46.98s. This remarkably inaccurate value is not due to corruption of the text; for it is confirmed by the further statement that the year is divided into 24 parts each of 15 days 2,184 5/6 فنك. The months are true, i. e. synodic lunar months which begin with the conjunction [see AL-KAMAR]. The position of the year in the intercalary cycle is obtained by subtracting 632 from the corresponding year in the era of Yazdegerd, the year always reckoned at 365 days, and dividing the remainder by 30. The remainder under 30 indicates an intercalary year if it is 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 or 29. This calculation, which besides is concerned with the 355th day rather than the intercalary month, can only have begun in the year 632 Yazdegerd = 1264 A.D.

The Chinese division of the day into periods of two hours (جباغ; see Redhouse, s.v.; the Chinese *schhi*, cf. Ginzell, i. 465) is also known to the author from the early Turks. The two hour period is divided into 8 كهن (كهنه? 80 of the Chinese; cf. Ginzell, *loc. cit.*). The author also mentions the sexagesimal cycle of the Chinese made up of a denary and a duo-denary cycle (Ginzell, i. 451 sqq.); he also gives the usual names of animals for the years of cycle of 12 (Ginzell, i. 452). For the purpose of choosing a day (*ikhtiyār*; see ASTROLOGY), there was a cycle of 12 days in which each day had a particular colour.

An epoch is the creation of the world; in the year 860 Yezd. 8,863 *ḡarn* and 9,965 years had passed since it began. The world will survive for 300,000 *ḡarn* each of 10,000 years.

On the calendar used in Turkey see SĀL-NĀME.

The history of Chronology in Islām coincides to a great extent with that of astronomy [q.v.]. The knowledge of natural phenomena in the Qur'ān has not yet been specially studied; the references to astronomy and calendars are very fully given by Nallino, 'Ilm al-Falak, *Ta'rikhkh* 'ind al-'Arab fi 'l-Qurūn al-wusṭā (Rome 1911), p. 84, 104—112; cf. also the article AL-MANĀZIL and

NAŠ' and also Plessner, in *Isl.*, xxi. 226—228. It should be mentioned that al-Birūnī's *Āthār* (also in English translation with the title: *Chronology of ancient Nations*, London 1879) represents an innovation in scientific authorship, in as much as in it the attempt is made for the first time to collect all the eras of all known nations to study them from the critical astronomical point of view and compare them historically. A brief synopsis of the *Chronology* is given in his *Taḥṣīl li-Awā'il Šinā'at al-Tandjīm* (*The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, reprod. from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349, the Transl. facing the Text, by R. Ramsay Wright, London 1934), fol. 161—193, with partially varying calculations, as we have seen above.

There is some material in the introduction to the histories of the world, e.g. al-Tabarī, i. 3 sqq.; more concise in Ibn al-Athīr, i. 9 sqq. There we are told that the Jews estimate the time that has passed since the Creation at 4,342 years, which however does not agree with the Jewish calendar; the Greeks are said to have reckoned 5,992 years and one month from the Creation of the world to the Hidjra, the Magians from Gayōmart to the Hidjra 3,139 years.

There is a good deal in the cosmographies, e.g. al-Kazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 62—87. Much of literary interest is also found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i. 157—195; there we have, for example, p. 167—168, a list of years between 8 and 94 of the Hidjra, which had received special names from events which happened in them. Astronomical data for the calculation, especially of the seasons, will be found in the *Ikkhwan al-Safā*, i. 56 sqq.; ii. 16 sqq.

*Bibliography*: The works mentioned in the article; the articles on astronomy and cognate subjects; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 1927 sqq., under the individual astronomers; al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed., Latine vers. a C. A. Nallino, 1899—1907; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Calendar; Gray, in *Grundr. der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 675—678 (of value only for the full bibliography).

(M. PLESSNER)

**TA'RIKH** ('ILM AL-TA'RIKH), Historiography, as a term of literature, embraces both annalistic and biography (but not as a rule literary history). The development of Arabic and Persian historiography is summarized below in four sections:

- From the origins to the third century of the Hidjra;
- From the third to the sixth centuries;
- From the end of the sixth to the beginning of the tenth century;
- From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

For the historical literature of the Ottoman Turks see the article **TURKS** (vol. iv. 947 sqq.), and for that written in Malay the article **MALAYS** (vol. iii. 200b).

A. The problem of the origins of Arabic historiography is not yet finally solved. Between the legendary and popular traditions of pre-Islamic Arabia and the relatively scientific and exact chronicles which appear in the second century of the Hidjra there lies a wide gulf, as yet unexplained. One view expressed by several modern writers would allow a decisive influence in this development to the example of the Persian *Book*



of *Kings* [see § 4 below]. It appears more probable, however, that Arabic historiography arose from the confluence of several streams of historical and quasi-historical composition, which may for convenience be treated here separately.

1. Pre-Islāmic Historical Tradition. It might have been expected that in the Yaman, the seat of a long-established civilization whose monuments are preserved in the Minean, Sabean and Himyaritic inscriptions, some form of written historical tradition would be found. All that has come down to us, however, bears the marks of an oral tradition: some few names of ancient kings, vague and exaggerated tales of the distant past, and a more accurate, but still confused, memory of the events of the last century before Islām [see SABA' (iv. 16a) and ABRAHA]. During the first century of the Hidjra this oral tradition was imaginatively expanded into a vast body of legendary lore which professed to relate the ancient history of Arabia, associated with the names of Wab̄b b. Munabbih [q. v.] and 'Ubaid b. Sh̄arya. Both books furnish ample proof of the lack of historical sense and perspective amongst the early Arabs, even when dealing with almost contemporary events (see F. Krenkow, *The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore, in Islamic Culture*, vol. ii.). Yet their narratives were accepted in the main by later generations and incorporated by historians and other writers in their own works. Ibn Ishāq [q. v., and see below] was one of the transmitters of 'Ubaid, and 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām [q. v.] edited the *Kitāb al-Tidjān* of Wab̄b in its extant form; and even in such a monument of religious scholarship as al-Tabari's Commentary on the *Kur'ān* Wab̄b's materials are freely drawn upon. Ibn Khaldūn, it is true, points out the absurdity of some of these Yamanite legends (i. 13—14), yet goes on to quote precisely the same legends as illustrations of his theories. Thus they remained through the whole range of Arabic historiography as an irrational element, which stood in the way of the development of a critical sense and of any clear understanding of ancient history.

Amongst the Northern Arabs we find a rather different situation. While each tribe possessed its own tradition, which in many cases so far transcended the tribal horizon as to include some sort of collective genealogical conceptions, there is nothing to indicate the existence of a common North-Arabian tradition. The form taken by the tribal tradition is also of importance. For the most part it relates to *aiyām*, "days" in which the tribe or clan fought with another [see AIYĀM AL-'ARAB], and each narrative usually includes some verse. The relation between the prose and verse elements is not always the same; in some instances the verse is a kind of *memoria technica*, in others it appears that the prose narrative is nothing more than an interpretation of the verse. In either case, however, it was the verse which maintained the currency of the tradition, and ancient traditions disappeared as the corresponding verses were forgotten, while new verses celebrated more recent episodes in the tribal history. Such a tribal tradition, while necessarily one-sided, vague in chronology and often romantically exaggerated, nevertheless reflected a reality and sometimes preserved a substantial core of truth. The Islāmic conquests deflected the course of the tribal traditions

without changing their character, and the new traditions preserve, against a wider background, the old association of prose and verse and the old exaggerations and inexactitude. This too was destined to influence Islāmic historiography, in that tribal traditions furnished materials upon which later compilers drew for their history of the Primitive and Umayyad Caliphates [see below § 3].

The other element in the tribal tradition was the preservation of the tribal genealogies. In the early Umayyad period, however, the activities of the genealogists, stimulated by the institution of the *dīwān* and the partisan interests of rival Arab factions, were such as to bring the whole "science" of genealogy into confusion (see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 177—189).

In the second century of the Hidjra, the fields of tribal tradition, hitherto the preserves of the *rāwī* and the *nassāb*, were invaded by the philologists who, in trying to recover and to elucidate all that survived of the ancient poetry, performed a valuable service to history by collecting and sorting out this mass of material. The typical figure in this activity is Abū 'Ubaida [q. v.] (110—209 = 728—824), a *mawla* of Mesopotamian origin. Of the two hundred monographs credited to him not one has been transmitted under his name, although the substance of many of them passed into later works. They compass the whole range of North-Arabian tradition, arranged under convenient heads such as the traditions of individual tribes and families and those relating to the "Days", and extend also to the post-Islāmic traditions relating to the conquests of single provinces, to important events and battles, and such groups as the *qādīs* of al-Basra, the *khawāridj*, and the *mawālī*. He was accused of aiming to discredit the Arabs in the interests of the *Shu'biya* [q. v.], but examination of the charges brought against him suggests that they may well be regarded as proofs of impartial scholarship rather than of deliberate bias.

Somewhat similar was the work of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d.c. 204 = 819) [see AL-KALBĪ, and E. Sachau in Introduction to Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. iii., xxi.—xxiii.], who set in order and expanded the collections made by his father (d. 146 = 763), 'Awana and Abū Mikhnaḥ [see below]. His monographs cover much the same ground as those of Abū 'Ubaida, but in particular he collected from written sources the historical information relating to the town and dynasty of al-Hira. This work, said to be based on the archives of the churches of al-Hira and on Persian materials translated for him, thus takes a long step towards a scientific historiography, and, though preserved only in excerpts, its general accuracy has been confirmed by modern research. Hishām is said to have followed the same method in his other works, using such inscriptions and written materials as were available, but this did not save him from bitter attacks on the grounds of untrustworthiness and forgery by more conservative scholars.

2. The Rise of Islām. Apart from the Hīran material utilized by Hishām al-Kalbī, the beginnings of scientific history in Arabic are associated with the study of the life and activities of the Prophet. The source of this discipline is consequently to be found in the collection of the Prophetic Tradition [see ḤADITH], and more especially of the traditions relating to the military expeditions of the Prophet (hence the general term *maghāzī*, "military ex-

peditions", applied to the early biographical works). The home of this study was al-Medīna, and it was not until the second century that students of the *maghāzī* were to be found in other centres. Its association with the *ḥadīth*, which left an enduring impress on historical method in the employment of the *isnād*, explains the immense change which appears from this moment in the character and critical accuracy of historical information amongst the Arabs. For the first time we can feel that we are on firm historical ground, even while we admit the existence of some doubtful elements in the traditions relating both to the Meccan and Medinian periods of the Prophet's life [see *SĪRA* for a fuller discussion of this subject].

The second generation of Muslims appear in this development as sources rather than collectors. Although two of them, Abān b. 'Othmān [q. v.] and 'Urwa b. al-Zubair [q. v.], are named as authors of "books" on the *maghāzī*, no such books are quoted by later writers. In the following generation several traditionists were noted for their collection of *maghāzī* traditions, especially the famous Muḥammad b. Muslim Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri [q. v.], who, at the request of 'Omar II or of Hishām, wrote down his *ḥadīth* materials, which were deposited in the royal store-room, afterwards destroyed. He is credited with having been the first to combine traditions from several sources into a single narrative (cf., e. g., the *ḥadīth al-ifk*), which marks an advance in historical presentation, though one open to abuse by less scrupulous traditionists.

Al-Zuhri's traditions formed the basis for books on the *maghāzī* compiled by three writers of the next generation. Two of these, as well as two other independent works, are lost, or preserved only in fragments. The third, however, the famous *Sira* of Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq b. Yasār [q. v.] (d. 151 = 768), was the fruit of a wider conception than that of his predecessors and contemporaries, in that it aimed at giving not only a history of the Prophet, but a history of Prophecy. In its original form it was apparently composed of three sections: *al-Mubtada'*, dealing with pre-Islāmic history from the Creation, and drawn largely from Wahb b. Munabbih (see above) and Jewish sources; *al-Maḍ'ath*, relating the life of the Prophet down to the first year of the Hidjra; and *al-Maghāzī*, to the death of the Prophet. The book, though severely criticised for its inclusion of many worthless and forged traditions and poetical citations, became the principal authority for both pre-Islāmic and early Islāmic history. Several recensions are known to have existed; unfortunately, all those which were utilised by the later 'Irāqī compilers (and were therefore, presumably, the best [cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, i. 221, 6—8]) have been lost, and have left the field to the somewhat distorted epitome produced by the Egyptian compiler 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām [q. v.] (d. c. 218 = 833).

It is worthy of note that all these writers on the *maghāzī* were *mawālī*. Although the term did not necessarily imply, even at that time, non-Arab origin, Ibn Ishāq was certainly of Mesopotamian origin, his grandfather Yasār having been captured in al-'Irāq in the year 12 (633). But it would be absurd to look for any but the most indirect Persian influences in the conception of Ibn Ishāq's work; the relations between it and the work of Wahb b. Munabbih, on the one hand, and the Medinian school of Tradition on the other, show

it to have been of true Arabian inspiration, and disciplined by the truly Arabian science of *ḥadīth*.

With the next generation the scope of historical study and writing widens. Ibn Ishāq is indeed credited with a "History of the Caliphs", but it seems to have been a short and summary work. His most famous successor, Muḥammad b. 'Omar al-Wākidī [q. v.] (130—207 = 747—823), wrote not only on the expeditions of the Prophet but also on several episodes of later Islāmic history, as well as a "Large History" down to the reign of Hārūn. Thus the historical science which derived from the *ḥadīth* was approaching the historical materials collected by the philologists, while retaining its own method of traditional presentation. Al-Wākidī's history of the *maghāzī* has alone survived in its original shape; but much of his material was utilized by his "secretary", Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd [q. v.] (d. 230 = 844—845), in his biographical dictionary of the Prophet, his Companions, and the *ṭābi'ūn*, known as the "Book of Classes". The conception of such a biographical dictionary itself marks a fresh development in the art of history, and illustrates its still close connection with the science of *ḥadīth*, since it was chiefly for purposes of *ḥadīth*-criticism that these materials were assembled.

That part of Ibn Sa'd's work which he himself put into final shape, namely his history of the Prophet (vols. i. and ii. of the printed edition), has a double importance. The history of the *maghāzī* is supplemented by the Prophet's edicts and letters, for which (following al-Wākidī) Ibn Sa'd utilized such written documents as were available. Still more significant are the sections now added on the habits and characteristics of the Prophet (*ṣifat aḥl-tāq al-nabī*) and on the "tokens of the Prophetic Mission" (*alāmāt al-nubūwa*), the precursors of the later *shamā'il* and *dalā'il* literature respectively. This development carries one stage farther the fusion of the genuine *ḥadīth* elements with a second current of tradition (already seen in Ibn Ishāq), which is to be sought in the art of the *ḥuṣṣā*s or popular preachers [see *KIṢṢA*], and represents a throwback to a type of popular literature akin to the productions of Wahb b. Munabbih. With this new direction of the *sira*, which was followed by all later biographers of the Prophet, it is evident that its contribution to the development of historical method has come to an end.

3. The History of the Caliphate. The beginnings of a monographic treatment of episodes subsequent to the death of Muḥammad have been described in the preceding sections. It is noteworthy that this activity was confined to al-'Irāq; no similar treatises are recorded of any scholar in Syria, Arabia or Egypt during the first two centuries of the Hidjra. The result of this was to give al-'Irāq and its tradition a dominant place in later historical works. For the history of the Primitive Caliphate, however, the tradition of al-Medina also supplied material which was utilized by writers (such as al-Wākidī) who were associated with the Medinian school of *ḥadīth*. Whether there were written archives available at al-Medina is open to doubt, although the accuracy of the chronological data in the Medinian tradition suggests that some materials of this kind existed. For the Umayyad period the existence of archives both in Damascus and al-'Irāq is confirmed by numerous references



(see especially A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri* [Vienna 1924], p. 27—30). It is probable that it was from such materials that the later compilers obtained their exact chronological framework, with its lists of governors, leaders of the Pilgrimage, etc., for each year.

In order to fill up this framework, however, recourse was had to materials in the collection of which were combined the methods of the traditionists and the philologists. Prominent amongst these were the traditions of the Arab tribes in al-'Irāk. One was that of Azd, collected (along with other traditions) by Abū Mikhnaḥ [q. v.] (d. 157 = 774) and handed down by Hishām al-Kalbī [see above], which presents the pro-'Alid and anti-Syrian tradition of al-Kūfa. The Kalbite tradition, represented by 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147 = 764 or 158 = 775) and also handed down by Hishām al-Kalbī, shows an anti-'Alid and rather pro-Syrian tendency (see on these sources Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Einleitung). A third tradition, that of Tamīm, was propagated by Saif b. 'Omar [q. v.] (d. c. 180 = 796) in the form of an historical romance on the conquests, based largely on poetical materials, whose relation to the narrative is much the same as in the *aiyām*-literature. Fragments of other tribal traditions also appear, e.g. the tradition of Bāhila in connection with the wars of Qutaiba b. Muslim. By their vivid detail and their bold handling of episodes the tribal traditions offer a marked contrast to the annalistic of their own and later times. Though partial and one-sided, their historical value is by no means negligible, more especially in the insight which they give into the inner factors of the first century of Islāmic history. It must again be noted that on the formal side, by their careful observance of the rule of the *isnād*, the collections link up with the science of tradition (the beginnings of this activity are, indeed, associated with al-Sha'bī [q. v.] (d. c. 110 = 728), the leading traditionist of al-Kūfa), and show no trace of foreign influence in either manner or content.

At the beginning of the third century a fresh impetus towards literary activities in general was given by the increasing standards of material culture and by the introduction of paper, the first factory for which at Baghdād was set up in 178 (794—795). It is from this period that the earliest written redactions of literary works have come down to us, but this practice did not at once supersede the custom of transmitting collections of material through *rāwīs*, which continued until the end of the century. It is consequently uncertain how many of the 230 monographs credited to the Baṣrian 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī [q. v.] (d. 225 = 840) were actually written down in his lifetime. Many of these were probably little more than recensions of Abū 'Ubaida's collections. More important, however, were his large works on the history of the Caliphate and his monographs on the history of al-Baṣra and of Khurāsān. By applying to the mass of 'Irāqī traditions the sound methods of criticism associated with the Medīnian school, he gained for his work such a reputation for trustworthiness that it became the principal source for the compilations of the succeeding period, and one whose general accuracy has been confirmed by modern investigation.

In summing up these developments, the out-

standing fact is that, in spite the hostility of a section of early theologians to historical studies, the Islāmic community had become history-conscious. The historical arguments contained in the Qur'ān, the natural pride taken in the extensive conquests, and the rivalries of the Arab tribes no doubt contributed to this. But the remarkable feature that, apart from the philologists, the collectors of the historical tradition were almost exclusively theologians and *muḥaddiths* suggests that a deeper reason existed. For in the theological view history was the manifestation of a divine plan for the government of mankind; and while the historical outlook of the earlier generations might be limited to tracing it through the succession of prophets which culminated in Muḥammad, all Islāmic schools were agreed that it did not end there. In the Sunnī doctrine, it was the Islāmic community, the *ummat Allāh*, with which the continuation of the divine plan on earth was bound up; consequently the study of its history was a necessary supplement to the study of the divine revelation in Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Moreover, the doctrine of historical continuity was one of the bases of Sunnī politico-religious thought. To the Shī'a, the divine government was continued in the line of the Imāms, and the solitary Shī'ite collector amongst those already mentioned, Abū Mikhnaḥ, shows the influence of this religious preoccupation in his concentration on the history of the Shī'ite movements at al-Kūfa. It bears still stronger testimony to the place of history in religious thought that mistaken piety and religious controversy were already opening the door not only to partisan and apologetic, but also to irenic falsifications, of which a striking example was given by Saif b. 'Omar in his second work, on the assassination of 'Othmān. Henceforward historiography is an inseparable part of Islāmic culture. In the lands of the Mediterranean the ancient historical traditions are replaced or remoulded in the Islāmic spirit; and both in those cultured Eastern lands where no written history existed, and in primitive Africa, where there was no literature at all, the establishment of Islām is followed by the rise of an historical literature.

4. The beginnings of historical composition in the wider sense, i.e. the combination of materials derived from the *ṣira*, the monographs already mentioned and other sources into connected historical narrative, belong to the middle of the third century. The earliest compiler, Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balāḍhurī [q. v.] (d. 279 = 892), carries on the "classical" tradition; he studied under both Ibn Sa'd and al-Madā'inī, and his two extant works show the influence of these teachers as well as the critical taste of his age at its best. The characteristic composition of this stage is, however, the Universal History, which, beginning with the Creation, offers a summary of world-history on a larger or smaller scale by way of introduction to Islāmic history proper. This conception is not new; it is rather an expansion of the idea underlying the work of Ibn Ishāq, by the addition of the history of the Islāmic Community and a wider range of pre-Islāmic history. The Universal History, therefore, is not a world-history in the truest sense; from the moment of the rise of Islām, the history of other nations has no farther interest for the writer.

It is at this point that, for the first time (ex-

cepting only in the work of Hishām al-Kalbī), the Persian tradition enters into the mainstream of Arabic historiography, although the Persian "Book of Kings" (*Khudāy-nāma*) had been rendered into Arabic more than a century before by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q. v.] (d. c. 139 = 756). As has been shown above, materials derived from Jewish and Christian legend had long since found a way, under cover of Qur'anic exposition, into Arabic history, not entirely to its advantage. The influence of the Persian tradition was equally unfavourable. For, during its apprenticeship to the science of *ḥadīth*, the native credulousness and romanticism of Arabic memories of the past had been schooled by a certain empiricism and respect for critical standards which are the essential conditions for any genuine historiography. As soon as history passed outside the Islāmic field the old difficulty of distinguishing between legendary, semi-legendary, and historical elements reappeared, and with it the tendency to take on trust whatever materials were available. It was this tendency which was now reinforced by the character of the sources from which the Arabic compilers drew their materials for the ancient history of Persia and other lands. The *Khudāy-nāma* itself in its earlier sections consisted of tales of mythical personages, priestly speculations, Avestic legends, and reminiscences of the Alexander-romance, and even in the narrative of the Sāsānid kingdom genuine tradition was frequently overlaid by epic and rhetorical elements (see Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 2nd ed., 1920). At the same time, the revival of Greek studies through Syriac translations maintained an interest in Judaeo-Christian and Greek antiquities which had to satisfy itself from sources not always superior to the *Khudāy-nāma*, amongst them, for example, being the Syriac work known as the "Treasure-Cave" (*Me'arat gazū*).

From these sources were drawn the materials now taken up into the corpus of Islāmic historiography by such compilers as Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī [q. v.] (d. 282 = 895) and Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī [q. v.] (d. 284 = 897). The range of the latter, however, is so wide (embracing even the northern peoples and the Chinese) that his work is to be described rather as an historical encyclopaedia than as a universal history. To the same class belong the historical "note-book" (*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*) of the traditionist Ibn Kūtaiba [q. v.] (d. 276 = 889), and, in the next century, the surviving historical works of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [q. v.] (d. c. 360 = 970) and al-Mas'ūdī [q. v.] (d. c. 345 = 956). Al-Mas'ūdī is, indeed, entitled to be reckoned amongst the major Arabic historians, but the loss of the larger compositions, of which his surviving works are an abstract, renders it difficult to reach an exact idea of his methods.

It is evident from such works as these that a fresh intellectual element had entered into Arabic historiography, an element which we may define as the desire of knowledge for its own sake. It is significant that writers like al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī were not only historians but also geographers, whose geographical information was gained chiefly by wide travels. In this development we can doubtless trace the working of that legacy of Hellenistic culture which was penetrating into all branches of intellectual activity in Islām during the second and third centuries. In historiography, indeed, it went little farther; but the

link thus created between history and geography was maintained by a succession of writers down into the Ottoman period [see also DJUGHRAFIYA, *Suppl.*, p. 63].

These intrusive elements, however, are absent (except for the Persian history) from the work in which the classical historical tradition reaches its culmination, the celebrated "History of the Prophets and Kings" of Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī [q. v.] (d. 310 = 923). For al-Ṭabarī was primarily a traditionist, and in his History aimed to supplement his Commentary on the Qur'ān, by presenting the historical traditions of Islām with the same fullness and critical guarantees as he had done in his earlier work. The book, as it has come down to us, is apparently reduced from the elaborate scale on which it was originally planned; and whereas in the Commentary the author's criticism is explicit, in the History it is implicit. Its weaknesses are such as were to be expected from a traditionist — the preference given to the pseudo-historical compilation of Saif, for example, as against al-Wāḳidī, because of the suspicion attaching to al-Wāḳidī amongst the *muhaddiths*. But against these weaknesses must be set the positive excellence of the rest, which by its authority and comprehensiveness marked the close of an epoch. No later compiler ever set himself to collect and investigate afresh the materials for the early history of Islām, but either abstracted them from al-Ṭabarī (sometimes supplemented from al-Balādhurī), or else began where al-Ṭabarī left off.

At the same time, the poverty of the latter part of al-Ṭabarī's work gave warning that the purely traditionalist approach to history was no longer sufficient. The bureaucratic organization of government brought the class of officials and courtiers to the fore as authorities for political history, and relegated the men of religion to the second place. For this reason also, the third century marks the end of a stage in Arabic historiography.

B. With the recognition of history as a science in its own right, it entered on a period of rapid expansion, and the output of historical works between the third and the sixth centuries grew to such proportions that it is impossible to do more than summarize the main tendencies.

1. Already in the third century provincial scholars had begun to collect the local historical traditions. Apart from a history of Mecca [see AL-AZRAQĪ], which belongs essentially to the *sīra*-cycle, the earliest provincial history is that of Egypt and the conquests in the West compiled by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam [q. v.] (d. 257 = 871). It is noteworthy that this work contains the same characteristic materials as the general histories already described, but lacks their element of critical handling. The conquests are related on the basis of the Medinian and the far from trustworthy local traditions; the prefatory section is derived, not from genuine Egyptian materials, but chiefly from Jewish sources and Arabian traditions, mediated through the school of al-Medina. The same uncritical combination of legend with more or less genuine tradition is to be seen in the early history of Muslim Spain fathered upon 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb [q. v.] (d. 238 = 853) and in the encyclopaedia of South-Arabian antiquities (*al-Iklīl*) composed by al-Ḥamdānī [q. v.] (d. 334 = 945-946). More sober and matter-of-fact, probably, were the local histories



of various cities compiled during the third century, all of them now lost except for one volume of the History of Baghdād [see IBN ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬĀIFŪR]. In the following centuries there was a prolific output of such local chronicles, which usually took one or other of two forms, according to whether the main interest was biographical [see § 4 below] or in the historical events. Those of the latter class which have survived, though not always devoid of romantic elements, preserve much valuable material which was excluded from the larger histories, and are often of considerable importance on that account [see e. g., AL-NARSHAKHĪ, IBN AL-KUṬĪYA, 'OMĀRA, IBN ISFANDIYĀR]. As in style and methods of treatment they conform as a rule to the general practice of their region and time, they may be excluded from farther consideration here, but it should be remembered that they constitute a by no means insignificant part of Islāmic historiography, both in Arabic and in Persian.

2. After the middle of the fourth century, however, the distinction between general history and provincial history becomes difficult to maintain. Henceforward the main type of strictly historical composition is contemporary annalistic, frequently prefaced by a summary of universal history. In such annals the interest and information of the writer can no longer be "universal"; each is limited by the boundaries of the political structure within which he lives, and is rarely able to deal with events in distant regions. How far this limitation can be regarded as the counterpart in intellectual life of the loss of Islāmic political unity may remain open to discussion. The more important factor for us is that the recording of political history has passed mainly into the hands of officials and courtiers. This change affected form, content, and spirit alike. For practised clerks and secretaries it was an easy and congenial task to compose a running chronicle. The sources from which they drew their information were official documents and the personal contacts and gossip of official and court circles; formally, therefore, the *isnād* was reduced to a brief indication of the source, and later compilers frequently dispensed with it altogether. But it was inevitable that their presentation of events should reflect the bias and narrow outlook — social, political and religious — of their class. The old theological conception which had given breadth and dignity to history was discarded, and annalistic tended to concentrate more and more upon the activities of the ruler and the court. On the other hand, the information which these secretarial works give in regard to the external political events of their age is generally trustworthy, granted the limitations of the individual writers. The contemporary annals of an Ibn Miskawaih [q. v.] (d. 421 = 1030) or a Hilāl al-Sābi' [see AL-SĀBI'] (d. 448 = 1056) show the influence of an exacting standard of accuracy and relative freedom from political bias; and that this standard was universally recognized is proved by what remains of the histories of Egypt and of Andalusia written by 'Ubaid Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420 = 1029) and Ibn Ḥaiyān al-Kurṭubī (d. 469 = 1076–1077), to mention only the most prominent names.

The secularization of history had another serious consequence. In place of its earlier theological justification, the historians now pleaded the moral value of its study: history perpetuates the record

of virtuous and evil actions and offers them as examples for the edification of future generations (cf. the introductions to Ibn Miskawaih's *Tad̲j̲arīb al-Umam* and Hilāl al-Sābi's *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*). Such a plea was highly acceptable to the host of moralists and dilettantes; if history were merely a branch of ethics, not a science, they need not scruple to adapt their so-called historical examples to their own ends. The *adab*-books and "Mirrors of Princes", full of such perversions, went far towards vitiating public taste and judgment, and even historians and chroniclers themselves were not always immune from the infection.

3. In this connection mention may be made here of the numerous historical forgeries put into circulation during this period or at a later date. Like the works of Saif b. 'Omar already mentioned [§ A3 above], the majority of these falsifications are not pure inventions, but contain a basis of genuine tradition worked up with all manner of popular traditions, romantic legends, and partisan or propagandist material, usually with a definite political or religious interest in view [see for examples the articles IBN AṬṬHAM, IBN KUTĀIBA, AL-MURTADĀ AL-SĤARĪF, AL-WĀKIDĪ].

4. Although the scholar and traditionist had yielded place to the official in political historiography, there still remained in their hands the even more extensive field of biography. This too, as has been shown above, was a branch of the classical tradition; indeed, after the diversion of political history to dynastic annals, it preserved more faithfully the ancient conception. For the lives of the '*ulamā'*', "the heirs of the Prophet", represented in the eyes of the learned the real history of the *ummat Allāh* on earth much more truly than the ephemeral (and sometimes ungodly) political organizations. Alongside the classified lists (*ṭabaqāt*; q. v. Suppl.) of *muḥaddiths* and jurists of one or other school, which served in the main a technical function and are scarcely biographical in the strict sense, the materials relating to prominent individuals formed from an early date the subject of separate collections. Amongst the earliest of these works now extant is the biography of the Caliph 'Omar (II) b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, compiled by the brother of the above-mentioned Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, and professedly based in part upon written documents, in part upon the tradition of pietist circles, chiefly at al-Medina. More usually, however, these compilations embrace a whole group or category of persons. In mystical circles, for example, several works were devoted to lives of the saints, notably the extensive *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* of Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430 = 1038), while amongst the Shī'a there circulated not only books devoted to Shī'ite scholars and their works [see AL-ṬŪSĪ], but also a considerable literature of 'Alid martyrology. A characteristic product of this period is the biographical dictionary of scholars and famous men connected with a single city or province, compiled by local '*ulamā'*' and often of enormous bulk — that of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [q. v.] (d. 463 = 1071), for instance, filling fourteen printed volumes. Most of these works have perished, but the vast "history" of Damascus by Ibn 'Asākir [q. v.] (d. 571 = 1176), probably the most catholic work of its kind in Arabic literature, is still extant, as also are a series of Andalusian biographies [see IBN AL-FARADĪ, IBN BASHKUKWĀL, and IBN AL-ABBĀR] and some shorter dictionaries.

Biographical literature was alimanted also from other sources. A prolific one — as might be expected — derived from philology, both in its narrower and its more humanist branches. The former produced *ṭabaḳāt* of grammarians and biographies of prominent philologists, the latter created an extensive literature on poets and men of letters [see IBN QUTAIBA and AL-ṬHA'ALIBI]. Similar volumes were devoted to other professions, such as physicians and astronomers, and the art of music supplied the stimulus for the compilation of the greatest Arabic biographical work in the early centuries, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣṣahānī [q.v.] (d. 356 = 967).

Autobiography, on the other hand, appears to have been little cultivated, and only two memoirs of this period have survived, those of al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn [q.v.] (d. 470 = 1087) and of Usāma b. Muṣṣid b. Munḍih [q.v.] (d. 584 = 1188).

The whole of this biographical literature, as well as all later Islāmic biography, shows certain common characteristics. The discipline of the *isnāa* is usually carefully observed. The chronological data, especially the death date, are fixed with the greatest precision, and the main events of the subject's life are briefly related. The shorter notices are limited to these, together with lists of works in the case of writers and fragments of verse in the case of poets. In the more extended biographies, however, the greater part of the matter consists of anecdotes, in which no sort of arrangement, whether of chronology or of subject, seems to be observed. The impression of character so produced is often vivid but sometimes confusing, especially when there is no guarantee of the reliability of the stories. Yet with all its looseness and its gossip tendencies this kind of literature, by its nearness to the life of the people, supplies a valuable supplement and corrective to the political annals.

5. At an early date, history and biography were combined in what may be called biographical chronicles. This form was eminently suitable for histories of wazīrs, such as those compiled by Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs al-Dījahshiyārī (d. 331 = 942–943), the above-mentioned Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 448 = 1056), and 'Alī b. Mundjib al-Ṣairafi (d. 542 = 1147–1148) — the last-named dealing with the wazīrs of the Fātimid Caliphs —, and of kādis, of which the earliest examples are those on the kādis of Egypt by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī [q.v.] (d. 350 = 961) and on the kādis of Cordova by Muḥammad b. Ḥārith al-Khushānī (d. 360 = 970–971). A peculiar combination of political and literary biography is offered by the 'Abbāsīd history (*Kitāb al-Awrāq*) of al-Sūlī [q.v.] (d. 335 = 946). On the rise of local dynasties the same method was applied to them, until, indeed, during the fifth and sixth centuries dynastic histories practically supplanted the traditional annals, at least in the Eastern provinces. This was a disastrous step, for the enhancement of the personal element gave fuller play to personal factors, especially when the rulers themselves began to command and to supervise the writing of the chronicles of their own times. History becomes a work of artifice, and the rhetorical and involved style of secretarial despatches [see SAḌI] replaces simple narrative. The new fashion was apparently set by Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' (d. 384 = 994 [see AL-ṢĀBI']) in his lost work *al-Taḍīr* on the history of the Buwaihids,

and was popularized by its counterpart *al-Yamīnī*, composed by al-'Uṭbī [q.v.] (d. c. 427 = 1035) on the history of Sabuktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It may be possibly be connected with the revival of Persian and of the Persian historical tradition [see § A, 4 above] in the East, and may even have been influenced by the Persian epic poetry which was simultaneously coming into existence [see ḌAKĪQI and FIRDAWSI]. Even when the writers of such "official histories" may be acquitted of deliberate untruthfulness, or of the more common vices of servility and *suppressio veri*, their bombast and lack of judgment make the most unfavourable impression. Unfortunately, the high reputation in literary circles of several of these works and their all-too-numerous progeny have often caused them to be regarded as representative of Islāmic history in general; but this view does less than justice to the science which had been patiently built up by the early generations of Muslim scholars.

6. It was at this unfavourable juncture that historical works began to be written again in Persian. It is noteworthy that many of the earliest were translations and abridgments of Arabic works, beginning with the somewhat arbitrary abridgment of the classical chronicle of al-Ṭabarī made in 352 (963) by the wazīr Abū 'Alī al-Bal'amī [q.v.], although often with important additional materials [see e.g. AL-GARDĪZĪ]. Few, however, of the local and dynastic histories written in Persian during this period have survived, and these have little to distinguish them from the contemporary Arabic production in the Eastern provinces. Several writers, such as al-Nasawī [q.v.], seem to have used now Arabic and now Persian according to circumstances. One outstanding exception to the general run of such compositions is furnished by the full and impartial "diaries" of Abū 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī [q.v.] (d. 470 = 1077), a work which is unique in extant pre-Mongol literature.

The revival of Persian as a literary vehicle, begun under the Persian dynasties of the ivth (xth) century, also owed a good deal to the Turkish rulers of the following centuries, who were generally ignorant of Arabic. As their conquests extended westwards into Anatolia and south-eastwards into India they carried the Persian language with them, and already by the close of the vith (xii<sup>th</sup>) century Persian chronicles began to be written in these regions also: in Asia Minor by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Rāwandī (c. 600 = 1203) and in India by Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh (d. after 602 = 1206), the ancestor of the long line of Indo-Persian chroniclers.

7. Before passing to the next period a brief reference should be made to two other branches of literary activity associated with history. The application of mathematical and astronomical science to the determination of chronology, of which traces are to be seen in several early works, left one outstanding monument in *al-Āthār al-bākiya* of Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī [q.v.] (d. 440 = 1048). The second group of works, of an antiquarian rather than strictly historical tendency, was devoted to the settlements of the Arab tribes in their new territories. This topographical or *khitaṭ*-literature apparently arose in al-'Irāq (the principal work, now lost, being that of Haiṭham b. 'Adī [d. 207 = 822–823]), but



was cultivated with particular attention in Egypt [cf. vol. ii. 22a].

Finally, the spread of Arabic among the oriental Christian communities led to the compilation of Arabic works relating to the history of the Christian churches, sometimes combined with Arab and Byzantine history, notably by the Melkite Patriarch Eutychius [q. v.] and the Jacobite bishop Severus Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q. v.]. A curiosity in this field is the history of the Christian monasteries in Egypt and Western Asia compiled by a Muslim writer, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shābushṭī (d. c. 388 = 998).

C. From the sixth (twelfth) century, Arabic and Persian historiography begin to diverge more widely. As the conquests of the Mongols completed the process by which Persian supplanted Arabic as the literary medium in the zone of Perso-Turkish culture, while the latter was simultaneously extended by the Islamic expansion in India, an immense impetus was given to Persian historical composition in all these regions. Arabic historiography too, however, shows a still increasing volume of output, and with such a vast range of material it is necessary to deal separately with historical literature in Arabic (I) and in Persian (II).

I. The Arabic historiography of this period, while following in the main the lines already marked out for it, is distinguished by a number of fresh combinations. Of these changes the most marked are in the relations between biography and political chronicle and in the constituents of the compilations devoted to general history. The underlying factors in these developments were, for the first, the re-emergence of the scholar-historian alongside the official-historian, and for the second, the displacement of the centre of Arabic historiography from al-ʿIrāq to Syria and later to Egypt.

1. The principal feature with which the new period opens in annalistic is the revival of the Universal Chronicle (beginning with the Creation) or more frequently the General Chronicle (beginning with the rise of Islām). The older and more humanistic view of history as the annals of the Community is thus recovered, although no fresh investigation is made into the history of the early centuries. The outlook of the scholar is, moreover, revealed in the effort to combine political and biographical annals, as had indeed already been done in some of the earlier local chronicles, such as the Damascus chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳalānīsī [q. v.] (d. 555 = 1160). The relative proportion of the two elements, of course, varies with the interests of the writer; in some chronicles [see IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, AL-DHAHABĪ, IBN DUḲMĀK] the obituary notices so overshadow the political events that the latter are often reduced to a few abrupt sentences, while in the famous *Kāmil* of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭṭār [q. v.] (d. 630 = 1233) these proportions are reversed. This chronicle is remarkable also for the author's attempt to give a less static presentation of history, by means of grouping the events into episodes within an annalistic framework. While close examination reveals some defects in his handling of his materials, the elegance and vivacity of his work acquired for it almost immediate celebrity, and it became the standard source for later compilers.

It may plausibly be conjectured that this universal

outlook was inspired in part by the revived conception of a universal Caliphate. But the example thus set was imitated, even to excess, by a host of later chroniclers, the majority of whom lean heavily upon Ibn al-Aṭṭār [see IBN WĀṢIL, SIBṬ IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, BARHEBRAEUS, ABU 'L-FIDĀ', BAIBARS AL-MANṢŪRĪ, IBN KATHĪR, AL-YĀFĪʿĪ], though supplementing their borrowings with local and later materials. Somewhat more independence is shown in the annals of the Egyptian encyclopaedist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī [q. v.] (d. 732 = 1332) and of Ibn al-Furāt [q. v.] (d. 807 = 1405), while the Christian Dīrdjīs al-Makīn [q. v.] (d. 672 = 1273) is in the line of Eutychius [see § B, 7]. Of these later general histories in Arabic, however, the most interesting historiographically were written in Spain and the Maghrib. Compared with their contemporaries in the East, the western writers frequently show a somewhat broader conception of history and a less partisan vision. Of the many historical works of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [q. v.] (d. 673 = 1274) — an indefatigable traveller and researcher, who had the audacity even to seek an interview with the redoubtable Hūlāgū — only fragments remain, but enough to prove that they were based on extensive and accurate transcripts of many earlier books. With the world-famous history of ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Khaldūn [q. v.] (d. 808 = 1406) it is impossible to deal adequately here. As a chronicler his work is sometimes disappointing, but on his significance as an historical philosopher the last word has certainly not yet been said, though much has been written. From the point of view of Islāmic historiography, it remains an unsolved problem that, in spite of the brilliant school of Egyptian historians in the following centuries and the vigorous cultivation of history in Turkey (where a translation of the *Muḳaddima* was made in the xi<sup>th</sup> [xviii<sup>th</sup>] century), there is no indication that the principles which he put forward were even studied, much less applied, by any of his successors.

2. Alongside the general chronicles, and often cultivated by the same writers, there was a prolific output of regional, dynastic and biographical chronicles. In Persia and al-ʿIrāq, Arabic culture, all but overwhelmed by the Mongol invasions, has little to show, after the lost ʿAbbāsīd history of Tādj al-Dīn Ibn al-Saʿī (d. 674 = 1275), but some minor chronicles and compendiums [see IBN AL-ṬIḤṬĀKĀ]. Even before this, however, the centre of Arabic historiography had shifted to Syria, where the rise of the Zengid and Aiyūbid dynasties gave an impulse to the composition of a series of chronicles. Amongst those who were attracted into this field was ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [q. v.] (d. 597 = 1201), one of the last representatives of the rhyming-prose school of Persia and al-ʿIrāq. But the Syrians rejected this ornate style in favour of a more straightforward and natural prose, to the great advantage of subsequent Arabic history; and the biographical works of Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād [q. v.] (d. 632 = 1234) and Abū Shāma [q. v.] (d. 665 = 1268) rank far above those of ʿImād al-Dīn on the same subject.

From time to time, it is true, the ornate chronicle reappears, and the Egyptian secretary Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir [q. v.] (d. 692 = 1293) even set a fashion by composing his chronicle on Sulṭān Baibars in verse. This development, like the

employment of *saḍī* in the chronicle of the stylist Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb [q. v.] (d. 779 = 1377), is not apparently to be ascribed to outside influences; but the famous rhyming-prose biography (in this instance defamatory) of Timūr by the Damascene Ibn ʿArabshāh [q. v.] (d. 854 = 1450) is undoubtedly influenced by contemporary Persian writings [see § II, 2 below]. On the other hand, the rhetorical history of the Fāṭimid dynasty entitled *ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār* and compiled by the Yamanite *dāʿī* Imād al-Dīn Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 862 = 1467) reads curiously like a belated echo of the old Sāsānid tradition [see § A, 4].

The patronage accorded by the Aiyūbids to historical writing was continued by their Mamlūk successors. Damascus, and to a lesser extent Aleppo, remained seats of a very active tradition which, though interconnected to some extent with that of Cairo, displayed a certain individuality, especially in the field of biography [see § 3 below]. It was not until the last century of Mamlūk rule that there emerged a distinctively Egyptian school of historians, which, after producing a remarkable pleiad, as suddenly collapsed again. The series begins with the prolific Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī [q. v.] (d. 845 = 1442) and his rival al-ʿAīnī [q. v.] (d. 855 = 1451); it is continued by al-Maḳrīzī's disciple Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taḡhrī (Taṅrī)-Birdī [q. v.] (d. 874 = 1469), his rival ʿAlī b. Daʿūd al-Djāwharī (d. 900 = 1494—1495), Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 = 1497), the polymath Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [q. v.] (d. 911 = 1505) and his disciple Ibn Iyās [q. v.] (d. c. 930 = 1524). In the next generation, the other chronicler of the Ottoman conquest, Aḥmad b. Zūnbul (d. after 951 = 1544), already belongs to a different tradition. Although these writers share many of the defects of the earlier political annalists, the alternation of scholar and courtier among them makes for a wider outlook and judgment, and they are by no means wholly eulogistic. The marked feature of their work is its concentration upon Egypt, to such an extent that even those who cast their composition in the form of a general chronicle set it in an exclusively Egyptian framework. The outstanding figure is, however, al-Maḳrīzī, not so much for his accuracy (which is not unimpeachable) as for his industry, the wide range of his interests, and the attention which he gives also to the more social and demographic aspects of history.

The writings of the other provincial chroniclers differ from these more in respect of scale than of method or personality. Such Yamanite works as those of Ibn Wahhās al-Khazradjī (d. 812 = 1409) or Ibn al-Daibaʿ [q. v.] (d. 944 = 1537) present very similar material to the Egyptian chronicles, though in a narrower frame, and the same may be said of the local and dynastic chronicles written in the Maghrib and Spain. Certain writers — an ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī [q. v.] in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century or an Ibn Abī Zarʿ [q. v.] in the viii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) — may rise superior to other western chroniclers in regard to their materials or method of treatment, but only one, the Granadan wazīr Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q. v.] (d. 776 = 1374), is distinguished by a virtuosity which amounts to genius. As a critical historian he was probably equalled, however, if not surpassed, by his contemporary Ibn ʿIdhārī [q. v.], so far as can be judged from the extant and available works of both.

3. In spite of this intensive cultivation of political history, the true genius of Arabic historiography shows itself rather in biography than in chronicle. The combination of biography with political annals, both general and local, is an all but universal practice amongst Arabic historians of this period, as has been seen, but it remains to deal with that large body of literature which was devoted explicitly to other than political biography.

During the first half of the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century the specializing tendencies of the previous period [see § B, 4] culminate in a group of biographical collections of special importance. Six centuries of Arabic literature are surveyed in the *Irshād al-Arīb* of the Greek Yāḳūt al-Rūmī [q. v.] (d. 626 = 1229); and the whole of early Islāmic scientific and medical activity is mirrored in the dictionaries of the Egyptian Ibn al-Kifṭī [q. v.] (d. 646 = 1248) and the Damascene Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa [q. v.] (d. 668 = 1270). Regional biographical "history" is continued in the history of Aleppo of the ḳāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn [q. v.] Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660 = 1262), that of Ḡharnāṭa by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and other collections, usually supplementing earlier works. In addition to these there are the usual *ṭabaḳāt* [q. v.] of jurists and others, and the antiquarian researches exemplified by the Dictionary of the Companions (*Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*) of the historian Ibn al-Aṭhīr.

Alongside such specialized works two new types of comprehensive biographical dictionary were now evolved and cultivated especially in Syria. The creator of the first or universal type was Ibn Khallikān [q. v.] (d. 681 = 1282), the high reputation of whose work is justified by its taste and accuracy. Nevertheless, even with the supplement of Ibn Shāḳir al-Kutubī [q. v.] (d. 764 = 1363), it is far surpassed in range and extent by that of Khaliḷ b. Aibak al-Ṣafādī [q. v.] (d. 764 = 1363), the very bulk of which has prevented its publication hitherto. This in turn was supplemented by the historian Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn in *al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī*. The second new type of biographical dictionary also casts its net widely, but within a limited period of time. This method is probably to be linked up with the general chronicle of al-Dhahabī [see § C, 1 above], in which the biographical materials are arranged in decades down to the end of the seventh century, and can be abstracted from the chronicle proper as an independent work. The idea of arranging them in blocks of centuries may possibly be traced to al-Dhahabī's contemporary al-Birzālī [q. v.] (d. 739 = 1339). With the *Durar al-Kāmina* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAṣḳalānī [q. v.] (d. 852 = 1449) the new system is fairly launched: all the notable men and women of the eighth century are included in alphabetical order, a final trace of the obituary system being preserved in that each person is reckoned to the century in which he died. The corresponding dictionary of the ninth century was compiled by Ibn Ḥadjar's disciple, the above-mentioned al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 = 1497), under the title of *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, and the series was carried on by later generations down to the twelfth century [see § D, 1, 2].

II. 1. Amidst all the diversities of Persian schools of historiography from the seventh to the tenth centuries, a common substratum is found in the traditional structure of general Islāmic history. But it is only in so far as they build independently



upon this basis that the Persian works acquire significance and individuality. The numerous general histories, whether written in Persia or in India, which merely reproduce extracts from earlier sources with additional materials down to their own time, are as imitative and secondary as those in Arabic, and often show even less critical sense. Such works as, for example, that of Minhādī al-Dīn *Djuz dīānī* [q. v.] (d. after 664 = 1265), have a certain value as local chronicles, but are of little interest from the historiographical point of view. Our attention will therefore be directed mainly to the productions of the various "schools" which flourished from time to time in different parts of Persia and India and which created a distinctive historical literature.

2. The rise of the Mongol empire in Western Asia gave the first stimulus to such a distinctive series of works, preluded by the isolated and original chronicle of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā' Malik *Djuwainī* [q. v.] (d. 681 = 1283), which itself, however, is to be linked rather with the type of "secretarial history" already described [§ B, 2 above]. The Mongol "school" proper begins with the celebrated *Collection of the wazīr* Faḍl Allāh Rashīd al-Dīn *Ṭabīb* [q. v.] (d. 718 = 1318), and was the direct outcome of the conversion of the *Ilkhāns* to Islām. Rashīd al-Dīn's work was composed piecemeal in both Persian and Arabic. The first part is a dynastic chronicle based largely on the Mongol tradition, and subsequently supplemented by a history of Olḡaitu. The second is allied to the long-neglected encyclopaedic branch of Arabic historiography [see § A, 4], in that it includes also notices on the history of India, China and Europe; it differs from its predecessors by drawing the materials from contemporary informants, but like them remains better in conception than in achievement, though even that is not to be belittled. The book is remarkable, moreover, for the sobriety of its prose style and its pursuit of detail and accuracy rather than of aesthetic satisfaction. Whether the credit for it is really due to Rashīd al-Dīn or to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Kāshānī matters little from our point of view. The significant thing is that, in spite of its immense reputation, it at once fell out of circulation, and that all the other writers of this school, although they were protégés of Rashīd al-Dīn, decisively rejected his method, except for the epitomizers Banākīti [q. v.] (d. 730 = 1329–1330) and Hamd Allāh Mustawfī *Ḳazwīnī* [q. v.] (d. after 750 = 1349). Most of them, in fact, *Ḳazwīnī* included, attempted instead to outrival Firdawsī by the composition of long epic chronicles in the identical metre which he had employed. The only other outstanding prose work, the highflown chronicle of 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh, called *Waṣṣāf* [q. v.] (d. after 712 = 1312), reverted to the old type of "official history" [see § B, 5], and likewise became a classic destined to lure generations of future Persian historians into the wastes of rhetoric.

History languished during the interval between the extinction of the Mongol school and the rise of Timūr, who carried a staff of secretaries in his train to compose the history of his campaigns and had their finished works read before him. Thus his reign was commemorated by a Turki chronicle in verse (*Ta'rikh-i Khāmī*) and in Persian by Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, who was expressly bidden "to avoid bombast and rhetoric". Nevertheless, his *Ẓafar-nāma* was all but forgotten in

favour of the similarly-named but much more ornate work of Sharaf al-Dīn [q. v.] 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858 = 1454), which has ever since enjoyed the reputation of a model of elegance. It was under Timūr's successors, however, that this historical activity reached its height, more especially in the "school of Harāt" which, under their patronage, revived the tradition of Rashīd al-Dīn. Shāh-rukh himself commissioned Hāfiḡ-i Abrū [q. v.] (d. 833 = 1430) to re-edit and supplement the *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, and the same historian compiled another universal history, of little originality but simple and sober in style, for Shāh-rukh's son Bāisonghor. The same sobriety is observed in the *Mudjmal* of Faṣīḡ al-Khawāfi (written about 845 = 1441) and probably also in the "History of the Four Ulus" of the learned and versatile Sulṭān Ulugh-Beg [q. v.] (d. 853 = 1449), apparently preserved only in an abridgment. But the flowery elegance cultivated by such contemporary writers as Ḥusain Kāshifi [q. v.] could not be kept out of history-writing. The generality of Timūrid authors succumbed to it, and the later works of the Harāt school sink ever more deeply into bombast and rhetoric. The relatively restrained style of 'Abd al-Razzāḡ Samarkandī [q. v.] (d. 887 = 1482) failed to compete in popular favour with the florid *Rawḡat al-Safā'* of Mīr Khāwand [q. v.] (d. 903 = 1498), whose grandson Khwāndamīr [q. v.] (d. 942 = 1535–1536) carried the tradition of Harāt in this later form into India, where it found an equally congenial soil.

3. The beginnings of Persian historical composition in India, as a result of the Ghōrid conquest and rise of the sultānate of Dihlī, have already been noticed [§ B, 6], and the main line of Indo-Persian annalistic in the following centuries links up with this tradition. The principal work, after the *Tādī al-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Nizāmī [q. v.] (c. 614 = 1217), is the continuation of *Djuzdānī's* chronicle by Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī [q. v.] (d. after 758 = 1357), besides which there is little but florid and eulogistic biographical chronicles. In the province of Sind, however, there are indications of an indigenous tradition going back to the period of the Arab conquest in the first (eighth) century, which probably lies behind the historical romance put into circulation in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiii<sup>th</sup>) century under the name of *Čāl-nāma*, while in Guḡjarāt and the south the local historiography is apparently to be connected rather with that of Fārs.

4. During the whole of this period the Persian literary tradition still held the field in the Turkish and Ottoman dominions. From the literary point of view, neither the prose works nor the epics relating to the Anatolian Saldjūks [see *IBN Bībī* and *TURKS*, iii. a] are in any way remarkable, but they are of interest in so far as they supplied models to the nascent Turkish historiography. Here again simple narrative, though not entirely driven out, found in the end less favour than ornate composition, which was brought to a climax of artifice and bombast in the prose work entitled *Hašt Bihisht*, written by Idris b. 'Alī Bidlisī [q. v.] (d. 926 = 1520) to the order of Bāyezid II. At the same time, it would be a superficial view to equate bombast with triviality, and Bidlisī's work, like the history of Waṣṣāf and several other ornate compositions, conceals beneath its verbiage a serious chronicle of great historical value.

5. One of the most marked differences between Arabic and Persian historiography is the relative absence of historical biography in Persian. Literary biography, of course, is very extensively cultivated, and a number of the general histories include obituary notices of the familiar pattern, or a section devoted to notable persons, especially ministers, poets and writers. Next to these come biographies of saints and mystics — both of individuals, notably the biography of *Shaiḥ* Saḥī al-Dīn by Tawakkul b. Bazzāz [q.v.] (written in 750 = 1349), and of general or special groups [see 'Aṭṭār, *Djāmī*, *Mawlawī*]. Two biographical works relating to wazīrs were written by writers of the "school of Harāt", *Āthār al-Wuzarā'* by Saif al-Dīn Faḍlī (written in 883 = 1478) and *Dastūr al-Wuzarā'* by Khwāndamīr (written in 915 = 1509). But it is not until the following period that there are written in Persian works which can be compared to the contemporary biographical dictionaries in Arabic. The reason for this is evidently to be sought in the close association between biography and theological studies. If it is remembered that until the Ṣafawid period Arabic remained, even in Irān and India, the language of theology and science, and that Persian was used almost exclusively for poetry, belles-lettres and court chronicles, the absence of Persian biographical works becomes intelligible. It is less easy to explain why no biographical works relating to the Persian and Turkish areas were written even in Arabic.

D. The first quarter of the tenth (fifteenth) century witnessed a redistribution of political forces almost from end to end of the Islāmic world. The Ottoman Turks established their authority over Western Asia and North Africa as far as the borders of Morocco; the Ṣafawids created a self-contained Shi'ite state in Irān; the *Shaiḥ*ānids set up Ōzbek states in Central Asia; the Mughal dynasty was founded in India; a new *Sharīf*ian dynasty led the offensive in Morocco against Spanish and Portuguese pressure; and the Negrolands on the Niger acquired a more definitely Islāmic organization under the Songhoy. These movements were inevitably accompanied by cultural regroupings and reorientations, which left their mark on all forms of literature and more especially on history. Arabic historiography was the most seriously affected, but Persian historiography also suffered from the sectarian isolation of Persia itself. On the other hand, a new and vigorous historical literature now sprang into existence in Turkish, which, while linked to its predecessors, developed to some extent upon original lines.

I. 1. The subjection of the central Arabic provinces to Ottoman rule, by depriving Arabic historiography of the local stimuli which had hitherto sustained it, brought about its all but complete collapse. A few poor general chronicles [see AL-BAKRĪ, AL-DIYĀRBAKRĪ, AL-DJANNĀBĪ] and some local chronicles or biographical histories of varying worth constitute the whole of the strictly historical output of Egypt, Syria, al-'Irāk and Arabia down to the opening of the xiii<sup>th</sup> (xix<sup>th</sup>) century, when the old Arabic historical tradition comes to an end with two more considerable writers, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djabartī [q.v.] (d. 1237 = 1822) in Egypt, and Ḥaidar Aḥmad al-Shihābī (d. 1251 = 1835) in the Lebanon. In Central, East and South Arabia it

survived to the end of the century [see DAHLĀN]; in the Maghrib it produced a last worthy representative in al-Nāṣirī al-Slāwī [q.v.] (d. 1315 = 1897), after a similar series of minor chroniclers [see AL-WAFRĀNĪ, AL-ZAIYĀNĪ] broken only by the outstanding figure of al-Maḥḥarī [q.v.] (d. 1041 = 1632) of Tilimsān, whose "Analects" on the history of Andalusia and biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb are a fitting epilogue to the brilliant tradition of Spanish Islām.

The decline of the Arabic historical tradition in its homelands was, however, offset to some extent by a limited cultivation in Turkey itself, including the valuable general chronicle of Munaḍdjim Baṣḥī [q.v.] (d. 1113 = 1702), and by its extension to several of the more recently converted outlying Islāmic regions, notably in West Africa. Here a number of local chronicles were written, among the most important being the Songhoy chronicle of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'dī [q.v.] (d. after 1066 = 1656) and the chronicles of Mai Idrīs of Bornu (reigned 910–932 = 1504–1526) by the Imām Aḥmad. In East Africa, there has survived an early history of Kilwa and a chronicle of the wars of Aḥmad Grañ in Abyssinia, written about 950 (1543) by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Arabfaḥīh, in addition to later offshoots from the 'Ibādīte school of 'Omān. The close relations between Arabia and the west coast of India led to the adoption of Arabic as an official language there also, especially in the south (cf. the documents published by João de Sousa [Lisbon 1790]), and it is not surprising therefore to find an Arabic history of the Portuguese wars written by Zain al-Dīn al-Ma'barī [q.v.] (d. 987 = 1579). Farther north, however, it came into competition with Persian, and only one Arabic chronicle of any extent has survived, written by Muḥammad b. 'Omar Ulugh-khānī of Guḍjarāt (d. after 1014 = 1605), who derived much of his material from Persian works. In Persia itself only one or two brief chronicles were written in Arabic.

2. In contrast to the historical tradition, the biographical tradition, less dependent upon political changes, maintained its vitality, especially in Syria. Damascene scholars continued the series of dictionaries of notable persons of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries [see AL-BURNĪ, AL-MUḤIBBĪ (*Suppl.*), AL-MURĀDĪ (*Suppl.*)], and other works commemorate the scholars of single towns and districts. Alongside these there flourished also in Egypt and Syria a type of ornate and involved biography in rhyming-prose, bearing much the same relation to the preceding works as the rhyming-prose history to the plain chronicle. Of this school, the principal representative is the Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khaḥfaḍjī [q.v.] (d. 1069 = 1659); the popularity of his work may be judged from the fact that a supplement was composed in India in 1082 (1671) by 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'sūm [q.v.], which is in turn quoted by the above-mentioned al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111 = 1699), who himself wrote a second supplement.

Even in the Turkish and Persian zones important biographical works were written in Arabic. *Al-Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya* of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Taṣḥkōprüzāde [q.v.] (d. 968 = 1561), *kāḍī* of Istanbūl, is a fundamental work for the history of Turkish Islām, afterwards supplemented in both Arabic and Turkish. The relations maintained between the Arabic Shi'ite communities and the



Shī'ites in Persia and India are reflected in several Shī'ite dictionaries, amongst the authors of which are not only Arabs [see AL-ḤURR AL-'ĀMILĪ] but also the Persian Muḥammad Bākīr Mūsawī (Khwānsārī) and his Indian contemporary Saiyid I'djāz Ḥusain al-Kantūrī (d. 1286 = 1869). Several Sunnī biographical works also were written in India.

From the Maghrib, where it continued to be cultivated [see AL-WAḤRĀNĪ], the Arabic biographical tradition spread into the Western Sūdān and found a notable disciple in Aḥmad Bāba [q.v.] of Timbuktu (d. 1036 = 1627). In the Eastern Sūdān also, the pious and learned men of the Fundj kingdom were commemorated in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Muḥammad wad Ḍaif Allāh (d. 1224 = 1809-1810).

II. Although the establishment of the Shī'ite faith as the state religion of Persia did not entirely sever its intellectual relations with the Ottoman empire and with India, one effect of this sectarian breach was to thrust history in Persia and India more widely apart. A more important feature of the historical composition in both regions is that it is almost exclusively the work of officials. The relatively independent and impartial scholar appears but rarely, and the field is left to the obsequious secretary, who smothers the mass of relevant and irrelevant detail under a load of precious verbiage and mediocre verse. There are exceptions, of course, especially amongst the numerous compilers of general chronicles, but these tend to the opposite extreme of bareness and concision. A general view of the historical output of this period in Persia and India thus offers a monotonous succession of general histories and local or dynastic chronicles, with periods of more intensive quasi-biographical compilation, usually stimulated by royal patrons and sometimes of considerable value, but marked by an inveterate tendency to treat history as a branch of belles-lettres.

1. The majority of the general histories, whether composed in Persia or in India, show little originality or proportion, and are of value only for the history of their own times. The most frequent arrangement is by dynasties; some, however, devote a volume or a section to biography, and occasionally a geographical supplement is added. Amongst those not otherwise remarkable may be mentioned the chronicle of Nizām-Shāhī [q.v.] (d. 972 = 1565); *Ta'rikh-i Alfī*, a composite work compiled by order of Akbar to celebrate the millenium of the Muslim era; *Shubh-i Šādīk* by the *wāḳi'anawis* Muḥammad Šādīk Āzādānī (d. 1061 = 1651); *Khuld-i Barīn* of Muḥammad Yūsuf Wāliḥ (written 1058 = 1648), the works of Muḥammad Baḳā' Sahāranpūrī [q.v.] (d. 1094 = 1683); *Tuḥfat al-Kirām* by Mīr 'Alī Shīr Kānī (d. after 1202 = 1787), with a supplement relating to Sind; and three Persian works of the last century [see RIDĀ-KULĪ KHĀN, SĪPIHR, MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN]. *Mir'āt al-Adwār* of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī (979 = 1572) is of interest as the last general history in Persian relating to the Ottoman empire, and the chronicle of Ḥaidar b. 'Alī Rāzī [q.v.], written in 1028 (1619), for the originality of its arrangement and as a non-official work. In the Turkmen states of Central Asia also, Persian was employed as the language of court chronicles, of which several have survived [see ABU 'L-KHAIR].

2. The rise of the Šafawid dynasty naturally called out a series of dynastic chronicles, notably the relatively restrained *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh* of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū (completed in 985 = 1577) and two chronicles of the reign of 'Abbās I (995-1037 = 1587-1627), *Ta'rikh-i 'Abbāsī* of Muḥammad Munadjjim Yazdī and the highly detailed *Ta'rikh-i Alam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* of Iskandar Beg Munshī [q.v.]. Nādir Shāh was similarly commemorated in two chronicles by Mahdī Khān Astarābādī [q.v.] (d. after 1173 = 1760) — the second, *Durra-yi Nādirī*, being professedly written in imitation of Waṣṣāf — and a vast chronicle in three volumes by Muḥammad Kāzīm, as well as in the general history of Muḥammad Muḥsin, his *mustawfī*. No fewer than three dynastic chronicles and one general history were written to the order of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1212-1250 = 1797-1834). These works by no means exhaust the list of dynastic and local chronicles written in Persia during this period, and some of the latter in particular are of great value for their own regions, besides adopting a simpler and more natural style. But on a general view the historiographical value of this output is incommensurate with its bulk, and much lower than that of the contemporary output in India.

3. At the beginning of the Mughal period in India there is a confluence of three streams: the existing Indo-Persian tradition, both local and general, continued from the preceding period [see § C, II, 3], the tradition of the "school of Harāt" [see § C, II, 2], and the new forms introduced by the Mughal emperors themselves [see the following par.]. These united to produce a distinctive Indian historical tradition, though a few writers were possibly influenced by the contemporary production in Persia. From the end of the xii<sup>th</sup> (xviii<sup>th</sup>) century a new influence appears, that of the English scholars and orientalists resident in India, but the resulting change of method showed itself only gradually.

It is apparently during the reign of Akbar (963-1014 = 1556-1605) that this Indian tradition first finds definite expression in the general histories of Muslim India from the time of the Ḥaznawids written by Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad [q.v.] and 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'unī [q.v.] (both d. 1004 = 1595-1596). The history of Badā'unī deserves special note as the work of an original and, in its way, critical mind, besides being a non-official compilation and devoted to Indian biography as well as to political annals. His successor, Muḥammad Kāsim Firīšta [q.v.] (d. after 1033 = 1623), covers a yet wider range of Indian Muslim history, though with less critical taste. The ultimate stage is reached about a century later, when with the entry of Hindu writers into the field of Indo-Persian historiography [see SANDJĀN RĀY] the history of Hindu India from the beginnings is dovetailed into the history of Muslim India, an achievement, for the rest, facilitated by the Persian translations of the Sanskrit classics made for Akbar and other Mughal emperors.

Side by side with this there goes on the official chronicling of individual reigns, also beginning in the reign of Akbar. Only the principal works can be mentioned here. The *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmi [q.v.] (d. 1011 = 1602) is remarkable especially for its third volume (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*) detailing the administrative organization of Akbar's

empire. The reign of *Djahāngīr* is chronicled in his own *Tuzuk* [see the next par.] and by his minister Mu'tamad *Khān* [q.v.] (d. 1049 = 1639); that of *Awrangzēb* by Muḥammad *Kāzīm* [q.v.] (d. 1092 = 1681) and Muḥammad *Sakī Musta'idd Khān* [q.v.] (d. 1136 = 1724). The decline of the Mughal dynasty and rise of the English power is portrayed by *Ghulām Ḥusain Khān* [q.v.] (c. 1195 = 1781), and *Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī* (d. after 1211 = 1796) wrote the history of *Shāh 'Ālam II*. More satisfactory from the technical point of view are the history of the *Timūrids* by Muḥammad *Hāshim Khwāfī Khān* [q.v.] (d. c. 1145 = 1732) and a critical account of the reign of Akbar, based on the original sources and written about 1200 (1785) by *Amir Ḥaidar Ḥusainī Bilgrāmī* under the title of *Sawānīh-i Akbarī*.

For each independent or semi-independent dynasty and for each province of India from Bengal to the Carnatic there is a similar, though less extensive, series of chronicles, which reproduce on the whole the characteristics of Mughal historiography. We need mention only the histories of the *Afghāns* written by *Ni'mat Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh Harawī* [q.v.] (c. 1021 = 1612) and *Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī* (c. 1213 = 1798), on which is based the later chronicle of Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm [q.v.] (d. after 1263 = 1847). The history of *Afghānistān* was approached also from the northern side by 'Abd al-Karīm *Bukhārī* [q.v.] (d. after 1246 = 1830), whose work on the history of the Central Asian *khanates* was, however, actually written in Istanbul.

4. The most original feature of Indo-Persian historiography is offered by the numerous memoirs composed during this period, which present a lively contrast to the formal chronicles. The practice was, it would seem, initiated by the *Timūrids*. The earliest example, the memoirs of the emperor *Bābur* [q.v.] (d. 937 = 1530), are written in Turkish, but those of his cousin *Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt* [see *HAIDAR-MIRZĀ*] (d. 958 = 1531), combined with a history of the later *Djaghataids* under the title of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, are already in Persian. The brief memoirs of *Humāyūn* (d. 963 = 1556) written by his ewer-bearer (*āfzābāz*) *Djawhar* are outrivalled by those of his half-sister *Gulbadan Bēgam* [q.v.] (d. 1011 = 1603), written at the request of Akbar and one of the few really intimate works in Islāmic history. *Djahāngīr* (d. 1037 = 1627) also compiled a memoir of the first seventeen years of his reign, under the title of *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, which was reissued in a revised and falsified form by his successor. To the same period, apparently, belong the forged *Tuzukāt-i Timūri*, circulated in India as the authentic memoirs of *Timūr*.

It was not, however, only by members of the royal house that such memoirs were written. Several are the composition of private persons, who narrate in simple language and without affectation the events of which they were eyewitnesses. Amongst the more celebrated are the *Tadhkirat al-Aḥwāl* of *Shāikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn* [q.v.] (d. 1130 = 1766), and the *Ibrat-nāma* of *Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mu'tamad Khān*, written about 1131 (1767); of the rest, the greater number are rather narratives of travel, with little historical material of importance.

5. The Persian biographical literature of this period shows some development from that of

the previous period. As before, literary biography takes the first place, with a large number of works devoted to the poets of Persia and of India. Historical biography also is represented by a few works, notably *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* of *Mir 'Abd al-Razzāk Awrangābādī* (d. 1171 = 1758). The most comprehensive Persian biographical work is, however, *Haft Iklim*, a work by *Amin Aḥmad Rāzī* [q.v.], completed in 1028 (1619) and arranged, as its title implies, under the seven provinces of *Irān*. A similar compilation, with special reference to India, was made by *Murtadā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī* at the end of the twelfth century under the title of *Hadīkat al-Akālīm*.

On the other hand, comprehensive biographical dictionaries of the type found in Arabic are entirely lacking. The nearest equivalents in Persian are the works devoted to *Shī'ites* and *Shī'ite 'ulamā'*, and to saints and mystics. Of the former class, *Madjālis al-Mu'minin* of *Nur Allāh b. Sharīf al-Mar'ashī* [q.v.] (d. 1019 = 1610), written in India, develops the Arabic tradition of *Shī'ite* biography [see § B, 4 above], while *Nudjūm al-Samā'* of Muḥammad b. *Šādīk b. Mahdī*, written in 1286 (1869), deals with the *Shī'ite 'ulamā'* of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Biographical works relating to saints and mystics were, as might be expected, written only in India and deal more especially with those belonging to or connected with India. Of the very considerable number of works devoted to individual saints and to groups and communities, the most important are *Siyar al-'Arifin* of *Ḥamid b. Faḍl Allāh (Djamālī)* (d. 942 = 1535—1536), *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq *Bukhārī* [q.v.] (d. 1052 = 1642) and the voluminous *Mir'āt al-Asrār* of 'Abd al-Rahmān *Čishtī*, written in 1065 (1655). Amongst the shorter works covering the mystics of all periods special interest attaches to *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'*, by the hapless Mughal prince *Dārā Shikoh* [q.v.] (d. 1069 = 1659).

*Bibliography*: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (i.: Weimar 1898; ii.: Berlin 1902; Supplement: Leyden 1936 sq.); F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber* (Göttingen 1882); D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta 1930); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo Bio-bibliografico su los Historiadores y Geografos Arabigo-Espanoles* (Madrid 1898); C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bibliographical Survey*, section ii. (London 1935 sq.); E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge 1930); Sir H. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London 1867—1877); the *Catalogues* of the principal collections of Oriental Manuscripts. Monographs on individual historians are listed in the *Bibliographies* to the separate articles. Particular groups are dealt with by J. Horowitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet" in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad 1928) and by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa* (Paris 1922). (H. A. R. GIBB)

**TASHAHHUD** (A.), infinitive V of *sh-h-d*, the recitation of the *shahāda* [q.v.], especially in the *ṣalāt*. It must, however, be kept in mind that in this case *shahāda* comprises not only the *kalimatāni*, but 1<sup>o</sup>. the following formula: "To Allāh belong the blessed salutations and the good prayers"; 2<sup>o</sup>. the formula: "Hail upon thee, O Prophet, and Allāh's mercy and His blessing; hail



upon us and upon Allāh's pious servants"; 3<sup>o</sup>. the *shahāda* proper, consisting of the *kalimatāni*.

The above form of tashahhud is in keeping with a tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, beginning thus: The Apostle of Allāh used to teach us the tashahhud, just as he used to teach us a sūra from the Qur'ān (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 60). In the corresponding tradition on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd (*loc. cit.*, trad. 56; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 422) in the formula sub 1<sup>o</sup>, the word "blessed" is lacking; in Abu Mūsā al-Ash'ari's tradition it runs: "To Allāh belong the good salutations, the prayers".

According to al-Nawawī, in his commentary on Muslim, *loc. cit.*, the doctors admit the three forms of the tashahhud. The *madhhab*'s do not agree, however, on the question which is the best one.

The tashahhud occurs twice in the *ṣalāt*: at the end of each pair of *rak'a*'s and at the end of the whole *ṣalāt*. In the latter case it may be followed by personal prayers and is concluded by the twofold *taslīma*.

*Bibliography*: Books on *fiqh*; the passages in the books of tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v.; cf. especially the references to Tirmidhī; modern practice described in Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chapter on Religion and Laws. (A. J. WENSINCK)

**ṬĀ'USĪ**, a heterodox Shī'ite sect, called after a certain Aghā Muḥammad Kāzīm Tonbākū-forūsh of Ispahān, known as Ṭā'ūs al-'Urafā', who broke off from the Ni'matullāhī (cf. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit.*, iii., p. 463—473, on Saiyid Ni'matullāh of Kermān, founder of this sect). After the death of Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh Shirāzī (successor to Mustafī Shāh, author of the *Bustān al-Siyāhat*), who represented the sect in Ispahān, Ṭā'ūs refused to recognise his successor Ḥādījī Aghā Shāh. Expelled in 1281 from Ispahān by the clergy he settled in Teherān with the help of his *murīd* (Ridā Kulī Khān Sirādj al-Mulk, *pishkār* of Zill-i Sultān in the capital). He died there in 1293 (1876) a pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. — Ṭā'ūs, so called from his un-Ṣūfī fondness for elegant dress, also known by the *laqab* of Derwish Sa'ādat 'Alī, was illiterate. He was not succeeded by one of his sons but by a certain Ḥādījī Mullā Sultān of Genābād who may be considered the real author of the Ṭā'ūsī doctrine and the organiser of this community. An orphan, brought up by his uncle, Ḥādījī Mullā Sultān had a severe struggle at first and only began to study at the age of 17. He studied at Mashhad, then at Karbalā' and Naḥjaf, while working for his living at the same time. Having finished his studies he taught for some time in the Madrasa-i Ṣadr at Teherān, but, accused of Bābism, he escaped to Khurāsān, but on the way stopped at Sabzawār to study under Ḥādījī Mullā Hādī, a celebrated teacher of the time, where among other pupils (including Saiyid Aḥmad Adīb-i Pishāwari), he met Ṭā'ūs. Later, perfect in the sciences of *hikmat* and *'irfān*, he joined Ṭā'ūs in Ispahān; the latter was flattered to receive as a *murīd* a learned mullā who became one of his intimates and his successor. Gradually, as a result of his ability and increasing fame, as well as the support of Sirādj al-Mulk already mentioned and Mirzā Husain, another member of Zill-i Sultān's staff, Ḥādījī Mullā Sultān extended the community of Genābād, the centre

of the new sect. Becoming *ḥuṭb* of the Ṭā'ūsīs in 1293, he died after a long and active life in 1327 (1909) his successors, not without the usual rivalries, being his sons Nūr 'Alī Shāh and Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh, whose reputation was far from equalling that of their father. — His teaching (initiation and perfection by stages as among the Ṣūfīs) contains three degrees, according to our sole source of information, Ḥādījī Shaikh 'Abbās 'Alī Kaiwān Qazwīnī, for many years a pupil of Ḥādījī Mullā Sultān. In the first stage (*ṭarīqa-i murīd-dārī*), the mullā claimed only to be a learned man of whom there must always be one in the absence of the imām, to serve as an example and to be imitated (*mardja-i taqlīd*). The other 'ulamā' do not themselves practise what they preach, but I, he said, ask you by the force of my example to do the same. The majority of the *murīds* did not go beyond this, having only acquired a distrust of the other 'ulamā' and *ḥuṭbs*. In the second stage, the Mullā claimed the imāmate. The imām was never concealed as regards his body, but was so by name, i.e. he was unknown (*gumnām*). What you demand of an imām is in me and what the imām demands of his followers ought to be in my *murīds*: obedience, surrender of property, honours paid, union etc. Finally, in the third stage, he claimed quasi-divine powers. All the 124 prophets and the 12 imāms are in me, I am the successor and the representative of them all. If one or all were to come back they would obey my orders and would do nothing independently. All the happenings in the world of nature, ordinary or extraordinary, take place by my orders and permission, nay more, by my action without intermediary. The esoteric meaning of the Qur'ān, of prayer, of pilgrimage, etc., it is I. I am constantly in the ascent towards heaven and constantly at all points of the globe and present in every one. Nothing that is hidden or manifest is unknown to me or outside of my power. All that I do is by express order of God. Secret divine revelations are continually descending upon me. Every act of the dead or of the living or of the angels is carried out by my orders. He who for 12 years casts aside his own desires and obeys me alone will finally become the perfect man (*insān al-kāmil*), with a new soul compared with which his former soul will be but a body. I am the source of this other soul for all humanity. The soul of all the world is in my soul (cf. the universal soul of Plotinus?) and, although I give to each individual a soul, my own soul still remains perfect in its place. Every epoch requires a person like me. If there were not one the essential parts of the world would break up and all the components of nature disappear. — These claims to quasi-divinity by Ḥādījī Mullā Sultān were not declared openly but by allusions and suggestions, by his attitude to his more credulous disciples, etc. In each epoch there has been on earth a representative of God with absolute power, *mukhtār-i muṭlaq*, whose authority extends over all fields: *tamaddunī, siyāsī, tadaiyunī, rūḥī, ākhiratī*. He annuls preceding laws or maintains them. He is called: *paighambar, imām, ḥuṭb, ghawth, khodā wa-ma'būd-i aqlī*, and he manifests himself in diverse forms either to the whole of humanity or to a single man. For example there was Mūsā, then 'Alī and his descendants, Djunaid and his successors, then Ṭā'ūs al-'Urafā' and I; and all that has been in all religions and in all languages and in all ways has been so through

this individual. There has always been disappearance (*ghaib*) and manifestation (*zuhūr*); he who is *khātim* for his predecessors is *fātiḥ* for his successors, who will supersede him in turn, so that the personage in question is at once *khātim*, *fātiḥ*, *nāsikh* and *mansūkh* and, in addition, *nabī*, *walī*, *waṣī* and *mūsa*, and *ḥuṭb al-aḳḳāb*. He may be described as the centre of the circle of the delegation of God (*markaz-i dā'ira-i khilāfat Allāh*); at once circumference (*muhīt-i dā'ira*) and fixed pole (*ḥuṭb-i sākin*), or great circle of rapid imperceptible movements (*manṭika-i 'aẓima-i ḥarakāt-i sarī'a-i ghair-i mar'īya*); he who causes to revolve circular movements of different sizes (*mudīr-i mudarāt-i mutawāziye mukhtalifa-i 'l-ḥaraka*); a sun and all the suns, hidden from the disciples who have not yet reached perfection by virtue of his angelic nature, and visible by his royal power to the perfect disciples who have acquired the sight of the angelic being (*ʿeshm-i melkūt binī*). And one of these personages, endowed with these characteristics, will effect the complete appearance. The term *khātim*, definitive mission (*ḥalāl itā yawm al-ḳiyāma*) of Muḥammad — all this is void (*bāṭil*). Moreover, the mission of each of them is that of Muḥammad. Although one changes and is renewed a thousand times, one must connect it in this way and not regard it as outside. This personage finally possesses complete (*ʿamm*) knowledge, secret (*bāṭin*) and innate (*ḥahrī*) with respect to all individuals and all things of the world — a knowledge which may be qualified as congenital sanctity and different from the religious sanctity which a *murīd* may acquire if he makes an agreement (*brāt*) with this individual (his *ḥuṭb* in the circumstances) and vows him complete obedience. The modalities of *brāt* are defined by the *ḥuṭb* and cannot be disputed. In brief, says Shaikh Kaiwān, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān who claimed to synthetise the religions of the whole world could not use Ṣūfī terms which are merely those of one group in one single religion of Islām. As at the same time, the degrees of initiation (*sulūk*) and certain other ideas are nevertheless Ṣūfī, Shaikh Kaiwān speaks of *taṣawwūf-i Tā'ūsī*. We have seen that, in contrast to Ṣūfism, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān placed the *ḥuṭbs* above the imāms and prophets. He does not reckon, as the Ṣūfis do, *nādī* and *pāk*, i.e. as susceptible of salvation, those who do not approve of his teaching, claiming however that the majority of Muslims with their dying breath will acknowledge it. As regards the spiritual direction of his disciples, some interesting developments are given under the title of *fikr* or *ṣūrat-i murshid* describing how, degree by degree (four in all), the image and the will of the *ḥuṭb* take the place of the name of Allāh which should be engraved on the heart of the *murīd* practising introspection and the simultaneous recitation of the *dhikr*, a practice very difficult, if not impossible, except for the chosen few. — This Tā'ūsī teaching is undoubtedly, however, anti-Islāmic and more particularly anti-Shī'ite, especially as regards the dogma of the imāmate. In his work *Medjme-i Sē'ādāt* (which we have not however been able to consult), Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān explains, according to Shaikh Kaiwān, that the number 12 does not refer to individuals of flesh and blood. Absolute sanctity is explained as a fund of spirituality which has 12 kinds, without the number of individuals in each kind being specified. Thus the quality of prophet has 124 thousand kinds (in connection

to the 124 only mentioned above). It may be that in each kind there will come to the world several prophetic personalities, without definite classification. The *khātim* need not thus close the series. It may be admitted that after the coming of the definitive kind there should come yet other kinds which were not manifest before the *khātim* or that only a number of the kind should have come while others come later, seeing that the quantity of individuals in each kind or category is neither limited nor definitive. Moreover in the *ḥadīth*: *'ulamā' ummāi ka-anbiyā' nabī Isrā'īl*, the title *khātim* is only a degree of sanctity. For Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān the esoteric Ṣūfī meaning of the term *ḥuṭb* is applied to kind and as a result in each epoch the plurality of *ḥuṭbs* is possible. In any case, as regards the 12<sup>th</sup> degree, it is a question certainly of kind and not of a particular individual. The disappearance of the 12<sup>th</sup> imām is to be interpreted with reference to kind, i.e. we may suppose it is the kind which is concealed among individuals. Without going into details, we may say also that for Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān the imāmate is above the dignity of prophet. In any case, his secret conviction would have been that the imām is that personality who by rotation exists in every epoch and who, if he makes innovations in matters of religion, possesses also the quality of prophet.

As to the Tā'ūsī ritual, it presents certain features which relate it to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [q.v.]. Notably during the ceremony of initiation (*tasharruf*) in the presence of the *dalāl*, initiator, followed by *brāt* of the *murīd* alone with the *ḥuṭb*, the initiate contracts obligations: obedience, charity, secret of the *dhikr*, service for 12 years; presentation of the *dīg-i dīūsh* (boiling pot), and offers five things: nuts; a ring; a coin; a piece of cloth and sweetmeats (which acquired a particular virtue). Now the custom of *dīg-i dīūsh* (boiled meat presented by the *murīd*, who carries the boiling pot on his head to the *ḥuṭb* who distributes it to his guests) exists, says Shaikh Kaiwān, among the 'Alī Ilāhī. "It is the custom for them to carry once a week the boiling pot to their superior, to make up for prayer omitted and as soon as the superior says "thy gift is accepted", the omitted prayer becomes accepted by the Lord. They call this custom *niyāz*, offering, as distinct from *namāz*, prayer. Hast thou said thy prayer? No, but I have offered *niyāz*". Among the Tā'ūsīs the custom of *dīg-i dīūsh* seems to be connected with the custom, called *akīka* [q.v.], on the 7<sup>th</sup> day after the birth of a child, when the parents sacrifice a lamb and give the meat to the poor. Here we have the comparison between the new-born child and the initiate, the latter receiving a new soul.

As to the term *niyāz*, the Tā'ūsīs have it also, but it is applied to an assembly in which there is no offering but which has a very elaborate ritual, not only of participation in preparation but also the actual ceremony itself, of which Kaiwān refuses to give the real significance. He says, among other things, that the 'Alī Ilāhī and the Ṣūfis "are in the same valley". The former, observing *ḥaḳīkat*, are however superior to the latter who stop at *ṭarīkat*. Formerly, the rite of "breaking the nut" (*dīūz shekestan*) was performed by the superior of the 'Alī Ilāhī alone and the Ṣūfī *ḥuṭbs* had to give him for this purpose the nuts received from the disciples. What is worth noting about



the Ṭāʿūsī is the resemblance of some of their rites to those of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ. This connection must not be neglected in spite of the differences which are also to be noted, remembering the part played by Bābā Ṭāhīr among the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ, as one of the divine manifestations, and the fact that Mullā Sulṭān ʿAlī Genābādī is the author of commentaries in Arabic and Persian on the work of Bābā Ṭāhīr [q.v.]. F. M. Stead (in *M.W.*, 1932, p. 184—189) even mentions "one of the branches of the Ali Ilahi Cult, known as the Tausi or Peacock sect... venerates the devil", but this would suggest rather a connection with the Yazīdis [q.v.] of which we have been unable to find any indication. The Ṭāʿūsī teaching has, on the contrary, so far as we can judge, been strongly influenced by Bābī conceptions (the charge made against Ḥādīdī Mullā Sulṭān was perhaps not entirely without foundation?) and in consequence affords us a typical example of modern heterodox syncretism in Shīʿite circles, which has assimilated in its own way Ṣūfī, ʿAlī Ilāhī and Bābī ideas?

*Bibliography:* So far as we know, there is not as yet a special study devoted to the Ṭāʿūsīs and as regards bibliography we can only indicate the works of Shaikh Kaiwān from which we have derived the preceding materials especially: *Kitāb-i rāz gosha ki pāsash-i pandjāh porsish ast wa-kitāb-i bahin soḡhan ki duʿzdah porsish ast*, written in 1350 and published in Teherān at about the same time. (B. NIKITINE)

**TIMGAD**, a Roman town in Algeria, 25 miles E. of Batna (department of Constantine). Timgad during the first century B. C. was only a little military station intended to watch the northern slopes of the Awrās. In 100 A.D. Trajan decided to build a town there. This was built for the most part by soldiers of the Third Legion, who were stationed at Lambessa, and peopled by colonists, veterans and natives from the country round. It prospered rapidly and was raised to the rank of a colony. The walls which surrounded it had even to be taken away as it spread beyond its ancient bounds. It began to decline in the fourth century, and suffered at the beginning of the fifth from the Vandal invasion, but recovered its importance under the rule of the Byzantines, who built a fortress there. It was destroyed in the first Arab invasion of the seventh century. The ancient writers rarely mention Timgad, which we know only from the inscriptions and the excavations conducted in 1881. The Arab writers give us no information about the town.

*Bibliography:* Boeswillwald, Cagnat and Ballu, *Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'empire romain*, Paris 1891—1905; R. Cagnat, *Carthage, Timgad et Tebessa*, Paris 1909. (G. YVER)

\*ṬIRĀZ, Addendum.

The above article had already been completely set up when, while I was in Cairo, Prof. G. Wiet most kindly gave me access to his rich collection of ṭirāz inscriptions, which contains a wealth of new material, some of which is in the possession of dealers or private collectors and some in various museums. Pride of place must be given to the Arab Museum in Cairo which has in the course of the past few years added to its valuable collection of textiles a whole series of fine pieces with ṭirāz inscriptions; next in importance is the incomparable Benaki Museum in Athens. Of the new material, which comprises over a hundred

texts, I can of course cite only the most important without going beyond the limits of this article: but this limitation is more readily acceptable since the publication of all the ṭirāz texts is in preparation by G. Wiet in *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, and of the ṭirāz materials of the Arab Museum by E. Combe.

To the ṭirāz inscriptions which contain the name of the ruler with benedictory formulae may be added a few new ones from the Fāṭimid and ʿAbbāsīd periods. To the former belong three ṭirāzes of the Arab Museum in Cairo: Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 8072: *ʿIzz min Allāh li ʿl-Khalīfa Djaʿfar minmā* [2 words missing] *al-Imām al-Muḡtadīr bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn sanat ʿashara ṡḡalāṡḡ miʿa, ḡḡafara Allāh lahu (?) wa-li Wāḡḡḡḡḡḡ. ʿIzz min Allāh li ʿl-Khalīfa Djaʿfar*, "Glory from God to the Caliph Djaʿfar. This is part of that which the Imām al-Muḡtadīr biʿllāh the Commander of the Faithful [has ordered?], year 310. God have mercy upon him and his parents. Glory from God to the Caliph Djaʿfar" (the inscription is apparently repeated). Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 7961 has after the basmala: [*Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh Abi ʿl-ʿAbbās Muḡammad al-Imām al-Rāḡḡḡ bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn aiyadahu Allāh sanat...*] "Blessing from God on the servant of God Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Muḡammad the Imām al-Rāḡḡḡ bi ʿllāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God strengthen, year...". A similar piece from the Moritz Nahman collection in Cairo is noteworthy because it, although complete, breaks off with the *alif* of *aiyadahu*. The third specimen, perhaps the latest that has survived from the ʿAbbāsīd period, Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 8164, runs: *Bismi ʿllāh al-Raḡḡḡḡḡ al-Raḡḡḡḡ. Baraka min Allāh [li-ʿAbd] Allāh A[bi] ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Imām al-Ḳāḡḡḡḡ bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn [aiyada]hu Allāh* [3—4 words missing].

To the Fāṭimid period belongs the next, a piece from the Tano collection in Cairo which consists of 2 fragments, A and B: A. [*al-Mali*] *k al-Ḥaḡḡ al-mubīn al-yaḡḡīyīn (sic) al-Ḥamd li ʿllāh Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn wa-ṡallā Allāḡḡ* B... [*aḡl-Imām al-Muʿizz (li-Dīn) Allāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn, Ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalaihi wa-ʿalā Abnāʿihi al-ṡāḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, "the King, the clear and indubitable Truth; Praise be to God, the Lord of Beings and God bless [...]: B... the Imām al-Muʿizz (li-Dīn) Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful, God's blessings on him and on his pure sons...". A second from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, runs: 1. [*Bismi ʿllāh al-Raḡḡḡḡḡ al-Raḡḡḡḡ, lā [ʿllāh illa ʿllāh waḡḡḡḡḡ lā Sharīk lahu...* 2... *Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāḡḡ wa-Walīyihī Nīzār [Abi ʿl-Mansūr al-Imām al-ʿAzīz bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn]*. The following further examples may be given of the joint mention of the caliph and his vizier: Nahman collection, Cairo: *Bismi ʿllāh al-Raḡḡḡḡḡ al-Raḡḡḡḡ; ʿIzz min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāḡḡ Djaʿfar al-Imām al-Muḡtadīr bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn aʿazzahu ʿllāh, mā (a)marā ʿl-Wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿIsā bi-ʿAmalīḡḡ ṡḡalāṡḡ wa-ṡḡalāṡḡḡḡḡḡ. Benaki Museum Athens: *Bismi ʿllāh al-Raḡḡḡḡḡ al-Raḡḡḡḡ. Al-Ḥamd li ʿllāh [Rabb] al-ʿĀlamīn. Baraka min Allāḡḡ li ʿl-Khalīfa Djaʿfar al-Imām al-Muḡtadīr bi ʿllāh Amīr al-Muʿminīn, aḡḡḡ Allāḡḡ Baḡḡḡḡḡḡ. Mā amara al-Wazīr Ḥamīd b. al-ʿAbbās aʿazzahu ʿllāh bi-Maṡr ʿalā yadaī Ṣḡaḡḡ al-Muḡtadīrī Mawḡḡḡ Amīr al-Muʿminīn sanat sabʿ wa-ṡḡalāṡḡḡḡḡḡ. Baraka. Arab Museum, Cairo, Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 1. [*Bismi ʿllāh aḡl-Raḡḡḡḡḡ al-Raḡḡḡḡ; lā ʿllāh illa ʿllāh waḡḡḡḡḡ***

dahu... 2... Šalawāt Allāh 'alaihi... wa'alā Abnā'ihi al-muntazarin. Mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi al-Wazīr al-aḍḡa[ll... ] (the same inscription partly preserved on a tīrāz in E. Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Gräbern*, p. 22, N<sup>o</sup>. 3132 and plate vii., and gaps to be filled as above). Russell Pasha collection: A 1. Bismi 'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm; lā llāh illa 'llāh waḥdahū lā šarīk lahu, Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh... B 1... li-ʿAbd Allāh wa-Walīyihī Maʿadd... A 2... al-Mustanšir bi 'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minin Šalawāt Allāh 'alaihi B [wa'alā Abnā'ihi al-ḡāhirin wā-] Abnā'ihi al-aḡramīn, mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi al-Kādi al-a[ḡjall]... Of special interest is a tīrāz of the Arab Museum in Cairo (Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 7966) in which al-Djardjarī, vizier of the Fātimids al-Zāhir and al-Mustanšir, who died in 436, is mentioned. The text runs: al-Wazīr al-aḡjall Šafī Amīr al-Mu'minin wa-Khāliṣatuhu Abū 'l-Kā[sim 'Alī b. Aḡmad]... "The most celebrated vizier, confidant and friend of the Commander of the Faithful Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Aḡmad)". In this connection may be quoted a tīrāz of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla Abū Naṣr (cf. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, ii., p. 212) which is on a silk robe in the George H. Meyer collection in Washington and was made in Mesopotamia: A. [I]zz wa-lḡbāl li-Malik al-Mulūk d... B. [Bahā'] al-Dawla wa-Diyā al-Milla wa-ḡhiyāth al-Umma Abū Naṣr b. ʿAḡud. C. al-Dawla wa-Tādī al-Milla ḡāl-ʿUmruku... D. Istīmāl Abī Saʿīd Zādān Farrūkh b. ʿĀzdmard al-Khāzin. "Power and fortune to the King of Kings... B. Bahā' al-Dawla and Light of the Community and Asylum of the Nation [Abū Naṣr b. ʿAḡud C. al-Dawla] and Crown of the Community, long may he live, ... D. for the use of the Treasurer Abū Saʿīd Zādān Farrūkh b. ʿĀzdmard". Two examples of the mention in a tīrāz of princes independent of Baghdad may conclude this section. One has been published by Riano (*Industrial Arts in Spain*, p. 254) and Amador de los Rios (*Enseñas musulmanas*, p. 148) and mentions the Spanish Omayyad Caliph Hishām II; the text runs after the basmala: al-Baraka min Allāh wa 'l-Yumn wa 'l-Dawām li 'l-Khalifa al-Imām 'Abd Allāh Hishām al-muʿaiyad bi 'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minin. The second is in large letters in flowery Kūfic on a fragment of textile 57 x 52 cm. in the Moritz Nahman collection in Cairo and is of the Zaidi Imām al-Manšūr Yūsuf b. Yaḡyā (cf. E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel*, ii. 122):... al-Dā'i ila 'l-Ḥaḡḡ Amīr al-Mu'minin Yūsuf b. Yaḡyā b. al-Nāṣir... Aḡmad b. Rasūl Allāh ḡallā Allāh 'alaihim adjma'ān. Presumably it came from the tīrāz factory in Šanʿā' for the existence of which further evidence will be quoted.

As regards the tīrāz factories in Egypt we now have inscriptional evidence that there was a public factory in Tinnīs in addition to that which worked only for the court. The latter is mentioned on a textile in the Benaki Museum in Athens which has the following two lines worked in gold upon it: 1... [lā llāh] illa 'llāh; Naṣr min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh wa-Walīyihī Nizār Abī 'l-Manšūr al-Imām al-ʿAziz bi 'llāh... 2... [mā amara... al-luām al-ʿAziz bi 'llāh... Šalawāt Allāh 'alaihi... wa'alā Abnā'ihi] al-aḡramīn bi-ʿAmalihi fiṭrās (sic) al-khāṣṣa bi-Tinnīs sanat... The former is mentioned in two pieces in the Nahman collection in Cairo; one has the inscription Bismi 'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh

Djāfar al-Imām al-Muḡtadīr bi 'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minin aiyadahu Allāh, mā ama[ra al-Wazīr] 'Alī b. Isā bi-ʿAmalihi fi Tīrās al-ʿamma bi-Tinnīs 'alā yadai Šafī Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minin, the second, only preserved in fragments... [Ḥāmid b.] al-ʿAbbās bi-ʿAmalihi fi Tīrās al-ʿamma bi-Tinnīs 'alā yadai Šafī Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minin... The tīrāz factory is not more precisely defined in a piece of the year 309 A.H. in the same collection with the text:... al-Imām al-Muḡtadīr bi 'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minin aʿazzahu Allāh, mā amara al-Wazīr Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās bi-ʿAmalihi fi Tīrās Tinnīs 'alā yadai Šafī Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minin sanat tis' wa-thalāthm(?)a Muḥammad.

There are now available two references from tīrāz inscriptions to a public factory in Tūna. Both are in the Benaki Museum in Athens. The one has the following Kūfic inscription woven in black on the linen:... Manšūr Abī 'Alī al-Imām al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minin, Šalawāt Allāh 'alaihi wa'alā Abnā'ihi al-ḡāhirin wa-Abnā'ihi al-aḡramīn al-aḡḡyār wa-sallim taslimān. Mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi fi Tīrās al-ʿamma bi-Tūnā (sic) sanat ḡamān wa-ḡamanīn wa-thalāthmi'a; lā llāh illa 'llāh... in ḡhā'a 'llāh wa 'l-Tawfiḡ bi 'llāh, al-lḡbāl min Allāh. "Manšūr Abū 'Alī the Imām al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful, God's blessings upon him and his pure fathers and his noble, splendid sons and give him prosperity. (This is part) of what he ordered to be made in the public tīrāz factory in Tūna in the year 388. There is no god but Allāh... as God will and success rests with God and good fortune (comes) from God". The second more completely preserved tīrāz text runs: Bismi 'llāh wa-bi 'llāh (sic) al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm; lā llāh illa 'llāh al-Malik al-Ḥaḡḡ al-mubīn al-Ḥamdu li 'llāh Rabb al-ʿAlamin, Naṣr min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh wa-Walīyihī al-Manšūr etc. as above fi Tīrās al-ʿamma bi-Tūna sanat tis'in wa-thalāthmi'a. Lā llāh illa 'llāh... in ḡhā'a 'llāh. For Damietta we now have the following inscription 110 cm. long from a piece in a private collection in large Kūfic letters in red silk... [two words missing] mimmā amara bi-ḡi al-Wazīr [Abū] 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad [2 words] fi Tīrās al-khāṣṣa bi-Dimyāt wa-djar(ā) 'alā yadai Bishr al-Khādim Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minin sanat sitt wa-tis'in wa-mi'atain. There was also a public tīrāz factory in al-Bahnasā, as we know from the specimen Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 7120 in the Arab Museum in Cairo with the inscription... mimmā 'umila fi Tīrās al-khāṣṣa bi-Madinat al-Bahnasā. For the existence of a public tīrāz factory in the Faiyūm (the name unfortunately cannot be read with certainty) we have evidence in a fine inscription on a robe in the Arab Museum in Cairo (Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 9061:...) da wa-Ni'ma kāmila li-Šāhibihī; mimmā 'umila fi Tīrās al-khāṣṣa bi-Šimūl(?) min Kūrat al-Faiyūm. Two further names of tīrāz factories are obtained from fragments of cloth (Inv. N<sup>o</sup>. 7086 and 8174) of the Arab Museum in Cairo, their interpretation is however still uncertain. The pertinent passage in the first is: uimmā 'umila بالسيد 'alā yadai Muḥammad b. Hilāl sanat [sitt] khamsin mi'atain, in the second [f]i Tīrās al-ʿamma بالسيدون fi sanat ḡhalāth wa-ṣishrin [...]. One would be tempted to read the latter name as Ushmun if the number of strokes were not too



laage. The tīrāz factory in Cairo without more precise indication is now known from a whole series of pieces of the years 298, 301, 305, 330, 336, 353 A. H., which are mainly in the Moritz Nahman collection. Three tīrāz inscriptions of the same collection mention the *tīrāz al-ʿamma bi-Maṣr* (years 302 and 310 and one not dated). I give only one text in full because it shows that it refers to a *kiswa*: *Bismi 'llāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm. Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh Djaʿfar al-Imām al-Muḥtadīr bi 'llāh Amīr al-Muʾminīn aiyadahu Allāh. Mimmā amara al-Wazīr ʿAlī b. Muḥammad fī Tīrāz al-ʿamma bi-Maṣr ʿalā yadai Shafī Mawla Amīr al-Muʾminīn sanat ʿashr thalāth miʿa* [1—2 letters] *Kiswa*... That in addition to this public factory there was also a tīrāz factory which worked for the private requirements of the ruler, is evident from a piece of linen in the Arab Museum in Cairo, Inv. No. 7085 with the inscription:... [*A*]mir al-Muʾminīn aʿazzahu Allāh, mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi fī Tīrāz al-khāṣṣa bi-Maṣr sanat arbaʿ wa-khamsīn wa-miʾatain and from a piece in the Benaki Museum in Athens with the text:... [*A*]mir al-Muʾminīn aiyadahu Allāh, amara al-Wazīr [a]ʿazzahu Allāh bi-ʿAmalihi fī Tīrāz al-khāṣṣa bi-Maṣr sanat khams [wa-si]ttin wa-thalāth miʿa. It is of importance that we now know of two places of manufacture outside this province in addition to these new evidences of tīrāz factories in Egypt. The one in Tiberias is mentioned on a rug 115 × 233 cm. in the Benaki Museum in Athens, the inscription on which in two lines 95 cm. long — one at the top and the other at the bottom — in fine Kūf with large letters in a chestnut brown has the following text twice repeated: *Baraka kāmila wa-Niʿma shāmila wa-Saʿāda mutawāsiṭa li-Ṣāhibihi; mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi fī Tīrāz al-khāṣṣa bi-Ṭabariya*. A second, Ṣanʿā, is mentioned in the tīrāz of a striped piece of Yemeni material recently acquired by the Arab Museum in Cairo. It runs: *Bismi 'llāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm wa 'l-Ḥamd li 'llāh Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn wa-ṣallā* Allāh ʿalā Muḥammad ʿAbdīhi wa Rasūlihi [2—3 words] *Allāh wa-Baraka. Baraka min Allāh wa-Yumn wa-Saʿāda wa-Niʿma li-ʿAbd Allāh al-Khalīfa Djaʿfar al-Imām al-Muḥtadīr bi 'llāh Amīr al-Muʾminīn aʿālā Allāh Baḳāʾahu wa-adāma Aʿāzahu wa-Salāmatahu. Mimmā amara bi-ʿAmalihi fī Tīrāz al-khāṣṣa bi-Ṣanʿā sanat ihḍā ʿashara wa-thalāth miʿa*. We see therefore that the ʿAbbāsids had their private factories also in the capital of the Yemen which was so noted for its textiles.

(A. GROHMANN)

**TUGGURT**, a town in the Algerian Sahara, 135 miles S. of Biskra with which it is now connected by railway. It lies in 32° 7' N. lat. and 6° 2' E. long. at a height of 200 feet above sea-level. — Tuggurt is the most important place in the Wād Rir, a long narrow valley running for over 130 miles from north to south into which two Saharan rivers flow: the Wād Mya from Tidikelt and the Tgharghar from the Hoggar. The presence at a slight depth of subterranean water has enabled palmgroves to flourish here, of which those of Tuggurt, with over 170,000 trees, producing a famous quality of dates, are the largest. The stagnation of the water on the surface of the soil however, because it cannot run away, makes the country very unhealthy and produces in summer a dangerous fever called *them* by the natives. The

climate is further marked by great variations in temperature (minimum in winter nights: — 7; maximum in summer days: + 56 Centigrade). In spite of these unfavourable conditions, Tuggurt, situated at the junction of caravan routes, has always enjoyed from the economic point of view a considerable importance which has earned it the name of the "stomach of the Sahara".

Tuggurt consists of a town made up of several quarters and suburbs consisting of villages grouped around in a radius of 2 or 3 miles (Nazla, Sidi Bū Djanān, Tabesbest, Zāwiya). The houses are for the most part built of unbaked brick, the principal streets are bordered by arcades or partly covered over. The only notable building is the great mosque, built by Tunisian workmen in the service of the sultāns of Tuggurt. The population consists for the most part of Ruwā'a (natives of the Wād Rir) of Berber origin, but so strongly mixed with black blood, as a result of the introduction of slaves from the Sūdān, that many of them look like negroes. Mention may also be made of the Muḥājirīn, Jewish converts to Islām at the end of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, who live in a quarter of their own and acted as scribes and book-keepers to the sultāns. The population of the town proper and adjacent villages amounts 12,108, of whom 168 are Europeans (census of 1926). Tuggurt is the capital of a territory measuring 139,000 sq km, with 212,683 inhabitants of whom 691 are Europeans.

History. We know very little of the history of Tuggurt down to the xv<sup>th</sup> century, and such information as we do have is largely of a legendary character. If the Romans reached the Wād Rir, they did not establish themselves there and the country remained in the possession of its natives. According to Ibn Khaldūn, a section of the Berber tribe of the Rir'a took possession of the whole land between the Zāb and Wargla where they mixed with other tribes of Zenāta stock. The groups thus formed lived independently in little towns of which Tuggurt was the chief. According to the *Kitāb al-Adwani*, they included a good many Jews. Khārīdjism made many converts among them and survived for long there since a local tradition attributes the conversion of the ʿIbādīs of Tuggurt to an Idrisī sharīf Sidi Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, who settled in Tuggurt in the xv<sup>th</sup> century A.D. After escaping the first Arab invasion, the people of Tuggurt had to recognise the authority of the rulers of the Maghrib. In the Almohad period, they were under a governor, who resided in Biskra; they were next under the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, then under the Banū Muzni, who had rendered themselves practically independent in the Zibān. The town itself was disputed between two families, the ʿUbaid Allāh and the Benī Brāhīm of Temacine. The disorders provoked by this rivalry brought down on the town an expedition sent by the Ḥafṣid sultān Ibn al-Ḥakīm, who seized it and levied tribute upon it in 1353 A.D. Civil strife however soon broke out again. It ceased, according to the story, on the arrival of Sidi Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, who ruled the Wād Rir for 40 years. To the same date, we are told, belongs the foundation of the present town of Tuggurt (Tuggūrt al-Behādja) to the north of the old town the site of which is marked at the present day by the village of Nazla.

As a result of fresh troubles there appeared in

the district a Moroccan prince *Slīmān b. Djellāb*, related to the Marinids. He settled in Tuggurt on his way back from the pilgrimage to Mecca and founded a mosque; then, supported by the nomads of the neighbourhood, notably the *Ūlād Moulāt* and the *Dawāwida* Arabs, he succeeded in obtaining recognition as sovereign. He was the ancestor of the *Benī Djellāb* who reigned at Tuggurt till the sixteenth century.

In spite of many vicissitudes and continual domestic strife, complicated by the intervention of the nomads and later of the Turks, the *Ben Djellāb* succeeded in maintaining their independence. In the xvth century, the beylerbey *Ṣalāḥ Re'is* led an expedition successfully against them, but after plundering the town, he was content with the exaction of a tribute of 15 negroes annually. In the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, the *Ben Djellāb* recognised the suzerainty of the beys of Constantine, but paid no taxes. The beys therefore tried unsuccessfully to replace them by their creatures, the *Ben Ghana*. The campaigns undertaken by *Ṣalāḥ Bey*, who in 1788 bombarded the town for 22 days, then in 1821 by *Aḥmad Mamlūk*, whose withdrawal the people of Tuggurt purchased, only resulted in increasing the hostility of the *Ben Djellāb* against the Turks. After the taking of Algiers, *Sultān 'Abd al-Kabir* offered his services to France against the bey of Constantine (1831); when the French had established themselves at Biskra, his successor *'Abd al-Raḥmān* recognised the suzerainty of France. These good relations were broken in 1852. *Slīmān b. Djellāb*, nephew of the late *sultān*, who had usurped the power, having made an alliance with an agitator, the *sherif* of Wargla, *Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh*, a French column occupied Tuggurt on Dec. 3, 1854 and installed a garrison there. Troubles again broke out in 1871. An adventurer, *Bū Shūsha*, seized Tuggurt and massacred the garrison, but order was again definitely established by the end of the same year and peace has not since been disturbed.

*Bibliography*: Leo Africanus, "Description de l'Afrique", book vi. (transl. Schefer, iii. 249); *Hādjdjī Ibn al-Dīn al-Aghwātī*, "Itinéraire", p. 15 sq., 41 sqq. in *d'Avezac, Études de géographie critique sur une partie de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1836; Ch. Féraud, *Kitāb al-Adawani on Recueil de traditions sur la Sahara de Constantine et de Tunis*, in *Recueil de Notices et Mémoires... société archéol. de Constantine*, 1886; do., *Les Ben Djellab, sultans de Touggourt*, in *R. A.*, 1879; do., *La Sahara constantinois*, Algiers 1887; Th. Plein, *Lettres familières sur l'Algérie* 2, Algiers 1893. (G. YVER)

**TUGHR-LSHĀH** *B. Kīlīdj Arslān*, *MUGHITH AL-DĪN*, a *Salḍjuk* ruler in Asia Minor. When the old king *Kīlīdj Arslān II* [q.v.] divided his kingdom among his many sons, *Tughrīlshāh* received the town of Abulustain. In 597 (1200—1201) his brother *Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān* [q.v.] conquered Erzerūm which he handed over to *Tughrīlshāh*, while he himself took Abulustain. A few years later *Balaban*, lord of *Khilāt* (*Akhilāt*), was attacked by the *Aiyūbid al-Awḥad* *Aiyūb b. al-'Adil* [q.v.]. As he was unable to defend himself alone he appealed to *Tughrīlshāh* for help and they attacked and routed *al-Awḥad* with their combined forces. *Tughrīlshāh*, who also coveted *Khilāt*, then had *Balaban* treacherously murdered but when he tried to seize the town he met with a vigorous resistance, so he turned his attention to *Malāzgerd* [q.v.]. Here also he was

defeated and there was nothing left for him but to return to Erzerūm. The people of *Khilāt* then turned to *al-Awḥad* who occupied the town in 604 (1207—1208). *Tughrīlshāh* was unable to defend himself against his neighbours, the Georgians; he had to pay tribute to King *Giorgi III Lasha* in Tiflis, and show himself his vassal in other respects also. Finally a son of *Tughrīlshāh* adopted Christianity and married the sister of *Giorgi*, *Rusudan*, who succeeded him on the throne [see *TIFLIS*]. *Tughrīlshāh* died in 622 (1225) and was succeeded by his son *Rukn al-Dīn Djahānshāh*, who in 627 (1230) was dethroned by his cousin *'Alā'* *al-Dīn Kaikōbād I* [q.v.]. According to another, undoubtedly incorrect, story, *Tughrīlshāh* died as early as 610 (1213—1214) after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the kingdom of his nephew *Kaikā'ūs I* [q.v.], being taken prisoner and put to death by him.

*Bibliography*: *Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 58, 134, 180, 271, 279, 295, 318; *Abu 'l-Fidā', Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 249, 251; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux*, i. 84, 87; ii. 69, 97 sq., 172 sq.; *Houtsma, Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, iii. 11, 27 sq., 57, 59 sq., 99, 102, 104 sq., 187; iv. 5, 9, 21—23, 40—43, 84, 148; *Khalīl Edhem, Dürvel-i islāmīye*, p. 211, 219, 228; *de Zaumbaur, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 143 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

**ṬUNBÜR** (A.), pandore. The pandore may be generally distinguished from the lute by its smaller sound-chest and longer neck. We see it in ancient Egypt (*Sachs, Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, p. 54), Assyria (*Engel, Music of the most ancient nations*, p. 54), and Persia (terracotta from Susa in the Louvre, Paris). In Egypt it appears to have been known as the *nefer* (cf. *Lavignac, Encycl. de la musique*, i. 27; *Transact. Glasgow University Oriental Society*, v. 26) which some scholars equate with the Hebrew *nebel*. The instrument exists with but little change in the *gunbrī* of North Africa, the name of which carries, in its consonants *n-b-r*, a trace of the old Egyptian word.

The *gunbrī* (dim. *gunbrī*), in its most primitive form, with a gourd, shell, or wooden sound-chest, a skin or leather belly, and horsehair strings without tuning pegs, is the earliest form of the pandore known to us, and is to be found among the peasantry of North Africa from the Atlantic to the Nile. The sound-chest is constructed in many shapes and sizes, pear-shaped, ovoid, hemispherical and rectangular. The better type of instrument, which is used by the professional musician in artistic music, has tuning pegs, and is generally very artistically adorned with colours. It is mentioned by *Ibn Baṭṭūta* (d. 1337) in his *Tuhfat al-Nuẓār* (iv. 406). See actual examples in museums at Brussels, Nrs. 396—400; Paris, N<sup>o</sup>. 848—849; New York, Nrs. 1322—1324. For a full description of the instrument see *Farmer, Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, p. 39—49.

The *ṭunbūr*, *ṭinbār*, *tunbūr* (vulg. *ṭanbūr*) is the classical name for the pandore in the East. *Al-Mas'ūdī* (*Murūdī*, viii. 90) attributes its invention to the iniquitous peoples of Sodom and Gomorra, hence perhaps the name (*ṭann* = "musical sound" + *būr* = "one destined to perdition"), although the lexicographers derive the word from the Persian *dum* or *dunba* ("tail") and *bara* ("lamb").



At the same time we see the consonants *n-b-r* already referred to, and the Arabic verbal root *nabara* means "to raise the voice". Julius Pollux says that the one-stringed instrument (*μονόχορδος*) was invented by the Arabs, and that the Assyrians called the three-stringed instrument the *πανδοῦρα*. That the Greeks borrowed the word from the Semites is evident from Nicomachus who says that the vulgar name for the *μονόχορδος* was *φάνδορα*, the varying use of *π* and *φ* showing the Greek uncertainty in representing the Semitic *b*.

We first read of the *tunbūr* in Arabic literature in the viii<sup>th</sup> century (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, v. 161). The instrument was already the most favoured instrument in Persia, al-Raiy, Ṭabaristān and al-Dailam (*Murūdj*, viii. 91) and by the late ix<sup>th</sup> and early x<sup>th</sup> centuries it became so popular with the Arabs as to threaten the supremacy of the *ūd* (lute). Two books on the lives of famous pandorists were written at this period (*Fihrist*, p. 145—146). In the x<sup>th</sup> century two distinct types were known: the *tunbūr al-mizānī* or *tunbūr al-baghdādī* which was attributed to the Šābians, and the *tunbūr al-khurāsānī*. The former, which retained in its frets the scale of pagan times, was used in al-ʿIrāq and to the South and West of it. The latter was favoured in Khurāsān and to the North and East of it. Both were generally found with two strings although the *tunbūr al-khurāsānī* was sometimes mounted with three. These pandores are fully described by al-Fārābī in the x<sup>th</sup> century (Kosegarten, Land and d'Erlanger as cited). The identity of these particular types of pandores is lost after this and, indeed, the *tunbūr* is merely mentioned by name by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (x<sup>th</sup> century), Ibn Sīna (d. 1037), Ibn Zaila (d. 1048), and Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1294). The last named describes a two-stringed instrument (*Kitāb al-Adwār*, fol. 18; Carra de Vaux, *Traité des rapports musicaux*, p. 52). It is not described in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xiv<sup>th</sup> century) although Ibn Ghāibī gives details of several types, three of which bear the name. The *tunbūr-i shirwīnān* had a deep pear-shaped sound-chest (*kāsa*) and two strings. It was favoured by the people of Tabriz. The *tunbūra-yi turkī* sometimes had three strings but more generally two. Its sound-chest was smaller than the preceding instrument although it had a longer neck (*saʿid*). Both of these instruments were played with the fingers. In the *nāy tunbūr*, which was also mounted with two strings, a plectrum (*miḍrāb*) was used. Examples of the *tunbūr* in varying types crowd into Persian painting of the xv<sup>th</sup> and xvii<sup>th</sup> centuries. Ewliyā ʿĀlebi (*Travels*, i/ii. 234—236) and Ḥādīdī Khālifa (*Kashf*, i. 400) mention it among the Turkish instruments in the xvii<sup>th</sup> century. The former says that the *tunbūr* was invented at Marʿash in Syria. It was evidently mounted with gut strings, as he mentions the *tal tunbūr*, probably a wire strung instrument, the invention of which he attributes to a certain Efendi Ughli of Kutāhīa in Asia Minor. It was smaller than the other *tunbūr* and was popular with the women-folk.

The *sharkī* mentioned by him is probably identical with the *tunbūr sharkī* (see Villoteau). He says that it resembled the *čartār* and was played by Turkomans. In xvii<sup>th</sup> century Persia, as we know from the *Estat de la Perse en 1660* (*P.E.L.O.V.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., xx. 118), Chardin (*Voyages*, Paris 1735, iii. 159) and Kaempfer (*Amoenitatum Exoticarum*,

1712, p. 743, fig. 16), the *tunbūr* or (and) *tunbūra* was still favoured. The latter shows it with three strings but says that four or more were also found in use. In a Persian work entitled *Dar ʿIlm-i Mūsikī* (John Rylands Library MS., Manchester, N<sup>o</sup>. 346) dating from the middle of the viii<sup>th</sup> century, a *tunbūr* with three double strings is described and delineated. Russell (*Nat. hist. of Aleppo*, 1794, i., pl. iv.) gives a design of a Syrian *tunbūr* with three double(?) strings. Toderini (*Litteratura turchesca*, Venice 1789) and La Borde (*Essai sur la musique*, 1780) also give designs of the *tunbūr*. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776) says that *tunbūra* was the generic name for all the wire instruments. He mentions three kinds of pandore: the *tunbūr* or *icitali*, the *sawuri*, and the *baghlama*. The *tunbūr*, which, he says, the Greeks of the Archipelago and Egypt called the *icitali* (? *ikitali* / *Türk. iki* = "two" + *tēli* "wire string", hence the modern Greek *κίτελις*), had two wire strings. The *sawuri* is likened by Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte*), who wrote a quarter of a century later, to the *tunbūr buzurk* ("grand pandore"), and so the name may probably have been *suwawārī* ("grand"). On the other hand, since its tuning was identical with the *tunbūr sharkī* ("Eastern pandore") described by Villoteau, the proper name may have been *sūriyī* ("Syrian"). It had three wire strings, two of which were doubled. The *baghlama* was a smaller *tunbūr* of three strings, and Niebuhr says that this was the name given it by the Greeks of Cairo. All these instruments of Niebuhr have pear-shaped sound-chests. Villoteau, who gives designs and a full description of the pandores of Egypt, says that he saw them only in the hands of the Turks, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians in Egypt. He names five. These, from the longest to the shortest, were: the *tunbūr kabīr turkī*, the *tunbūr sharkī*, the *tunbūr buzurk*, the *tunbūr bulghārī*, and the *tunbūr baghlama* (= *tunbūra bi-ghulāma*). Except for the first named instrument, which had a round sound-chest and four double strings, they all possessed a pear-shaped sound-chest with three strings, some of which were doubled.

In Lane's time (*Modern Egyptians*, 1836) the *tunbūr* still continued to be ignored by native musicians in Egypt, and was only to be found in the hands of Greeks and other foreigners. It is the same to-day (Darwīsh Muḥammad, *Ṣafāʾ al-Awḳāt*, p. 13). In Syria and Palestine the *tunbūr* is favoured by native musicians in various forms (*Z.D.P.V.*, 1927, i. 47, pl. 4; Mushāḳa, in *M.F.O.B.*, vi. 26; Densmore, *Handbook . . . of mus. instr. in the U. S. National Museum*, pl. 35). In Turkey the most popular type is known as the *maidān sāzī* strung with three double strings, of which the smaller varieties take the older names of *buzurk* and *baghlama* (Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v. 3018). In Persia the type finds expression in the *silār*, *čartār*, and such like instruments. It is the most important instrument in Khwārizm and Turkistān, as well as in the Caucasus and the Balkans (for examples from Islāmic lands in museums see South Kensington, Nrs. 576—572; New York, Case 25, 25<sup>a</sup>; Brussels, Nrs. 161—162, 406, 769—670; Paris, Nrs. 844—846). It is the *tan-pou-la* of China, the *tumburu* of India, the *domra* of Russia, and the *ταμπούρας* of Greece. The St. Médard Evangel (viii<sup>th</sup> century), the Lothair and Labeo Notker Psalters (ix<sup>th</sup>—x<sup>th</sup> century), and the Apocalypse of St. John (Bibl. Nac., Madrid:

xith century) show the early influence of the *tunbūr* on Western Europe.

The *tār* is a long-necked pandore with an elongated vault-shaped sound-chest and curvatures at the waist. We see the type in ancient Hittite art probably (Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, 2nd ed., pl. iii.). It is clearly delineated in the frescoes at Qusair 'Amra (pls. viii., xiv., xxviii.) in the viiith century, and it frequently occurs in later Persian painting. It is to be found to-day in Persia (Advielle, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 3037), Palestine (*Z.D.P.V.*, i., pl. 4), and Turkistān (Uspensky, *Soviettsky Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 1927, p. 314; see specimens at Paris, Nrs. 1252, 1435; Brussels, N<sup>o</sup>. 772; and London College of Music). Europe has borrowed the type in the *chitarra battente* (Densmore, *op. cit.*, pl. 35). A tutor for the modern *tār* has been published in Persian (*Dastūr Tār* by 'Alī Naqī Khān Wazīrī). As the word *tār* means "string", quite a number of differently strung instruments bear this word. The *yaktār* is a one-stringed instrument, better known in India (Day, *op. cit.*, p. 130). See specimen at Brussels, N<sup>o</sup>. 96, with a round gourd sound-chest which is identical with the instrument delineated in the Persian *Dar 'Ilm-i Mūsīkī* (John Rylands Library MS., N<sup>o</sup>. 346). The *dūtār* to-day is a two-stringed *tunbūr* with a pear-shaped sound-chest in Turkistān (Fitrat, *op. cit.*, p. 40; see specimen at Brussels, N<sup>o</sup>. 768). It is mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389) [q. v.] in his *Mughannī Nāma* (ed. Jarrett, p. 225). The *sītār* was originally a three-stringed instrument but to-day it is more generally mounted with four strings (Advielle, *op. cit.*, p. 13). We see it in constant use in India with even more strings, where it is distinguished from the *tumburu* (= *tunbūr*) by being fretted and played with a plectrum. Its invention here is attributed to Amīr Khusrāw of Delhi (xiiith century). The *čartār* or *čahārtār* is a four-stringed instrument. According to Ewliyā Čelebi (xviiith century), it was invented by the Šafawid *Šaikh* Ḥaidar (d. 1488). It is unknown

in Turkey or Persia to-day but is still in use in India (Shahinda, *Indian music*, p. 78). The *panitār*, a five-stringed instrument, is known in Afghānistān (Sachs, *Reallexikon*...). The *šashtār* or *šashtā*, a six-stringed instrument, is said by Ewliyā Čelebi to have been invented by a certain Ridā al-Dīn of Shirwān. Ibn Čhaibi (d. 1435) describes it at length, and mentions three different types one of which had fifteen double sympathetic strings in addition. Its pear-shaped sound-chest was half the size of that of the lute ('ūd) but its neck was long. It is praised by the Turkish poet Aḥmad Pašā (d. 1496) as one of three favoured instruments (Gibb, *Hist. Ottoman Poetry*, N<sup>o</sup>. 77). Ḥadjdji Khalifa (d. 1658) also mentions it. It is still popular in Persia, Aḥharbāidjān, and the Caucasus.

Other instruments of the pandore type are the *karadūzan*, *yūnkār*, *yaltma*, *čugūr*, *čashda* and *sūndar*. The *karadūzan* was invented by a Turk named Kūdūz Farhādī in the xvith century. It had three strings in Ewliyā Čelebi's time. For a modern specimen see Brussels, N<sup>o</sup>. 2508. The *yūnkār*, a smaller instrument of three strings, was invented by Šamsi Čelebi, the son of the Turkish poet Ḥamdī Čelebi (d. 1509). The *yaltoma* was also invented by him. It was also a small three-stringed instrument with a waisted sound-chest like the *tār*. The *čugūr* was invented by Ya'kūb Karmiyānī of Kutāhīa. It had five strings with a wooden belly, and was used by the Janissaries. The modern Turkish instrument is a long-necked pandore used by the minstrels known as *saz šahīrleri* (see specimens at Paris, N<sup>o</sup>. 1253, 1438). It is the Georgian *čungūr*. The *čashda*, says Ewliyā Čelebi, was invented by Banklīshāh of Salonica. It was a small instrument with a hemispherical sound-chest (cf. the *čahazda* mentioned and delineated by Kaempfer, *op. cit.*). The *sūndar* of the Kurds resembled the *čūkūr*, but had twelve metal strings (see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/ii. 235—236).

*Bibliography*: See the *Bibl.* of the art. 'ūd. (H. G. FARMER)

## U

**UBEDA**, Ar. UBBADA, a little town in the southeast of Spain, capital of a district of the province of Jaen, with a population of about 20,000. Although the name Ubeda, which was retained by the Arabs, seem to be of Iberian origin, the Muslim geographers attribute the foundation of the town to the Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam (206—238 = 822—852); the son and successor of this ruler, Muḥammad, is said to have completed its building. Henceforth it formed part of the district (*kūra*) of Jaen [q. v.] and is sometimes called *Ubbadat al-'Arab*, "Ubēda of the Arabs" to distinguish it from another place in the province of Elvira, *Ubbadat Farwā* (cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. 178—284). Like its neighbour Baéza (Arabic: *Baiyāsa*), Ubēda was celebrated in the Muslim world for its crops of saffron. In the middle ages it had an uneventful history and shared the lot of Jaen, the capital, on which it was dependent. It was taken by the forces of the Christians in 609 (1212—1213), soon after

their victory at al-'Iḳāb (las Navas de Tolosa).

*Bibliography*: Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāk*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje (*Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*), text p. 203, transl. p. 249; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text p. 167, transl. p. 238; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 78; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, s. v.; al-Kālkāshandī, *Šubḥ al-A'shā*, v. 229; al-Maḥḥarī, *Nafḥ al-Tīb* (*Analectes*...), ii. 146; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 170, 177.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**'UKAIL**, 1. an old Arab tribe, 2. to-day, in the pronunciation 'Agēl, the name for caravan-leaders and camel-dealers.

1. The genealogy of the tribe is 'Ukail b. Ka'b b. Rabi'a [q. v.] b. 'Amir b. Ša'sa'a of the Hawāzin branch of the Kais-'Ailān [q. v.]; among the larger sections are the 'Ubāda and Rabi'a b. 'Ukail as well as the *Khafādja* [q. v.] b. 'Amr and



al-Muntafiḥ (q. v.; modern pronunciation: Muntafiḥ) b. ‘Amir b. ‘Ukail. Al-Muḥallad b. Dja‘far, the ancestor of the dynasty of the ‘Ukailids [cf. ‘OKAILIDS], traced his descent direct from Hazn b. ‘Ubāda. Al-Ḳaḷḷashandī (*op. cit.*, p. 297) besides these knows of a clan of the Asad b. Ḳhuzaima, called ‘Ukail (not in Wüstenfeld). Unvocalised, ‘Ukail is written identically with ‘Aḳil, of whom the Banū ‘Aḳil b. Abi Ṭālib are the best known (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Ḳaḷḷashandī, *ibid.*).

The ‘Ukail were settled in southern Najd and the adjoining western part of the Yamāma. Their habitat is more accurately defined by a number of districts, waters, hills and villages, which the geographers describe as lying in their territory. The list given by Wüstenfeld, p. 362, based on Bakrī’s *Muḍjam*, can be completed from Yāḳūt. It is worthy of note that a number of mines were in their possession, including the gold-mine of al-‘Aḳiḥ, said to be the most productive in all Arabia; with reference to this, the Prophet is alleged to have said: “The land of ‘Ukail rains gold” (Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 153—154, 177). This “‘Aḳiḥ of the Banū ‘Ukail” is also called “‘Aḳiḥ Tamra” and lies in the vicinity of Ranya, Bisha [q. v.] and Taḥlith, which all belong to the ‘Ukail (Yāḳūt, ii. 826; iii. 700—701; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr.*, p. 52—53, 237 note, 240 note). Among other places belonging to them, the watering-place of Hubāla is better known from the encounter there with the Ḡhanm (Bakrī, p. 826; Dhu ‘l-Rumma, *Diwān*, ed. Macartney, p. 231). Their best known battles date only from the second (eighth) century and show that the conditions of the *djāhiliyya* survived for a long time into Islām.

There are two different stories of the conversion of the ‘Ukail to Islām (both in Ibn Sa‘d). According to one, three deputies from the ‘Ukail brought the homage of their people to the Prophet, who gave them al-‘Aḳiḥ and a document confirming this. According to the other version, Muḥammad endeavoured to win Abū Ḥarb b. Ḳhuwailid b. ‘Amir b. ‘Ukail over to his teaching, but the latter first consulted the divining by arrows to see what he should do. Perplexed by the remarkable chance that the arrow indicating unbelief came out three times, he asked his brother ‘Ikāl (‘Uḳāl) for advice and told him that Muḥammad had promised him al-‘Aḳiḥ if he adopted Islām. ‘Ikāl at once hastened to al-‘Aḳiḥ and took formal possession for himself and his brother of this rich stretch of country and after his adoption of Islām Muḥammad confirmed him in it (for the story in Sprenger, *Muḥammad*, iii. 512—514, which combines the two stories without justification, see Caetani, *Annali*, Year 9, § 74). Just as Muḥammad on this occasion permitted the old Arab method of divination, so also he allowed the Ru‘ās b. Kilāb b. Rab‘a b. ‘Amir b. Ṣa‘sa‘a before their adoption of Islām to avenge an earlier razzia on their already Muslim neighbours the ‘Ukail (Ibn Sa‘d, §§ 86—87 in Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv. 94, 143—145). During the second *riḍa* in Yaman begun by Ḳais b. ‘Abd Yaghūth b. Maḥshūh after Muḥammad’s death, the ‘Ukail and ‘Akk joined Firūz al-Dailamī, governor of Ṣan‘ā, who defeated the Ḳais with their help and re-entered the town (Ṭabarī, i. 1989—1994; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii. 287—289). About 100 years later, Dja‘far b. ‘Ulba al-Ḥārithī, a poet like his great-grandfather Abū ‘Abd Yaghūth, the famous leader of the Maḍḥhidj on the second day of al-Kulāb, following the ancient custom began raids of plunder

upon the ‘Ukail; for the blood shed by him in the Wādī Ṣaḥbal he was taken prisoner by the governor of Mecca and executed (*Aghānī*, xi. 146—152; Yāḳūt, iii. 48; C. J. Lyall, *Transl. of Anc. Arab. Poetry*, p. 10—12, 84—89). After the death of al-Walid II (126 = 743—744) the ‘Ukail together with the Ḳushair, Dja‘da and Numair [cf. these art.] waged a bitter war on the Ḥanifa [q. v.] and their vassals, the Banu ‘l-Dūl. The defeat of the Ḥanifa in the battle of al-Nashāsh (in Yāḳūt, ii. 117: al-Nashnāsh; it was preceded by the first and second battles of al-Faladj) resulted in the appointment of a Ḳaisī as governor of al-Yamāma (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, v. 225—228). About the same time, a branch of the ‘Ukail took part in the civil war in Spain and in the creation of the Omayyad emirate of Cordova (see R. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d’Espagne*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, i. 185 *sqq.*). In the early years of ‘Abbāsīd rule, the tribes of the great branch of ‘Amir b. Ṣa‘sa‘a migrated from Arabia to Syria and it was only when they reached the ‘Irāk that the ‘Ukail began to attain their great importance in history (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi. 11). In the civil wars which followed on the death of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd, the ‘Ukailid Naṣr b. Saiyār b. Shabath fought for al-Amin and from his fortress of Kaisūm north of Aleppo raided the surrounding country. He was able to resist al-Ma‘mūn’s general Ṭāhir sent against him and was only forced at the end of 209 (beginning of 825) by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to surrender, but only on the caliph’s promise of pardon (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi. 208—209, 274—275). About the middle of the third (ninth) century, the town of Ḳarḳisiyā [q. v.] was in the possession of an ‘Ukailid: Ibn Saḳwān (presumably the son of the ruler of Diyār Muḍar, who, according to al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, vii. 396, died in 253 [867]), in whose place Lu‘lu‘, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn’s freedman, placed Aḥmad b. Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii. 276 = Ṭabarī, iii. 2028—2029). The latter was driven out by Ibn Abi ‘l-Sādīj, who in his turn lost his possessions to Ishāḳ b. Kundādījīk [cf. AL-RAḤBA and TAGHLIB]. About 286 (899) the ‘Ukail and other Ḳais tribes recognised the spiritual and secular leadership of Abū Sa‘īd al-Djannābī [q. v.], the founder of Ḳarmaṭian power in Arabia. With their help he conquered Hadjar, then al-Ḳaṭīf and the whole of Baḥrain and established a power here which became the terror of the whole Muslim world but very quickly fell to pieces. Before this in 251 (865), the *wālī* of Mecca Dja‘far b. al-Faḍl Bashāshāt was fighting with rebel ‘Ukail, who cut the road to Djidda so that the price of provisions rose in Mecca (Ṭabarī, iii. 1644 = Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii. 111). At the instigation of the ‘Abbāsīds the Taghlibī leader Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Aṣfar in 378 (988—989) subdued the Ḳarmaṭians and forced the Sulaim and ‘Ukail in succession to leave Baḥrain [see TAGHLIB]. The ‘Ukail went to the ‘Irāk from which they presumably co-operated with their brethren in Mesopotamia who in the meanwhile had laid the foundations of ‘Ukailid rule in al-Mawṣil. For the further history of the ‘Ukailids see the articles ḤAMDĀNIDS, ‘OKAILIDS, AL-ḠHAḌAN-FAR, AL-MUḤALLAD, ḲARWĀSH, ḲHAFĀDJĀ, and also MŌṢUL and AL-RAḤBA. — After their return to Baḥrain, the ‘Ukail subjected the Taghlib there and took a part of al-Yamāma from the Kilāb. The government of this region was in the hands of the Banū ‘Aṣfūr, who belonged to the ‘Ukail and who, according to people from Baḥrain, were

still in al-Aḥsā’ in 651 (1253) (Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 313; Kaḷkashandī, p. 298 = Suwaidī, p. 44).

As evidence of the very early wide distribution of the ‘Ukail a story in Mas‘ūdī (*Murūdī*, ii. 67–68) is of particular interest: He describes the population of the kingdom of the Ṣanārians as Christians, who claim descent from a branch of the ‘Ukail, have lived there from early times and made many peoples their subjects. Mas‘ūdī (d. 345 [956] or 346) says he himself saw in Mārib in Yaman ‘Ukailids who in their mode of life did not differ from their brethren in the Caucasus. The Ṣanārians also asserted that they had separated from these ‘Ukail in Yaman long ago. — Here as elsewhere Christianity had found its way among the ‘Ukail, probably through the influence of partly Christian neighbouring tribes (such as e. g. the Taghlib) (cf. L. Cheikhō, *al-Naṣrāniya wa-Adābuhā bainā ‘Arab al-Djāhiliya*, Bairūt 1912–1923, p. 99, 136).

Of celebrated poets of the tribe of ‘Ukail may be mentioned: Tawba b. al-Humayyir of the clan of Khafādja [q. v.] and his beloved, the poetess Laila l-Akhyaliya [q. v.] of the ‘Ubadā. According to one view, al-Madīnūn so celebrated from the love-story of Laila and Madīnūn, belonged to the ‘Ukail; Bashshār b. Burd was also a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū ‘Ukail (Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi‘r wa l-Shi‘arā*, ed. de Goeje, p. 269, 271, 355, 476; for Bashshār, see esp. *Aghānī*, iii. 20–23, 54; for Tawba: *ibid.*, x. 72–75, 82).

Not only lexical but also grammatical peculiarities of the language of the ‘Ukail are recorded; for example after *la‘alla* “perhaps” they put the genitive (S. de Sacy, *Anthol. gramm.*, p. 78 and 196, note 52: for *la‘alla* they also said *la‘alli*, *‘alla* and *‘alli*), and used *lanimā* with the meaning of *illā* (which some adopt for the explanation of Sūra lxxxvi. 4: see *ibid.*, p. 81 and 202–203, note 66); finally they also had the *taltala*, which, otherwise mentioned as peculiar to the Bahrā’, is described as a feature of the language of Laila l-Akhyaliya. It consists in the prefix of the imperfect changing its *fatḥa* to *kasra*, e. g. *anta ti‘lamu* for *la‘lamu* (al-Ḥariri, *Durrat al-Ghawwās*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 184; cf. also G. W. Freytag, *Einleitung* . . ., p. 89).

2. The first account of any length of the ‘Agēl is given by J. L. Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, London 1831, ii. 28–29). He says that the once powerful Ageyl, descended from the Beni Helāl (a confusion with the other great branch of the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘sa‘a!), now live scattered among the villages of al-Nadjd while since the reign of Sulṭān Murād another tribe also called Beni Ageyl has sprung up. All the Arabs, who settle in Baghdad from al-Nadjd whatever be their real origin, join the tribe of Ageyl, and they are the Pasha’s strongest support in his wars with the Beduins or rebels. The chief of these Ageyls of Baghdad is always a native of Derayah (al-Dar‘iya; according to *Handbook*, i. 94: from Buraida), whom they elect themselves and whose appointment is confirmed by the Pasha. These Ageyls, he continues, are famous for their bravery. They lead the caravans from Baghdad to Syria and have frequently repulsed far superior forces of Wahhābis. Burckhardt distinguishes two classes in Baghdad: 1. the *Zogorty* [*Dogortī*]: poorer individuals, hawkers and daily labourers; and 2. the *Djemamy* [*Djamāmīl*]: caravan leaders. These two kinds of Ageyls include people

of very different tribes and countries, who come for example from al-Ḥasā, al-‘Arid, al-Kāsim and the Djabal Shammar; but people from al-Sudair and the Wādī Dawāsir are not admitted. — From this it is clear that the ‘Agēl are not a proper tribe but a combination of heterogeneous elements under the leadership of one man for common commercial interests. These naturally prevent the admission of members of tribes at enmity with one another (e. g. the Ḥarb and ‘Ataiba [cf. ‘UTAIBA]), so that the community of the ‘Agēl remains neutral as far as possible. Arabs from the centre of the peninsula, especially settled Benī Tamīm and Khālīd from al-Nadjd and al-Kāsim, are the most suitable (although even foreigners such as Turks, Egyptians and Kurds are not excluded: Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 80); they are known in Mesopotamia and Syria as Ageyl, and called *el-Ageylāt* by the Beduins (*ibid.*, i. 11). The latter name (along with *al-‘Aqejlāt*, *‘Ukailāt*) is also applied to a clan of the Benī ‘Afiya, whose members were mainly carriers of goods between Ma‘ān and Tabūk (*Handbook*, i. 62; Musil, *Northern Heḡāz*, p. 235; Fu‘ād Ḥamza, *Kalb Djaṣirat al-‘Arab*, Mecca 1352, p. 182). In Doughty’s time the *shaikh* of the Syrian Ageyl in Damascus, Sleymān Abū Dawūd, belonged to an ‘Anaizi family and, like his predecessor from Buraida, was a camel-dealer. According to M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 74, the bulk of the ‘Agēl (200,000 *bēz*) live in al-Nadjd, while they have only about 300 houses in Baghdad (he describes them as among other things post-riders between Baghdad and Damascus and calls attention to the peculiar nature of their caravans, in which the camels are tied together by ropes: i. 255 or 325–326 and ii. 9). — The ‘Agēl are important in several ways. For the Beduins they are the indispensable traders of the desert, who, as a result of their neutral position as professional caravan-leaders and agents of the great merchants resident in Baghdad and Damascus, purchase camels among the tribes and take them away; on their return they bring back with them the goods required in Central Arabia (a very good description of this activity of the ‘Aqejl [often also the *nisba*: ‘Aqejlī] in Musil, *Manners*, p. 278–281, who compares them with the ‘Ibād of al-Ḥira [see TANŪKH]: *Northern Neḡd*, p. 179, note). In addition to acting as auxiliaries to the government’s military forces — under the Turks they formed an irregular cavalry; they also serve as escort to the *ḥadjj* and guard the halting-places on the pilgrim route — they are of the greatest value to strangers whom they convoy, because of the safe conduct which they enjoy everywhere in their capacity (here Ageyl is almost synonymous with *subba* [*solubba*] and the more general *rafiḥ*: *Handbook*, i. 95 and 21). Almost all European travellers have used their services and many books of travel are literally swarming with references to them. Of course travelling with them has also its disadvantages. One must go wherever they wish to go, and in disturbed districts near frontiers their conduct is not to be relied upon. Their greed is perhaps even a more serious drawback.

In view of the great importance of the modern ‘Agēl, it might be of great interest to learn — as Nöldeke pointed out in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. (1886), p. 182, note 4 — in what relation they consider themselves to stand to the old ‘Ukail and on the other hand to the Muntafiḥ descended from the latter. There is also the problem of their relationship to



the clan of the same name of the Benī ‘Aṭiya (see above). Investigations on these lines might perhaps throw some light upon their still obscure early history.

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URGHAN, URGHANŪN, the artificially wind-blown musical instrument known as the organ. It also stood for a certain stringed instrument of the Greeks like the ὕψαλον of Plato (*Republ.*, 399c); see Maṣ‘ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (viii. 91) where the urghan is a stringed instrument, and the urghanūn is an artificially wind-blown instrument. The word was used by the Persians, it would seem (*Burhān-i ḳāṭi*), to denote a species of vocal composition somewhat similar to the mediæval European *organum*. Of the artificially wind-fed musical instrument the Muslims were acquainted with two types, the pneumatic organ and the hydraulic organ, the latter being known in two forms, an hydraulic air compressor and an hydraulic pressure stabiliser. Both Plato (*Burhān-i ḳāṭi*) and Aristotle (*Ḥādjdjī Khalifa*, vi. 258; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, fol. 154v) are considered by Muslim writers to have invented the organ, although there is the claim of Mūrīṣṭus [q. v.] to be considered.

We read of an urghan (text has أرغن) in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Sāsī ed., ix. 90) as early as the

time of al-Mahdi's daughter ‘Ulaiya (d. 825), and Ibn Ḳhurdādhbih mentions it (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii. 91) in an oration before al-Mu‘tamid (d. 893), and in both cases the instrument is referred to the Byzantines. For later references see the *Kitāb al-A‘lāḳ* of Ibn Rusta (*B. G. A.*, vii. 123) where it is written *urḳanā* (أرْقَنَا, cf. أرْقَنُو in Dozy); the *Mafāṭih al-‘Ulūm* (p. 236) as the urghānūn; the *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā* (Bombay ed., i. 97) who describe an hydraulis; the *Fihrist* (p. 270, 285); the xth century Syriac-Arabic lexicographers (Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 977–978); Ibn Sinā in the *Shifā* (fol. 173) and the *Rasā’il fī ‘l-Hikma* (p. 77) which has أرغن instead of أرْغُل (cf. the

modern آرْغُل in *M. F. O. B.*, vi. 29; and آرْغُل in Freytag, *Chrest.*, p. 74); Ibn Zaila in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (fol. 235v); the xith century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (p. 563: دُرْغَن); Ibn Ḥazm in Spain (*Safīnat al-Mulk*, p. 473); Ibn Abī Uṣaibi‘a (ii. 155, 163) who gives the names of Arab organ constructors; al-Amūlī in the *Naf‘is al-Funūn* (fol. 439v); Ibn Ḡhaibī in the *Ḍāmī‘ al-Aḡhān* (fol. 78); and Ewliya‘ Čelebi (*Travels*, i/ii. 226).

In the *Fihrist* (p. 270; cf. p. 285) Mūrīṣṭus or Mūrīṣṭus [q. v.] is given as the author of works on the flue-pipe organ (*urghanun al-bū‘i*) and reed-pipe organ (*urghanun al-zamrī*). This notice is also given by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (p. 322) and Abu ‘l-Fida‘ (*Tārīḫ al-Mukhtaṣar al-Baṣhar*, p. 156). These works by Mūrīṣṭus have been preserved, and copies may be found in several libraries (Bairūt, Constantinople, and the British Museum). The texts of the Bairūt MS. have been published in the *Machriq* (ix.) by Père Cheikho, and translations in part or in full have been done by Baron Carra de Vaux in French, Professor Dr. Wiedemann in German, and Dr. Farmer in English.

The pneumatic organ. The instrument mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Sāsī ed., ix. 90) was probably a pneumatic organ. That which is described by Mūrīṣṭus is a very primitive type of instrument in which the bellows are inflated by the mouth, a method which, prior to the discovery of the Mūrīṣṭus treatises, was hitherto only surmised (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, xth ed., xx. 266). Mūrīṣṭus calls it the *urghanun al-zamrī*, i. e. the reed-pipe organ. The organ described by Ibn Ḡhaibī is the type known as the portable.

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic air compressor) became known to the Muslims through the Arabic versions of Philo's "Pneumatics" (*Kitāb Filūn fī ‘l-Ḥiyāl al-Rūḡāniya wa-Miḳhāniḳa al-Mā*), Hero's "Pneumatics" and "Mechanics" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl al-Rūḡāniya*) and the "Automatic Wind Instrumentalist" (*Ṣan‘at Ālat al-Zāmīr*) of Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga. On this principle the Banū Mūsā devised their automatic organ which is described in a treatise entitled "The Instrument which Plays by Itself" (*al-Ālat allatī tuzammīr bi-naṣṣihā*). The text of the latter, edited by Professor M. Collangettes, appeared in the *Machriq* (ix. 444), whilst translations have been made by Professor Dr. Wiedemann (German) and Dr. Farmer (English).

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic pressure stabiliser). This was the hydraulis, an instrument which is first referred to in Arabic (although not mentioned by name) in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated from the Greek via the

Syriac by Yuḥannā b. al-Baṭrīk (d. 815). Here it is a warlike instrument which could be heard sixty miles (cf. Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, chap. 3, p. 27, for an edited text and translation). The instrument is fully described by Mürīstus, and the type is certainly anterior to those dealt with by either Hero or Vitruvius. Unlike the Jews (*idrāblis*, *hirdaulis*) and the Syrians (*hedrula*), the Arabs did not borrow the Greek word *hydraulis*. Mürīstus calls it the *urghanun al-būḳī*, i.e. the flue-pipe organ.

At no period of Muslim history in the East was the organ considered an instrument of music in the same sense as the *ūd* (lute), *nāy* (flute), *ḳānūn* (psaltery), *ḳamūndja* (viol), or *duff* (tambourine; for Muslim Spain cf. *Safinat al-Mulk*, p. 473). It was probably only accepted as one of the many interesting mechanical devices (*hiyal*) such as the clepsydra, the musical tree, and other marvels which became popular from the time of Hārūn onwards (see Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥijal*..., Erlangen 1922; *Isl.*, viii. 55). At the same time it is highly probable that the Muslims were the cause of the hydraulis being re-adopted in the East, and perhaps in the West. In Byzantium, the hydraulis appears to have died out. The principle of the hydraulic pressure stabiliser had been superseded by the barystathmic principle of the weighted blast-bag as in the pneumatic organ. When, at the close of the viii<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the ix<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslims began to build the hydraulis which had become known to them through translations from the Greek (Mürīstus probably), the Byzantines re-adopted the instrument which they had discarded centuries before and of whose construction they had probably lost all knowledge.

The story that Hārūn presented an organ to Charlemagne (see *Hist. littéraire de la France*, xii. 467; Larousse, *Le grand dictionnaire*; do., *La grande encyclopédie*; Hopkins and Rimbault, *The Organ*; Grove, *Dictionary of Music*; Audsley, *Art of Organ Building*; *al-Machriq*, ix. 20) is a fable which can be traced to a note in *Les Chevaliers du Cygne* of Madame De Genlis. Even the event chronicled in mediæval works (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, i. 194) that Hārūn presented a clepsydra to Charlemagne is suspect in some quarters (*Isl.*, iii. 409; iv. 333; *supra*, ii. 271). Cl. Huart (*Histoire des arabes*, ii. 107) and Heyd (*Hist. du commerce du Levant*, i. 90) are certainly in error in saying that "instruments of music" were among these gifts of Hārūn to Charlemagne.

On the other hand, it would seem quite likely that it was due to the Mughals that the organ (hydraulis) was introduced into China. In the Chinese *Yüan Shih* we are told that an organ was "presented by the Muslim kingdoms in Chung-t'ung" (1260—1264), whilst another work informs us that it was "an offering from the lands of the West" and that Kubilai himself improved it (*J. R. A. S., China Branch*, 1908; *J. R. A. S.*, 1926). We may suppose that the original instrument came as a gift from Hülāgū to Kubilai, and that it was made in Syria, where instruments of this type were being constructed at this time (Ibn Abī Uṣāibi'a, ii. 155, 163). — Some Persian lexicographers (Richardson, Steingass) define the *ḡulumba* as "an hydraulic musical instrument". This cannot be correct. It was the name of "an hydraulic machine", or more probably "a pump".

*Bibliography*: For a complete survey and

bibliography of the subject see Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients; From Eastern Sources* (Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic), London 1931; and E. Wiedemann, *Byzantinische und arabische akustische Instrumente* (*Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii.), Leipzig 1919. In addition to those mentioned in the article, other works to be consulted are: Farmer, *Byzantine Musical Instruments in the ix<sup>th</sup> Century*, London 1925 (= *J. R. A. S.*, Pt. 2, 1925); do., *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, London 1931; Moule, *A Western Organ in Mediæval China* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1926); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kāzī, *Djāmi' al-'Ulūm*, Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2972; W. Schmidt, *Herons von Alexandria Druckwerke und Automatentheater*, Leipzig 1889; Tannery, *L'invention de l'hydraulis* (*Revue des études grecques*, xxi.), Paris 1908; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques, par Philon de Byzance* (*N. E.*, xxxviii.), Paris 1903; do., *L'invention de l'hydraulis* (*Revue des études grecques*, xxi.), Paris 1908; do., *Notices sur deux manuscrits arabes* (*J. A.*, 1891); do., *Notes d'histoire des sciences* (*J. A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1917); E. Wiedemann, *Über Musikautomaten bei den Arabern* (*Centenario della Nascita Michele Amari*, 1909); Wiedemann and Hauser, *Uhr des Archimedes*... (*Nova acta. Abhandl. der Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol. Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, vol. 103), Halle 1918; see also vol. 100 of the same publication for *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*; Ibn Sinā, *al-Shifā'*, India Office MS., No. 1811; Ibn Ghāibī, *Djāmi' al-'Alhān*, Bodleian Library MS., Marsh, 828; Ibn Zaila, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2361; al-Amūli, *Nafā'is al-Funūn*, Brit. Museum MS., Add. 16827; Archimedes, *Alat al-Zāmīr*; Apollonius, *San'at al-Zāmīr*, Brit. Museum MS., Add. 23391.

(H. G. FARMER)

**URUDJ**, an early Ottoman historian, was the son of a silk merchant named 'Ādil and was born probably in Adrianople in the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century. Of his career so far we only know that he was employed as a *kātib* probably in his native town. Where and when he died, is not recorded. Urudj b. 'Ādil is the author of the oldest so far known prose history of the Ottoman empire. His work called the *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* deals with Ottoman history from the beginning down to the reign of Muḥammad II the Conqueror. When he is not describing events within his own experience he relies on earlier sources, among which we may suppose the most important was the *Manāḳib-nāme* of Yakḥshī Faḳīh. As the text of the chronicle agrees in many passages word for word with the later anonymous *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, both works probably go back to a common source. The account of events in the reign of Muḥammad II is fuller, as he probably lived through them in near-by Adrianople. How far down Urudj brought his annals cannot be definitely stated, as the manuscript found by F. Babinger in the Bodleian in 1927 (Rawl. Or. 5) is incomplete at the end, and the second manuscript since discovered in the South Slav Academy in Agram (Coll. Babinger, No. 673, i.) also breaks off prematurely. An edition of the Oxford text along with a Cambridge variant was given by F. Babinger in the *Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums*, vol. ii., 1925 with the title *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch* along



with a *Nachtrag* (Hanover 1926) with corrections and emendations.

*Bibliography*: F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 23 sq., where further details are given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

'**UTAIBA** ('Utebah, 'Utēbah, 'Oteiba, 'Otēba, also Ötēba; now usually written 'Ataiba, 'Ateyba [*nisba*: 'Ataibi, 'Atabi; pl. pauc.: el-'Ateybān, 'Atabān] etc.; in their own pronunciation, however: 'Ötābe, *nisba*: 'Ötēbi, pl. pauc.: 'Ötāb [J. J. Hess]), the largest and most powerful Beduin tribe in modern Central Arabia, second in importance only to the 'Anaza [q. v.] of all in the Peninsula.

The name 'Utaiba (in form a diminutive of 'Utba) is applied in the older literature not to a tribe (the only isolated instances are several times in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd*, Cairo 1316, iii. 61, the variant Banū 'Utaiba alongside of 'Yaina as belonging to the Yarbū' b. Ḥanzala) but to persons of whom the three best known deserve at least a brief mention: 'Utaiba b. al-Ḥārith b. Shihāb al-Yarbū' known as *Ṣaiyād al-Fawāris*, one of the most celebrated heroes of the pre-Islāmic wars of the Tamim against the Bakr; 'Utaiba b. al-Nahās al-'Idjī, general and representative of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha who, among his other victories, defeated the Taghlib [q. v.] at Šiffin in 14 (636); lastly 'Utaiba b. Abi Lahab, who married Muḥammad's daughter Umm Kulthūm (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 366—367; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāq*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 42, 138, 208, 215; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37, 60—61; 70; Ṭabarī, i. 2206—2208; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii. 343—344).

The 'Utaiba trace their genealogy back to Muḍar and claim to belong to the Ḳais-'Ailān [q. v.] (Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 355, 367; the statement made by Ālūsī, *Ta'rikh Nadjd*, Cairo 1343, p. 88, that they belong to the Ḳaḥṭān is due to a confusion with the Banū 'Utba or 'Atib; cf. Ḳalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, Baghdād 1332, p. 285 with Suwaidi, *Sabā'ik al-Dhahab*, Bombay 1296, p. 45). They are divided into two main groups: the Ruwaḳa (in form like Ruwala [q. v.]: see Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. [1886], p. 182; also Rawaqah [*nisba*: Rauqī] and Rūqah) and the Barḳa (Baraqah [*nisba*: Barqāwī], also Barḳā). Their further subdivision is very variously given: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 197 divides the Rawaqah into 6, the Baraqah into 10 tribes, the *Handbook*, i. 69 into 11 or 18 clans, while F. Ḥamza, *op. cit.*, p. 179—182 distinguishes three or four *fakhdh* with a number of 'ashira and 'āila; of all these, the names of which vary much in detail, we need only mention the Thibata (Dhawī Thubait) who belong to the Ruwaḳa and according to their *shaiḳh* still surpass the 'Ru'uqa and Barqa' in importance (Philby, *op. cit.*, i. 205, cf. 181, 194).—Statistics of the year 1818 estimate the fighting forces of the 'Utaiba of the Ḥidjāz at 100 horsemen and 10,000 foot, those of the Nadjd at 800 and 2,000 respectively (A. Sprenger, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii. [1863], p. 218, 222). Palgrave, *op. cit.*, ii. 84 puts them at 12,000 in all, but Doughty, ii. 367 only at 6,000. The largest figure is that given by al-Batanūnī (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329, introd. p. 52): 20,000; the *Handbook*, i. 69 gives for the Rūqah 2,500 tents and for the Berḳah 3,000.

The 'Utaiba occupy the eastern side of the Ḥidjāz with the volcanic *ḥarra* area between the

*ḥadjdj* route and the Central Arabian steppes. Their grazing-grounds extend over 100 leagues east of Medina and Mecca as far as al-Ḳaṣīm and al-Waṣḥm, in the south to the *dīra*'s of the Ḳaḥṭān, Buḳūm, Shalāwa and Subai'; in the west and north their neighbours are the Ḥarb, who sometimes penetrate as far as the caravan road from Buraida to Mecca. In the wide area over which they lead their nomadic existence there is hardly a single settlement; it is in the east, in al-'Arid, al-Sudair, al-Ḳaṣīm and in al-Mudh'nib (al-Midh'nab), that we meet with settled 'Utaiba of the Barḳa branch where they have mixed with other tribes; in the west, the Ruwaḳa form a part of the population of al-Ṭā'if. The *dīra* of the 'Utaiba is rich in springs and in the winter and early autumn there is regular although not considerable rainfall; as a result this region possesses in places very good pastures and the rearing of sheep and camels, especially black camels, is one of the main activities of the 'Utaiba which brings them fame and wealth. The meat in al-Ṭā'if, for example, comes almost exclusively from their sheep; their country is also rich in game (*Handbook*, i. 64, 67—68, 70, 604 [their most important settlements]; Doughty, ii. 367, 426, 525; Philby, i. 122, 280).

We know very little of happenings of any importance in the history of the 'Utaiba before the sixteenth century. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii. 106), they occupied also the Wādī Fātima in the xvii<sup>th</sup> century and were driven out of it by the Ḥarb (*Handbook*, i. 122). C. Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 388) mentions some 'Utaiba who came from the Ḥidjāz to the region of the Muntafiḳ and had submitted to this great tribe. The history of the 'Utaiba in the last hundred years is a reflection of the various wars between the powers in Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, who all endeavoured to win this important tribe over to their interests. At the conquest of the Wahhābī kingdom by the Egyptians, their leader Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad 'Alī, in 1816 induced the 'Utaiba and various 'Anaza tribes by threats and bribes to assist him against 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd. When Faiṣal b. Sa'ūd led the war of liberation against Egypt, his son 'Abd Allāh in 1850 defeated the eastern 'Utaiba at the watering-place of al-Adj'rāb, while the Grand Sharif of Mecca Muḥammad b. 'Awn took the western 'Utaiba as well as tribes of the Muṭair al-'Alwiyyīn under his protection. Nolde, *op. cit.*, p. 66 distinguishes between 1842 and 1872 no less than nine different powers continually at war with one another in Nadjd, among them the 'Utaiba. In 1872 the principal chief of the 'Utaiba Musliṭ b. Rubai'ān plundered the western settlements of al-Riyād, whereupon Sa'ūd b. Faiṣal made a raid as a reprisal into their territory; he had however to retire defeated and was himself severely wounded. After the 'Utaiba in 1881 and 1882 had plundered many camps of the Ḥarb tribes who were subjects of Ibn Rashīd, they also attacked the latter in the summer of 1883 but were completely defeated in al-'Arwa; they suffered a similar defeat in 1884, when they were allies of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd. In the year 1897 members of the house of Ibn Sa'ūd joined the Grand Sharif of Mecca 'Awn al-Rafīḳ and with the help of the Ḥarb and 'Utaiba undertook campaigns against the possessions of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rashīd; in the autumn of 1903 the latter again defeated the 'Utaiba and Ḳaḥṭān, but in April 1907 he was in turn decisively defeated

by Ibn Sa‘ūd with an army of these same tribesmen. Henceforth the sympathies of the ‘Utaiba inclined more and more to the Grand Sharif although they were for most part members of the confederation of tribes led by Ibn Sa‘ūd. In 1910–1911 Ḥusain b. ‘Alī with ‘Utaiba, Ḥarb and Muṭair troops took the field against Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Idrīsī in al-‘Asir supported by Ibn Sa‘ūd’s *Ikhwān*, and about the same time the son of the Sharif, ‘Abd Allāh, appeared in al-Ḳaṣīm, saying he was intervening on behalf of the ‘Utaiba, whose rights had been infringed by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sa‘ūd. The latter promised to make the Sharif an annual payment of £ 4,000 and to secure the ‘Utaiba freedom from tribute, but he did not keep his promise. Scarcely had ‘Abd Allāh returned to the Ḥijāz, than ‘Abd al-‘Azīz broke the treaty and made war on the ‘Utaiba because they had given shelter to fugitive rebels of the house of Ibn Sa‘ūd. In 1915 ‘Abd Allāh again attacked him: he advanced into the province of al-Sudair in Naǧd, forced the eastern ‘Utaiba to pay tribute and won a victory over the Barriya, the allies of the Muṭair and subjects of Ibn Sa‘ūd. The *Ghatghat* incident of 1918, brought about by an attack by ‘Utaiba upon *Ikhwān* at prayer, again strained relations between the Sharif and Ibn Sa‘ūd (Philby, i. 313 sq.). The history of the recent rise, of the Wahhābī kingdom is closely associated with the name of the leader of the ‘Utaiba: Sulṭān b. Bidjād. The occupation of al-Tā’if by a section of his forces in 1924 led to the surrender of Mecca and the further extension of the Wahhābī kingdom in the west. The energetic Ibn Sa‘ūd put a sudden end to his pernicious part as leader of the *Ikhwān* along with Faṣāl al-Dawīsh, chief of the Muṭair. Finally Ibn Sa‘ūd’s brother ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān in 1929 destroyed the important colony of *Ikhwān* at al-Ghatghat (al-Ghutghut) and scattered the remnants of the ‘Utaiba who followed Ibn Bidjād. With the restoration of peace and order in Ibn Sa‘ūd’s kingdom this tribe is also enjoying a peace it has never before known.

Doughty, ii. 24, 367, 426, describes the ‘Aṭaibān as honourable, civil-spirited and hospitable Bedouins who are stout in arms; they are said to be better fighters than the Ḳaḥṭān and not soon treacherous. They are of more stable mind than most of the Bedouins; there is less fanaticism in their religion than moderation. According to Philby, ii. 220, however, they surpass all other tribes of Arabia as thieves. As to their relations with their neighbours, they are hereditary enemies of the power-

ful Ḥarb; with the two smaller tribes in the south, the Buḳūm and Shalāwa, they are generally on good terms, but often at feud with the Ḳaḥṭān. — According to J. J. Hess, the language of the ‘Ōṭābeh does not differ very much from that of the Ḳaḥṭān and is archaic in as much as it has preserved the passive and the *tanwīn* throughout (but not the case-endings) [personal information].

*Bibliography:* (with the exception of works already cited in full): W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year’s Journey* . . . (1862–1863), London 1865, i. 31, 171–172; ii. 54, 72, 84; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i.–ii., index, s.v. ‘Aṭeyba; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i. (Leyden 1896), 64 sq.; ii. (Leyden 1914), 226 sq.; E. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien*, 1892, Braunschweig 1895, p. 47, 54, 66–69, 74; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, London 1927, p. 26, 43, 84, 287; do., *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London 1935, p. 137, 197–198, 204, 490–494; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, index, esp. i. 122, 147, 155 sq., 180 sq., 194, 205, 313 sq.; ii. 213, 220, 297; do., *Arabia of the Wahhābis*, London 1928, index, s.v. ‘Aṭaiba; of special value for the history of the ‘Utaiba is his work *Arabia*, London 1930 and A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928, p. 268–288; cf. also A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, p. 264, 298, 364. — Also: Amīn al-Raiḥānī, *Tārīkh Naǧd wa-Mulḥakātihi*, Bairūt 1928; Fu‘ād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb Dǧazīrat al-‘Arab*, Mecca 1352; Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Dǧazīrat al-‘Arab fi ‘l-Ḳarn al-‘ishrin*, Cairo 1354, indices, s.v. — For the travel literature in general see A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 39, 292, 298, 305, 311; D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905, p. 109, 267, 274, 291, 296, 325; further: *A Handbook of Arabia*, compiled by the Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, i. (London n.d.), index, s.v. Aṭeibah; cf. also J. G. Wetzstein, in *Zeitschrift für allgem. Erdkunde*, N. S., xviii. (1865), p. 494–495, cf. 419 and 547; lastly: J. J. Hess, *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien*, in *Sb. Ak. Wiss. Heidelberg*, phil.-hist. Klasse, iii. (1912), part 19 (collection of names, mainly ‘Utaiba) [Prof. Hess also possesses, as he tells me, a list of the tribal divisions of the ‘Ōṭābeh]. (H. KINDERMANN)

## W

**WAKAP** (Mal., Jav., the form, or with slight modifications, taken by *wakf* [q.v.] among the Muslim peoples of the east Indian Archipelago). The institution is well known; estates made *wakap* are however of isolated occurrence only: they always serve religious purposes. The prescriptions of the law are complied with. Clashing with native law results in there being no *wakap* where single individuals have no private rights (Minangkabau,

Central Sumatra) and wherever the individual right to land is restricted by a higher law, no pieces of ground can be made *wakap* by individuals, e.g. in the part of Java inhabited by Javanese. The prevailing opinion, in keeping with the law, regards public institutions serving religious purposes as *wakap*; e.g. mosques with the ground on which they are built and cemeteries, even when this is not expressly stipulated. — The administration of *wakap*



estates, wherever there is a court for religious affairs, is in the hands of the judge representing the authority, namely on Java and Madura; elsewhere the rule seems to be that the personnel of the mosque administers if no *nāḡir* is provided for.

*Bibliography:* C. van Vollenhoven, *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ii., Leyden 1931, p. 166 sqq.; Koesoemah Atmadja, *De Mohammedaansche vrome stichtingen in Indië*, The Hague 1922 (contains a list of known wakap).

(R. A. KERN)

AL-WA'WĀ' AL-DIMASHQĪ, ABU 'L-FARĀJ MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-GHASSĀNĪ, an Arab poet of the second rank of the time of the Ḥamdānīd Saif al-Dawla [q. v.], who died, probably in Damascus, after the year 370 (980). Of his life we only know that he was a crier in the fruit-market in Damascus (on this *Dār al-Bittikh* cf. H. Zaiyāt in *Mach.*, xxvii., 1929, p. 762—764); whence probably his epithet (cf. *Ibn Awā*, vulg. Syr.-Arab. *wāwī*, jackal; according to other statements = *fāfā'*, stutterer, stammerer). Arab scholars usually reckon him in the circle of Saif al-Dawla. As he seems never to have left Damascus, his *qaṣidas* addressed to Saif al-Dawla (N<sup>o</sup>. i., ii. and viii. of the *Diwān*) must have been written during the latter's stay there in 333 (945) or 335 (946). His second patron was the influential Damascus magnate al-Sharīf al-Aḳīkī (Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī), who died about 368—378 (978—988), to whom the second half of his longer poems is dedicated (ii., v., vi., vii.). Like the society he describes in his poems he inclined to moderate Shī'ism.

*Qaṣidas* Eulogistic were not his strong point. In these he followed in the footsteps of Abū Tammām [q. v.] or of his contemporary al-Mutanabbī [q. v.], from whom direct borrowings can be found. More successful are his short poems on the usual subjects of love, wine, and nature. They do not however show any great originality and resemble very much the similar poems of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Nevertheless they cannot be denied a certain freshness and variety. He is also somewhat independent in the use of metres with a preference for lively ones (like *khafif* or *munsarikh*); he is also responsible for several attempts at the strophic form.

Al-Wa'wā' was popular with his contemporaries and with later generations. In 385 (995) al-Tha'libī [q. v.] was able to use a manuscript of his *Diwān* in Nishābur; al-Ḥarīrī [q. v.] based a *maqāma* on his verse; sometimes he is quoted in the 1001 Nights (cf. J. Horovitz, in *Edw. Sachau-Festschrift*, Berlin 1915, p. 378); at a later date his *Diwān* was copied not only in Mecca or Cairo but also in the Maghrib. The material for a critical edition of the text is unsatisfactory: all the MSS. so far available are fragmentary and unreliable (to the six described by Kračkovskij, *op. cit.*, may now be added another not yet closely examined in a private collection in al-Samāwa in the 'Irāk; see Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-'Arabiya*, iv., Cairo 1914, p. 142, N<sup>o</sup>. 5). The *Diwān* printed in 1913 gives in many places an unsatisfactory text and must now be revised with the help of the works that have since appeared.

It is similar with the question of the authenticity of his works: al-Wa'wā' was not an original poet with a distinct character of his own and many poems in the *Diwān* are also ascribed to other earlier or contemporary poets. In view of the

absence of a satisfactory manuscript tradition and internal evidence we must await the discovery of reliable old manuscripts.

*Bibliography:* I. Kračkovskij, *Abu 'l-Farāj al-Wa'wā' al-Dimashqī*, Leyden-Petrograd 1913—1914 (edition of the *Diwān* with Russian translation and a full study with references to earlier literature. — Translation into German of the main themes in the preceding study by B. Ebermann, in *Islamica*, iii., 1927, p. 238—241; full synopsis of contents in Th. Menzel, in *Archiv Orientalni*, ii., 1930, p. 56—63; the more important reviews are by A. E. Schmidt in *Journal des Ministeriums für Volksaufklärung*, 1915, N<sup>o</sup>. 8, p. 387—406 [Russ.]; D. S. Margoliouth, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 821—822; K. V. Zetterstéen, in *M. O.*, xii., 1918, p. 171—172; M. Arif el-Nacadi, *Aperçu sur le célèbre poète damascain Al-wāwā*, in *R. A. A. D.*, 1924, p. 339—348; al-Zurukli, *al-A'lām*, iii., Cairo 1928, p. 847; M. Sadraddin, *Saifudaulah and his Times*, Lahore 1930, p. 161—162; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1930, p. 1909.

(IGN. KRATSKHOKOVSKY)

WUDJŪD (A.), being, existence and MAWJŪD, being, existing, are the most common terms for the subject of Aristotelian metaphysics (*τὸ εἶναι*, *τὸ ὄν*). Before Aristotle found his way into Islām the early theological schools used (see Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, i. 44 sq., 55, 70) as the commonest conception thing (*shai'*) or body (*djism*) with its qualities (*ṣifāt*) and disputed as to whether God should be called a *shai'* or a *djism*. From the logic of Aristotle were added substance (*ousia*, *djawhar*) with its accidents (*συμβεβηκότα*, *a'rād*) as the highest categories, and then the question arose whether God came under the conception of *djawhar* (Ash'arī, i. 155 sqq.). Both of these, the description of God by *shai'* or *djawhar*, were unanimously rejected by the Muslim community. The main conception of Aristotelian metaphysics, that of being (*ὄν*), had more success in establishing itself. It is true that the use of the word mawdjūd with reference to God aroused misgivings: the reply was given that this term only means that God is *ma'lūm* (known) or *ḥā'im bi-nafsihi* (self-existent) (Ash'arī, ii. 520 sqq.). But they were able to add existence (wudjūd) to the many names and qualities of God and in the end even to speak of his necessary existence; only the Muta'zilis and many philosophers asserted that this existence is identical with being and not an additional quality.

Mawdjūd had already in classical Arabic usage the meaning of "existing, extant" (cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* [Denkschriften d. Ak. d. Wiss., Vienna, vol. 45], 1897, p. 18, note 2); wudjūd seems to be a later invention. But the connotation of these words was considerably extended by the Arab translators from the Greek. For example not only was the so-called objective reality but also the truth representing this reality described as being. Aristotelian metaphysics was not a pure ontology but was at the same time a theory of knowledge. It dealt, for example, with the theme of contradiction and the fundamental conceptions of theoretical sciences.

To understand the following, it must be stated at once that this metaphysics is not a work from one mould. In the first place metaphysics should be the science of being, considered in terms of its first principles and causes, i. e. a doctrine of

principia. In accordance with this, the fourth book ( $\Delta$ ), really an independent work, a collection of definitions, has placed ἀρχή (principle), αἰτίον (cause) and στοιχείον (element) at the head of the terms to be discussed [cf. the article SABAB in the Supplement]. This is a new interpretation and also a development of the young Aristotle, who criticises his master's theory of ideas. Then however, the mature thinker, as a tradition established for centuries liked to regard him, came forward with his theory of substance (esp. Bk. vii. *sqq.*). From this point of view not only being but also substance (οὐσία) with its accidents, etc. is to be the real subject of metaphysics. This bringing in of the theory of categories [cf. ΜΑΚΥΛΑΤ in the Supplement] is justified by the assertion that the individual substance is that which is most being. Alongside of these definitions (doctrine of principles and theory of substance) we find (esp. Bk. xii.) a third conception of the subject of metaphysics, namely that it is the science of the supersensually being, i. e. theology, doctrine of the unmoved mover of the world, and, according to a later addition, of the spirits of the spheres. This interpretation accords better with the doctrine of the principles than with the theory of substance. But Neo-Platonism was able to construct for itself an Aristotle, who starting from the Platonic investigation of principles, went through the world of experience of his categories and then returned with his theology to Plato. Aristotle himself had made various attempts at harmonising, in as much as he defined metaphysics quite generally as the doctrine of the varied significances of being or the science of being as such (ὅν ἢ ἔν). While the special sciences each deal with a piece of reality, metaphysics is to deal with the whole field of the existing, sensual and supersensual. On the one hand then, the existing in the multiple sense (*analogice*) is postulated; on the other, however, metaphysics is the one general and highest science which regards everything with reference to one single nature (φύσις) or one principle (ἀρχή); cf. *Met.*, iv. 2, 1003<sup>a</sup>, 33 *sqq.* The existing as such thus became the fundamental concept of the system, which dealt not only with all existence but also with non-being (μὴ ἔν, 'adam). No definition can be given of such a conception: it is a κοινόν (general conception), does not mean substance, not even a substance of the second order. One can regard such general conceptions, like the one, the necessary etc., only intuitively as directly evident. The concept of of being is even confused with that of the one (ἓν) (*Met.*, vii. 16, 1040<sup>b</sup>). The existing also agrees in the main with the concept of the thing. On this it may be noted that Aristotle made no metaphysical distinction between the being and existence of a thing. It is true that he talked of stages of being, of a hierarchical ordering of things, of a highest being. Already in his early work, *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* (*Fragm.*, ed. Rose, N<sup>o</sup> 16), he deduced from the ascending order of perfection the necessary existence of a most perfect being, namely the divine. Probably rightly W. Jaeger (*Aristoteles*, p. 161) regards this proof (= the *argumentum ex gradibus* of the scholastics) as the prototype of so-called ontological proof. In Aristotle this appears in very close connection with his teleological view of nature.

For the Neo-Platonists and the philosophy influenced by them the metaphysics of Aristotle culminate in the doctrine of God (Bk. xii.).

From empirical consideration of sensually existing, the philosopher had risen to rational contemplation of the most perfect being. The "unmoved mover" concluded to exist in physics was now defined (*Met.*, xii. 7-9) as the eternal God, at once substance and energy (οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια). As the culmination of all being, as the first substance and the highest good, he is the necessarily existing (ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔρα ἔστιν ὅν). This necessarily existing is unique and has only one activity — the divinest of all — thought (νοῦς). His thought thinks the highest, i. e. God himself as thought of thought (νόησις νοήσεως), and the world is guided by the energy of this thought. Being and thinking thus coincide with the One in God.

According to the Neo-Platonist teaching, the First and the One is raised above the multiplicity of being and cognition (*Enneads*, iii. 8, 10; v. 2, 1). But as the First contemplates itself it is at once thinking and being. So far as the self-contemplation of the First is cognition, being is a product of its thought. This is the starting point of the doctrine of emanation in Muslim thinkers. They speak however much less than their Greek predecessors of the supereternal, superexistent (τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὄντος), as they, like the "Pseudo-Theology" and the *Liber de Causis*, identify the First and the One with God. According to this Pseudo-Aristotelian doctrine, God is the absolute being or the absolutely existing. It cannot be said that God is in the world, but rather that the world is in him, emanates from him and returns to him. According to the "Pseudo-Theology" of Aristotle, thought (νοῦς, 'akl) is the first creature, according to the *Liber de Causis* it is sometimes thought, sometimes being [cf. the article ANNİYA in the Supplement]. In § 23 of the last named work (ed. Bardenhewer, p. 103) wudjūd is identified with cognition (γνώσις = ma'rifa). Cf. in this connection the assertion of Aristotle (*Met.*, xii. 9, p. 1074<sup>b</sup> *sqq.*): "as the thought and the thinking mind is not different in all which has no matter, it must be the same" (see also *Enneads*, v. 3, 5).

The lkhwān al-Safā' also took part in such speculations about wudjūd (esp. *Rasā'il*, N<sup>o</sup> 32 *sqq.*, 35, 40). It is true that there are here echoes of Aristotelian terminology, but the development is Neo-Pythagorean, Gnostic and Neo-Platonic. The main theme is the theory of emanation. At the head of their abstract series is wudjūd (= anniya in the *Liber de Causis*). The absolute being (tāmm al-wudjūd) and the causer of all being is God (muwadjjīd).

Fārābī was the first to study the whole Aristotelian system of metaphysics and to try to systematise it. His materials were the works of the translators and the theological disputes of his predecessors and contemporaries. In a short essay on the tendencies of Aristotle's work (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, p. 34 *sqq.*), he points out that the latter does not contain, as many suppose without a knowledge of the matter, only the doctrine of immaterial being, i. e. of God, the intellect, the soul etc. There follows a list which looks like a classification into four: 1. absolute being or the one and its opposites, non-being and plurality; 2. the kinds of being (doctrine of the categories); 3. the attributes of being (power, action, etc.); 4. the principles of the separate sciences. Then comes a brief survey of the content of the *Metaphysics* which, according to Fārābī, consists of 12 chapters. The short second



chapter (α) of the original is not mentioned and the two last chapters seem to be combined.

The first and the real subject of metaphysics is, according to Fārābī here, absolute being (*al-wudjūd al-muṭlaq*) or what is interchangeable with it, the One (*al-wāḥid*). But God is the principle (*mabḥūṭ*) of being and of the One.

A somewhat different formulation is given by the same writer in his *Ḥṣṣā al-'Ulūm*. Cairo n.d., p. 60 sqq., where theology (*'ilm ilāhī* = metaphysics) is divided into three parts: 1. on (sensually) existing things (*al-mawjūdāt wa 'l-ashyā'*), in so far as they are being; 2. on the principles of the special theoretical sciences; 3. on being that is not corporeal and is not associated with a body (doctrine of God and his emanations). Here as there, it is clear that the author was aware of the attitude of the Peripatetics but endeavoured to harmonise them and regarded the doctrine of the supersensual as the main thing. This may be also seen in his other works, so far as they have survived or are accessible to us. He endeavoured to bring not only Plato and Aristotle into harmony with one another in Neo-Platonic fashion, but also to prove that their philosophy was in harmony with the religious teachings of Islām. As regards the latter, God's being had to be more sharply distinguished from the existence of worldly things, and the spirits of the spheres, faded Greek gods of the stars, had to be identified with the heavenly angels. The Aristotelian distinction between the necessary and the possible being was modified and extended by Fārābī (he had presumably predecessors in the theological dispute). Divine existence is absolutely necessary (*wādjīb*, syn. *ḍarūrī*); it is completely one with the divine existence (*dhāt*). On the other hand, the existence of the world and of all worldly things is in itself only possible (*mumkin*), but from the point of view of God, who thinks the being of all things (*dhāt*, *māhiya*), necessary. Being and existence are thus distinguishable in all creatures. God however is the *wādjīb al-wudjūd* simply. His creation means: granting existence to the lower beings.

From the point of view of terminology, it should be noted that in the *Uyūn (Abhandlungen)*, ed. Dieterici, p. 56 sqq., existence is given the name *wudjūd*, but in the *Fuṣūṣ* (*ibid.*, p. 66 sqq.) also *huwiya* (*ḥawrūn*). On the substance of Fārābī's teaching which was continued by Ibn Sīnā, see I. Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, p. 66 sq., and his *La Place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, p. 78 sqq.

Ibn Sīnā gives, as a part of his great work *Shifā'*, a freer account of the metaphysics of Aristotle in ten essays (generally accessible only in the German translation by M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, Leipzig 1907—1909). In the first introductory essay (ch. 2) metaphysics is divided into four parts: 1. the final causes of all being as such; 2. the prime cause out of which all caused as such flows; 3. the attributes of being; 4. the principles of the special sciences. There is further given a somewhat obscure division of being into four, beginning with absolutely immaterial being and ending with the corporeal, motion and rest. Both divisions into four as well as Fārābī's above mentioned divisions, however, show Neo-Platonic influence in that they, far more than was the case with Aristotle, emphasise the immaterially being either as the starting point or as the end or object

of all considerations (cf. in addition: C. Sauter, *Avicennas Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Metaphysik*, p. 46 sq.; S. v. d. Bergh, *Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, p. 153). But this did not prevent Ibn Sīnā from paraphrasing almost everything that Aristotle deals with. Essays II—IV contain the doctrine of substance, i. e. the teaching regarding the categories considered ontologically. The fifth essay deals with epistemological conceptions, the sixth with the principles of being (doctrine of the four causes). The seventh essay attacks Plato and the Pythagoreans, while in the eighth the Aristotelian teaching regarding God is presented in Neo-Platonic form. The ninth deals with the doctrine of emanation. The last essay — only an appendix to the metaphysics — contains the practical philosophy, in which the ethico-religious political theory of Ibn Sīnā is outlined with echoes of Plato and Aristotle.

On the whole he follows the main doctrines of Fārābī. Thus he teaches that God is as, first cause of all, the absolute and necessarily existent whose existence is one with his being and his knowledge. His being (*dhāt*) is existence itself (*wudjūd bi-nafsihi*) or true existence (*wudjūd bi-'l-ḥāqīqa*). All possibly existing has its real pre-existence in God's knowledge and acquires through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres, especially of the *'aḥl fa'āl*, a real mode of existence (*wudjūd fi-'l-a'yān*). And from this last spirit there comes to man not only real existence but also cognition of the being and the existing (*wudjūd fi-'l-adhān*). Cf. the article IBN SĪNĀ.

For sceptical and mystical reasons Ghazālī could not support Fārābī's and Ibn Sīnā's teaching of the metaphysical distinction between being and existence. In many passages in his *Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, index) he asserts that necessarily existing (*wādjīb al-wudjūd*) means with reference to God simply that he is without cause. Existence is a proprium of all that has being or reality and is never added to being as an accident. In his esoteric works he is inclined to the doctrine of the unity of all being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*).

This teaching — an absolute existentialism —, which goes far beyond the Aristotelian conception of the multiplicity of being and also beyond Neo-Platonism, was first developed by Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240) and his school. Its supporters were usually called *wahdatiyya* or *wudjūdīyya*. Their teaching is an intellectual mysticism — Neo-Platonist in character with a Gnostic expansion — which survives in Islām, especially in Persia. They call God the absolute being (*wudjūd muṭlaq*) besides whom there is really nothing. The world is God's manifestation (*ἐκφάνεια*, *taḍallī*) of his emanation (*faḍl*). The beginning of the whole system is God's self-contemplation. He sees within himself the being (*ḥāqīqa*) of Muḥammad. Then follow as first stages of the manifestation the four qualities or hypostases usually in this order: 1. *'ilm* (= *ma'rifa*, cognition), *nūr* (light), *wudjūd* and *shuhūd* (contemplation). Properly one should expect *wudjūd* as the first manifestation, but the Neo-Platonic Muslim tradition, that *'ilm* or *'aḥl* is God's first creation, was probably too strong. This is indeed a characteristic of all intellectual mysticism, that thought precedes being. On Ibn 'Arabī's mysticism see the art. IBN 'ARABĪ, KARMAṬĪANS and TAṢAWWUF; also: M. Asín, *El místico Murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925—1926; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, esp. p. 82 sqq.; Khaja Khan, *Wisdom of*

*the Prophets ... a synoptical transl. of ul Arabi's Fuṣūṣ ul-Hikam*, Madras 1929.

The Aristotelian doctrine of being and cognition was not without contradiction within itself. According to it, the single substance, in its highest form the divinity, is the most existing, but the most conceivable is the knowledge of the general. Hence the tendency with reference to the sensually being to emphasise pluralism, but in the supersensual to approach monism by emphasising unity or highest synthesis. Only intellectual mysticism from the time of Ibn 'Arabī represented a pronounced monism. The philosophers, on the other hand, Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā in the east, Ibn Bājdja and Ibn Rushd in the west, endeavoured to combine by varying shades of meaning the pluralism of physics with a tendency to metaphysical monism. Even the sober commentator on the work of Aristotle, Ibn Rushd, professes the doctrine of the unity of all rational souls.

In the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (see ed. Bouyges, Index), Ibn Rushd defends the main principles of the philosophy of his predecessors in Islām, but agrees with Ghazālī when the latter rejects the metaphysical distinction between being and existence. There is, he repeatedly assures us, a sensual and a supersensual being; both exist but are expressed by analogy. He then blames Ibn Sīnā because the latter allows the existence of creational things to be added merely as an accident from outside to their being. Perhaps this is only a dispute over words. In any case, his view lies in the direction of their being an exalted being, the divine, comprehending all the stages of being, above all distinctions and contrasts of the sensual as well as supersensual.

In the *Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes* (see ed. by v. d. Berg, Introduction and p. 2 sqq., 7 sqq., 155 sqq.), we have in the main a summary of Aristotle. Only the doctrine of God and the spirits of the sphere is expounded in a strongly Neo-Platonising fashion. The author rightly insists that the Aristotelian work on metaphysics is unarranged. But his own effort to arrange it is certainly not a success. He wished to give an account of Aristotle's teaching in five books: 1. introduction on the task etc. of metaphysics and definitions of the terms used in it (these are mainly taken from the fifth book of the original; while on the other hand, Aristotle began with the conceptions of principle, cause and element, Ibn Rushd placed being [*mawjūd*], existence [*huwiya*] and substance

[*djawhar*] first); 2. the kinds of being (doctrine of the categories); the attributes of these kinds (power, action; unity, multiplicity, etc.); 3. theology (doctrine of God and the spirits); 4. the principles of the separate sciences (this fifth book is lacking). In the introduction the following among other matters were expounded: the task of metaphysics is the investigation of being as such with all its kinds, etc. This science is then divided into three heads: 1. consideration of sensually perceptible things, in so far as they are being; 2. on their principles (*mabādī*), i. e. the immaterial beings up to the highest principle (God); 3. the foundations (axiomata) of the particular theoretical sciences. The division corresponds to Fārābī's threefold division (see above), except that the second and third parts are interchanged. This is not mere chance; according to the opinion of Ibn Rushd, the doctrines of the sensual and supersensual are the two essential parts of metaphysics; the axiomatics, which are indeed for the most part self-evident, only form a supplement. From this it could easily be explained how the fifth book of the epitome, which was to contain the axiomatics, was either not produced or has been lost.

As regards contents, the books of Ibn Rushd contain little new; but for scholastic philosophers and commentators it is an important problem how and in what order the problems of knowledge are to be dealt with. The disputes among the schools were often on points like this. Thus Ibn Rushd, for example, said that physics should bring proofs of the existence of God, which was presupposed by metaphysics. He therefore criticised Ibn Sīnā who regarded proof of the existence of God as the object of metaphysics. But in practice the distinction between them was not great.

The mystics had a very easy task against such philosophical hair-splitting: for them God's existence was like the sunlight which proves itself and which needs not to be sought with the dim lamp of learning

*Bibliography:* In the text; cf. also on the composition of the Aristotelian metaphysics: W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*, Berlin 1923; and on the teaching regarding the proof of the existence of God in Islām: A. J. Wensinck, *Les preuves de l'existence de Dieu dans la théologie musulmane* (in *Med. Kon. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Letterkunde*, sect. 81, ser. A, N<sup>o</sup>. 2, 1936). (TJ. DE BOER)

## Z

AL-ZAHĀWĪ, DJAMİL ŠIDKĪ, the greatest Arabic poet of modern 'Irāk, born in Baghdād on 29<sup>th</sup> Dhū 'l-Hijja 1279 (June 18, 1863), died on Feb. 23, 1936. His father Muhammad Faiḍi al-Zahāwī, mufti of Baghdād, was of Kurdish descent of the house of al-Bābān, members of which had once been emirs of Sulaimāniya [q.v.]; according to a legend, they trace their family back to the famous Arab general Khālīd b. al-Walīd [q.v.]. His grandfather lived

for a time in Zahāw in Persia, whence the *nisba*. His mother was also of Kurdish descent.

He was a pupil of his father in the traditional Muslim branches of learning; he also studied European learning with equal zeal from the books available to him in four Oriental languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Kurdish); but he knew no European languages. His wide information and great natural gifts early procured him different offices; but his independent views and the reputation



of being a free-thinker (*zindik* [q.v.]) prevented him attaining a secure position. In health also he suffered a great deal: in his 25<sup>th</sup> year he was attacked by chronic disease of the spine and in his 55<sup>th</sup> his left foot became lame.

When a young man he was appointed a member of the board of education in Baghdad; later he acted as director of the state printing office, as editor of the official *al-Zawra'* and as a member of court of appeal. In 1896 he was summoned to Istanbul. He took advantage of the journey to visit Egypt and make the acquaintance of Arabic literary and scientific circles there. In Istanbul he associated with the Young Turks, but instead of being banished was sent with a Turkish mission to Yaman. With great difficulty he obtained permission in Istanbul to return to his native land; he was only granted it on the express condition that he did not leave Baghdad. About this time appeared his pamphlet against the Wahhābīs (*al-Faḍīr al-sadiq*, Cairo 1323 = 1905; cf. *R. M. M.*, xii., 1910, p. 466) and the first collected poems (*al-Kalim al-manẓūm*, Bairūt 1327 = 1909). After the Young Turk Revolution he was invited for a second time to Istanbul as teacher of Muslim philosophy and Arabic literature in the University. His lectures on the former subject were published in Turkish (*Hikmet-i islāmiye Dersleri*). As a result of severe illness he had again to return home. In Baghdad he taught law in the School of Law. At this time his articles on the emancipation of women in *al-Mu'ayyad* (synopsis in *R. M. M.*, xii., 1910, p. 467—470) of which he always remained an ardent champion, caused much excitement and even brought him persecution. Before the War he spent some time in Istanbul as deputy for Baghdad. During the War and later he lived in Baghdad and held various offices, chiefly translating and editing. He endured many disappointments in these years and declined the office of court poet and historian of 'Irāq offered him by King Faiṣal. In the year 1924, he again made a journey to Syria and Egypt; on his return he was elected a member of the Senate, and held the post for four years. To defend his sociological and other views, he published in 1926 a small periodical, *al-Iṣṭāḥa*, of which however only six numbers appeared (see 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī, *Ta'rikh al-Shāfi'a al-'Irāqīya*, Nadjaf 1935, p. 36, No. 39). He then retired into private life and led an almost solitary existence in great poverty (cf. *al-Rābi'a al-sharḥiyya*, Cairo, ii., No. 2, Dec. 1929, p. 7).

Of his countless poems, scattered among the Arabic newspapers and periodicals of the principal Arab lands, only a few have been made accessible in collected form. Not until 15 years after the first was the second collection made: *Rubā'iyyāt al-Zahāwī* (Bairūt 1924) and *Diwān al-Zahāwī* (Cairo 1924; *R. M. M.*, lxii., 1925, p. 209). A selection from all periods is given in the collection *al-Lubāb* (Baghdād 1928; cf. *M. S. O. S.*, xxxi., sect. 2 [1928], p. 207—210; selections in German transl. in Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 20—49): the last is called *al-Awshāl* (Baghdād 1934; cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1936, p. 160—161). Many of his longer poems are chiefly accessible in periodicals, as e.g. an attempt in *al-Shi'r al-mursal*, unrhymed verses "Ba'd Alf 'Am", in *al-Hilāl*, xxxv., No. 8, June 1927, p. 913—917; a drama *Riwāyat Lailā wa-Samīr*, in *Lughat al-'Arab*, v., 1928, No. 10, p. 577—608; the poem describing the great floods in the 'Irāq:

*Nakbat al-Fallāḥ*, in *al-Rābi'a al-sharḥiyya*, 1929, No. 7, p. 23—26 (cf. *al-Rabi' wa 'l-Kharif*, *ibid.*, No. 8, p. 18—22); the long poem *al-Thawra fi 'l-Djahim* (*al-Duhūr*, i., 1931, No. 6, p. 641—669; transl. by Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 50—79), on account of which he was again accused of heresy and atheism. All these collections as well as the separate poems are good examples of the practical application of his theories, to the exposition of which he devoted a number of articles and lectures and the introductions to his collections of poems. Poetry in all its aspects must be freed from the benumbed rigidity of tradition and only the norms of the language considered. (In the latter field al-Zahāwī was a defender of the living language of the people, which in his view must replace the present written language; see *R. M. M.*, xii., 1910, p. 670, 681—682). The rhymes may be diverse, and even unrhymed verse is admissible the metres should not be restricted by al-Khalil's theories. A renaissance of poetry could not be brought about by blind imitation of European masters. Every poet must remain faithful not only to his own language but also to his own people. A list of some of the divisions of al-Zahāwī's *Diwān* is sufficient to show that he had completely broken away from the old forms, like *madīḥ*, *hidjā'* etc.: they are rather *al-shahakāt* (philosophical subjects), *al-ḥadīth shudjūn* (epic tales), *anin al-madīrūh* (lament), *wahy al-qāmīr* (patriotic), *al-mar'a* (the women's movement) etc. It cannot be denied that al-Zahāwī was a real innovator in Arabic poetry, in matter as well as form. He was gifted with real talent but generally he is deeply tinged with pessimism, which is not be wondered at in view of his life (we even find in him thoughts on suicide, which is remarkable for Arabic poetry: *Diwān*, p. 404). His poems are for the most part full of vigour and energy, composed in brilliant but simple language. Their power does not however prevent them from being frequently filled with deep feeling, cf. e.g. "The dying Stranger" (*Diwān*, p. 103—105, translated in part into Ido by R. Nakhlā, see *M. S. O. S.*, xxxi., sect. 2 [1928], p. 169; German translation by Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 10—12) or the most unusual lullaby (*Diwān*, p. 14) and "At the Grave of her Daughter" (*ibid.*, p. 77—79). Less successful are his attempts to popularise his original scientific theories by putting them in poetical form (cf. e.g. on the powers of attraction and repulsion: *Diwān*, p. 142—143, or the part played by the ether in the creation of the world: *Rubā'iyyāt*, p. 190, No. 251 etc.).

Al-Zahāwī is not only a poet but also scholar and *faṣīḥ*. He is master of the traditional Islāmic learning, as his polemic against Wahhābism and the various subjects on which he taught prove. He also studied natural science deeply and propounded several remarkable theories, e.g. on electricity, on the power of repulsion (against the general theory of the power of attraction) etc. He defends them vigorously in many scattered articles and three collections: *Kitāb al-K'ā'ināt* (Cairo 1896), *al-Djadhībiyya wa-Ta'liluhā* (Baghdād 1326 = 1910; cf. L. Massignon, in *R. M. M.*, xii., 1910, p. 567—570), *al-Mudjmal mimmi' arā'* (Cairo 1924, cf. *R. M. M.*, lxii., 1925, p. 209—210; the latter the author thought particularly highly of; cf. Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 18). His doctrines were based purely on speculation and not on experiment. They met with little approval and were recognised

as mistaken even in Arabic scientific circles (e.g. in the periodical *al-Muḥtaṣaf*).

In addition to the above mentioned, he wrote on other subjects, e.g. on racing (*al-Khail wa-Sibākūhā*, 1896), chess (a large still unpublished collection: *Ashrak al-Damā*; see Buṭṭī, *Sihr al-Shi'r*, p. 13 and *al-Adab al-ʿAsrī*, p. 16) etc.

It must be emphasised that his importance does not lie here but in the field of poetry. In modern Arabic belles-lettres he is undoubtedly a figure of the first magnitude. He is also celebrated as a Persian poet; his command of the language enabled him to give a translation of selected quatrains of ʿOmar al-Khayyām (*Rubāʿiyyāt al-Khayyām*, Baghdad 1928: Persian text of 130 quatrains with prose and verse translation made in 1925. Cf. G. Kampffmeyer, in *M.S.O.S.*, xxxi., sect. 2 [1928], p. 210—211 and F. Krenkow, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1929, p. 173—174). Some European scholars will remember the appearance of al-Zahāwī at the Firdawsi celebrations in Teherān in 1934 where his *ḥaṣīdas* in Arabic and Persian dedicated to Firdawsi met with great approval from his Persian hearers.

**Bibliography:** Biographical data of considerable accuracy are available from his own statements: see his autobiography in *Rubāʿiyyāt al-Zahāwī*, Bairūt 1928, p. *nīm-khā*, in *R.A.A.D.*, viii., 1928, p. 292—298 and (down to the year 1932 in German extracts from al-Zahāwī's letters) in G. Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 2—13. — His views on the principles of poetry were several times elucidated by himself, see *Muḥādara fi 'l-Shi'r* in R. Buṭṭī, *Sihr al-Shi'r*, Cairo 1922, p. 17—83; *Nas'ati fi 'l-Shi'r*, in *Diwān al-Zahāwī*, Cairo 1924, p. *alif-zā*; *Kalima fi 'l-Shi'r*, in *al-Lubāb*, Baghdād 1928, p. *alif-dāl* (German transl. by G. Kampffmeyer, in *M.S.O.S.*, xxxi., sect. 2, p. 207—210 = G. Widmer, *op. cit.*, p. 14—17). — Of the Arabic literature devoted to him which includes many scattered, not easily accessible, articles, two articles by R. Buṭṭī deserve special mention: *Sihr al-Shi'r*, Cairo 1922, p. 4—83 and *al-Adab al-ʿAsrī fi 'l-Irāk al-ʿArabī*, i., Cairo 1923, p. 5—66 (cf. thereon A. Schaade; see below); A. al-Raiḥānī, *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, ii., Bairūt 1925, p. 381—387. [L. Cheikho, *Ta'rikh al-Adab al-ʿArabīya fi 'l-Rub' al-awwal min al-Karn al-ishrin*, Bairūt 1926, p. 184 mentions only his *al-Kalim al-manẓūm* with a note refuting the heresy; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1929, p. 978—979 only gives his printed works down to the year 1919]. The scanty European literature in G. Kampffmeyer, *Index*, in *M.S.O.S.*, xxxi., sect. 2 (1928), p. 205; also A. Schaade, *Moderne Regungen in der 'irakischen Kunstdichtung der Gegenwart*, in *O.L.Z.*, xxix., 1926, col. 865—872 and particularly the work of G. Widmer, *Übertragungen aus der neu-arabischen Literatur*, II. *Der 'irakische Dichter Ḡamil Ṣidqī az-Zahāwī aus Baghdād*. Autorisierte Übersetzung mit einer Einteilung über den Schriftsteller und zwei Bildnissen von ihm, Berlin 1935 (= *W.I.*, xvii., part 1—2, 1935) often quoted above; do., *Ḍamil Ṣidqī az-Zahāwī. Ein islamischer Modernist*, in *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, xlix., 1934, p. 353—361 (cf. thereon *W.I.*, xvii., 1935, p. 130 sq.).

(IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

**ZALZAL**, MANṢUR B. DJA'FAR AL-DARIB, was a famous lute-player at the early ʿAbbāsid

court (Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-Aghānī*, has Zilzil, whilst Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.*; Carra de Vaux, *loc. cit.*; R. d'Erlanger, *Al-Fārābī*, p. 47; and De Slane, *Ion Khalikān's Biographical Dictionary* write Zalzul. This latter is the epithet applied to an agile young man and especially one playing so on a musical instrument, as al-Firūzābādī points out. On the other hand the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 239, and almost every MS. on Arabian music theory that I have consulted give the name as Zalzal). We do not know the date of his birth and although we do not read of him in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* until the reign of Hārūn (786—809) he was probably at the court of al-Mahdī (775—785). He appears to have belonged to Kūfa and was of humble origin but, under the tuition of the great *virtuoso* Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804) [q.v.] whose sister he married, he became, as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 940) says: "the most pleasant of the stringed instrumentalists and without an equal either before or after his time". Indeed, one day at the court of al-Wāṭḥik (d. 847), when the abilities of lutanists was under discussion, Ishāk al-Mawṣilī (d. 850) [q.v.] claimed that Zalzal was a better performer than Mulāḥiz, who was the famed lutanist at the court (Zalzal was dead when this incident took place; cf. Carra de Vaux, *loc. cit.*; Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.*; Ribera, *La música de las cantigas*, *loc. cit.*). According to the author of the *ʿId al-farid*, Zalzal was not a singer. It was his outstanding skill on the lute (*ūd*), hence his name al-Darib ("the player"), that brought him fame, and he was the special accompanist to Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ibn Djamī' and Barṣawmā al-Zāmir ("the *zamr* player"). He incurred the displeasure of Hārūn and was flung into prison in consequence, but, owing to the tact of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī in introducing his name into the words of a song, his release was brought about. His experience in prison aged him and probably contributed to an early death in 791. During his lifetime Zalzal had a well dug in Baghdād which, at his death, was left to the city with sufficient funds for its upkeep. For centuries it was known as the Birkat al-Zalzal.

In the history of music Zalzal finds a place as a reformer of the scale in having introduced a neutral third (22:27) among the frets (*dasātīn*) of the lute. This is the interval ratio of this *wusṭā zalzal* according to al-Fārābī (d. 950), but Ibn Sinā (d. 1037) says that it was placed (at 32:39) nearly half-way between the *sabbāba* and the *khinṣīr* frets (*al-Shifā'*, India Office MS., No. 1811, fol. 173). This note, or its approximation (125:153) is still favoured in Arabic-speaking centres. He was also the inventor of an improved lute which he called the *ūd al-shabbūf* on account of its shape resembling the fish of that name. The particular feature of this lute appears to have been the use of a separate neck and separate sound-chest. It was considered a "marvellous" instrument, and superseded the "Persian lute" which the Arabs had, until then, made their most important instrument. See vol. iii., p. 751—752, iv. 986.

**Bibliography:** *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Bulāḳ, v. 22—24, 34—35, 40, 54—55, 57—58; vi. 72, 74; ix. 100; xviii. 126; xxi. 157—159; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿId al-farid*. Cairo 1887—1888, iii. 190; G. le Strange, *Baghdād during the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, p. 62; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1899,



p. 118–119, see index; do., *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, London 1931, p. 95–96; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London 1930, p. 248; Caussin de Perceval, in *J.A.*, Nov.–Dec., 1873, p. 548–550, 587; Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, p. 63; Ribera, *La música de las cantigas*, Madrid 1922, p. 31, 32, 35; translated into English as *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, London 1929, p. 50, 52, 60; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. de Slane, Paris–London 1843–1871, i. 21; do., *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Būlak 1882, i. 12; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātih al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Van Vloten, Leyden 1895, p. 239; Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, p. 33; Helmholtz, *Sensations of Tone*, London 1895, p. 281, 525; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* (*Actes du 6ème Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide*, i. 61); do., *Earliest Development of Arabic Music* (*Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists held in London, 1892*, ii. 161); Parisot, *Musique Orientale*, Paris 1898, p. 13; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (*J.A.*, Nov.–Dec., 1904, p. 403 sq.); R. d'Erlanger, *al-Fārābī*, p. 47 sq. (*La musique arabe*, Paris 1930).

(H. G. FARMER)

**ZIRYĀB**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. NĀFĪ, was the greatest musician of Muslim Spain. He is said to have been given the nickname Ziryāb on account of his being compared to a blackbird. We do not know the dates of his birth and death. Dozy and Grove say, but without sufficient proof, that he was of Persian origin. Grove also says that he was born at Baghdād ca. 800, but we do not know that this was his birthplace, and certainly this date for his birth is too late, since it is expressly stated by al-Maḥḳārī, on the authority of Ibn Ḥaiyān, that he was a *mawla* of the caliph al-Mahdī (d. 785). According to the *Iḳd al-farīd*, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 840) [q. v.] was his teacher, and it is Ibrāhīm and not Ishāk who is mentioned in the Hārūn story about to be related. According to Ibn Ḥaiyān, he was taught music by Ishāk al-Mawṣilī whose songs he had learned surreptitiously. [This seems to point to the fact that Ziryāb may originally have been a page (*ghulām*) or servant (*khādīm*) of al-Mahdī or Ishāk]. Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 809), having heard of the talents of Ziryāb, asked Ishāk to bring the young musician into his presence. So greatly did Ziryāb impress the caliph by his originality, not only as a singer, but in the way that he used a lute (*ūd*) of his own design, that the jealousy of Ishāk, his master, was aroused. In consequence, Ziryāb was forced to quit Baghdād. Emigrating to the West, he entered the service of the Aghlabid ruler at Kairawān Ziyādāt Allāh I (816–837). In the year 821, having given offence to this amīr by one of his songs, he was sentenced to be whipped and banished. Crossing the Mediterranean to Algeciras, he offered his services to the Umayyad ruler al-Ḥakam I (d. 822) at Cordova, who invited him to the capital, but ere the musician could set out al-Ḥakam died. His successor, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (d. 852), renewed the offer to Ziryāb which the latter accepted. This monarch feted the musician on his arrival and subsequently treated him with the greatest consideration. Ziryāb and his family (he had four sons at this time) were allowed five thousand six hundred and forty *dīnārs* a year,

besides three hundred *mudd* of cereals, and the possession of property valued at forty thousand *dīnārs*. The prince's bounty in this respect became the talk of the world of Islām and a famous musician in the service of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833) at Baghdād, named 'Allūyah, lamented to his master that whilst Ziryāb with the Umayyads in al-Andalus was riding with more than a hundred slaves and possessing thirty thousand *dīnārs*, he ('Allūyah) would probably die of hunger. Even the exchequer objected to the vast sums that were allotted to Ziryāb and eventually the ruler paid from his privy purse. What made it worse was the intimate terms on which the prince and his minstrel lived. It gave rise to the satire of the poet al-Ḥazzāl against Ziryāb, although he was promptly silenced by the prince. Even a century later Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940), another poet, echoed some of this illfeeling.

That Ziryāb deserved all the praise and emolument that were showered on him there cannot be much doubt. Al-Maḥḳārī says that "there never was, either before or after him, a man of his profession who was more generally beloved and admired". Even to the last days of the kingdom of Granada, which fell in 1492, the poets still found the fame of Ziryāb an alluring theme. "He had a deep acquaintance with the various branches of polite literature. He was likewise learned in astronomy and geography". It was such accomplishments that brought him the ruler's favour quite apart from his unchallenged superiority in music. Indeed, he appears to have been the Beau Brummell of his time, and was responsible for many innovations in the customs of the Muslims of Spain. These are all mentioned in detail by al-Maḥḳārī.

Yet his fame in music outshone everything else. "He was deeply versed in every branch of art connected with music; and was, moreover, gifted with such a prodigious memory that he knew by heart upwards of ten thousand songs (*aghānī*) with their appropriate airs (*alḥān*); a greater number even than that recorded by Ptolemy". (In my *History of Arabian Music*, p. 130, on the authority of the English translation of P. de Gayangos, I have wrongly given the number of songs as one thousand). This mention of Ptolemy is of interest since it would appear that although the work on *τὰ ἀρμονικά* by Ptolemy is not mentioned in the *Fihrist*, nor by Ibn al-Kifṭī nor Ibn Abī Ūṣaibī'a, there are good reasons for believing that this work was known in Arabic (see also Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, iii. 186; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 128; and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Bombay ed., i. 102). Ziryāb introduced the plectrum (*miḍrāb*) made of an eagle's talon instead of a type made of wood. He also added a fifth string to the lute, although this had already been mooted in the East (see *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlak, v. 53; British Museum MS. Or. 2361, fol. 160). His method of teaching singing is discussed at length by al-Maḥḳārī. Ziryāb's chief claim in music is that he was the founder of the musical traditions of Muslim Spain, his teaching being based on that of the school of Ishāk al-Mawṣilī. His conservatory of music and its pupils were among the glories of al-Andalus. Their influence was felt even in the days of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-tawā'if*), as we know from Ibn Khaldūn. This teaching passed over into Africa where traces of it could be found in the vii<sup>th</sup> (xiv<sup>th</sup>) century.

Ziryāb had ten children (not eight as stated in my *History of Arabian Music*, p. 160), all of whom were musicians. The greatest of his sons was 'Ubad Allāh, although Kāsim was the best singer. 'Abd al-Raḥmān carried on the music school, and Aḥmad gained some fame as a poet. The other sons were Yaḥyā, Muḥammad, Dja'far and Ḥasan. The two daughters were Ḥamdūna and 'Ulaiya, the former being considered the better singer. Ḥamdūna married the vizier Hishām b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. P. de Gayangos, ii. 432), whose brother Aslam, probably with the help of Ḥamdūna, collected the songs of Ziryāb in a volume entitled the *Kitāb Ma'rūf fī Aghānī Ziryāb*. We do not know the date of Ziryāb's death but he can scarcely have lived much later than his patron 'Abd al-Raḥmān II.

*Bibliography*: al-Maḥḳarī, *Analectes*, i. 633; ii. 83—90, 415, 832; English transl. by P. de Gayangos, as *Hist. of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, i. 121, 410—411; ii. 116—120, 432; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888, iii. 189; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, in *N.E.*, xvii. 361; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, Madrid 1885, p. 138, 192, 224; Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawḳ al-Ḥamāma*, Leyden 1914, p. 108; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, Madrid 1889,

p. 399; Ibn al-Kūṭīya, *Ta'rikh Fath al-Andalus*, Madrid 1868, p. 77; al-Khushanī, *Historia de los Fiecces de Córdoba...*, ed. Ribera, Madrid 1914, p. 13; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, see index; do., *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, London 1931, p. 60, 97; Ribera, *La música de las cantigas*, Madrid 1922, see index; English translation by Hague and Leffingwell entitled: *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, London 1929, see index; do., *La enseñanza entre los Musulmanes*, Saragossa 1893; do., *La música árabe medieval y su influencia en la Española*, Madrid 1927; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne...*, Leyden 1861, ii. 89; English translation by Stokes entitled: *Spanish Islām: A History of the Moslems in Spain*, London 1913, see Index; Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, Philadelphia 1904, i. 496; Burke, *History of Spain*, London 1895, i. 136; Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd ed., v. 787. In the last named work, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī is mentioned as a biographer of Ziryāb. This is an error. The Ziryāb [cf. also زرباب and زرباب] mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was a *mughanniya*. (H. G. FARMER)











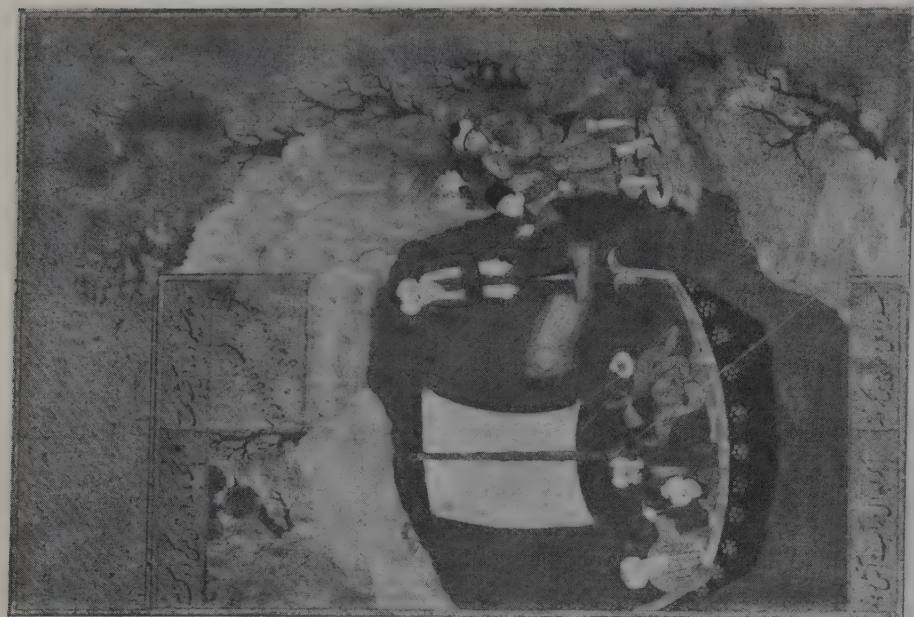


1. Ankara from the station. To the right a part of the citadel.

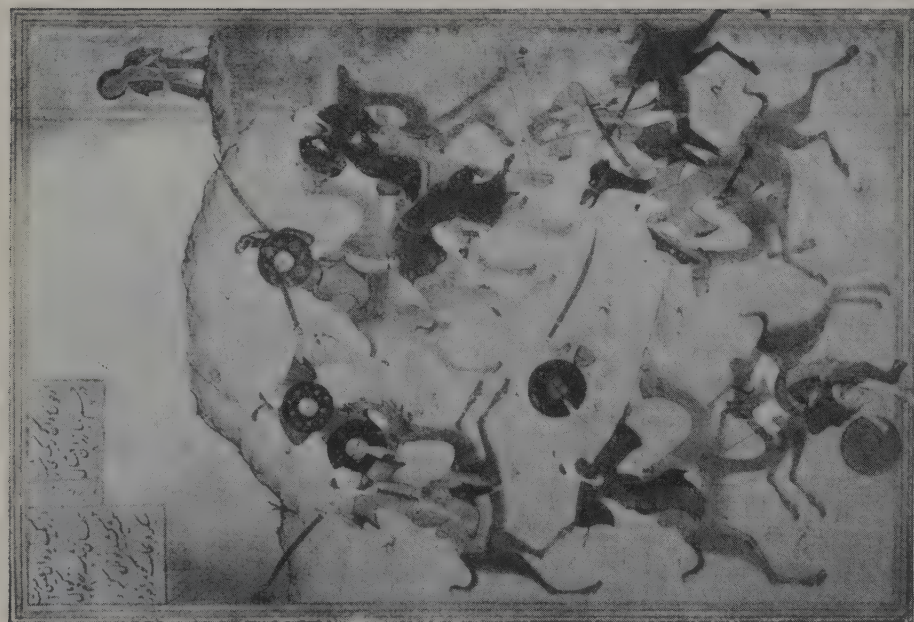


2. The present (temporary) building of the National Assembly.





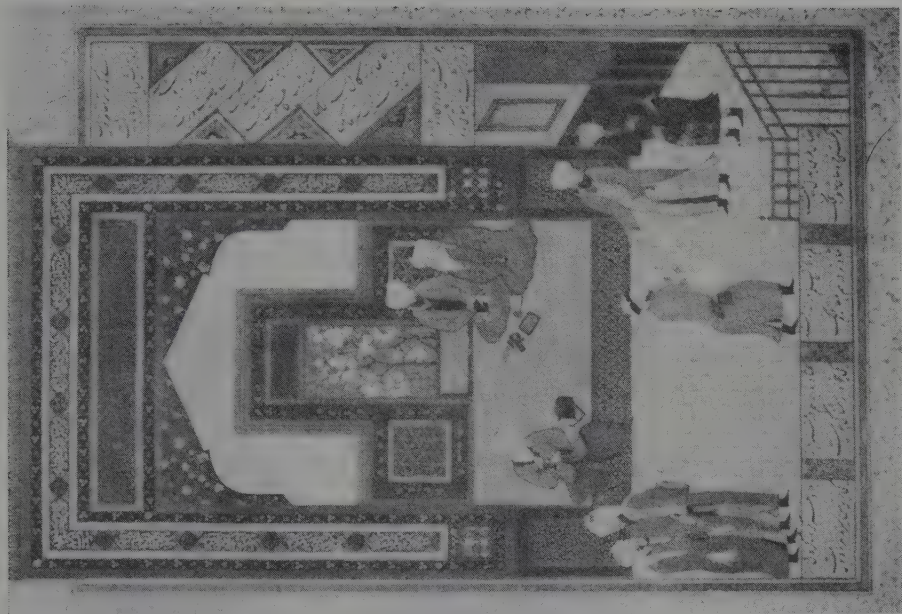
A. The Ṣufī of Fāryāb crossing the sea on his praying carpet.  
Miniature by Bihzād, in the MS. of Sa'dī's *Bustān*, written in  
883 (1475) (fol. 73<sup>b</sup>), in the collection of  
Mr. A. Chester Beatty, London  
Art. BIHZĀD



B. Fight between the followers of Lailā and those of Nawfal.  
Miniature by Bihzād, c. 898 (1493) in a MS. of Nizāmī's  
*Khamza*, British Museum, Add. 25,900, fol. 121<sup>b</sup>



C. King Dārā and the horseherd.  
Miniature by Bihzād in the MS. of Sa'dī's *Bustān*, written in  
893 (1488) Bibliothèque Royale, Cairo  
Art, BIHZĀD



D. Disputation in a mosque.  
Miniature by Bihzād, dated 894 (1489) in the MS. of Sa'dī's  
*Bustān*, written in 893 (1488) Bibliothèque Royale, Cairo





1. Fayence jar, Parthian.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



2. Parthian archer  
in Terracotta. Berlin,  
Staatl. Museen



3. Unglazed jar with  
handle from Ctesiphon.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



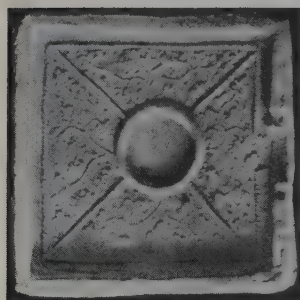
4. Green-glazed jar,  
Sāsānian, vi<sup>th</sup>—vij<sup>th</sup> century.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen.



5. Unglazed clay jar in  
Barbotin technique,  
Mesopotamia, x<sup>th</sup>—xi<sup>th</sup> century.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



6. Unglazed jar with  
handle, Mesopotamia,  
xi<sup>th</sup>—xiii<sup>th</sup> century. Berlin,  
Staatl. Museen



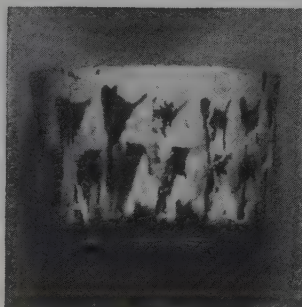
7., 8. Clay bowl with stand from Susa. Paris, Louvre.



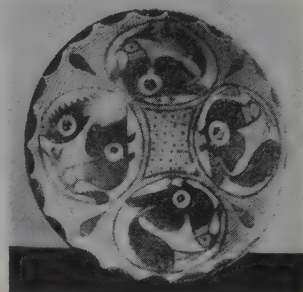
9. Fayence dish with deco-  
ration, Sāmarrā, ix<sup>th</sup> century.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



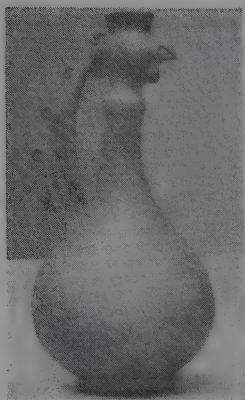
10. Dish painted in blue,  
Sāmarrā, xi<sup>th</sup> century.  
Teheran, National Museum  
Art. CERAMICS



11. Bowl with splashed glaze,  
Sāmarrā, ix<sup>th</sup> century. Berlin,  
Staatl. Museen



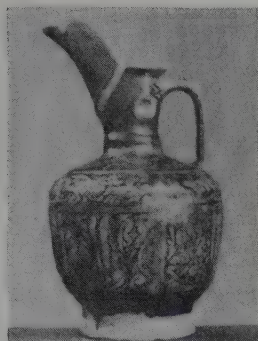
12. Lustre dish, Sāmarrā  
ware, ix<sup>th</sup> century. Berlin,  
Staatl. Museen



1. Ewer with white glaze,  
Persia, x<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



2. Plate with graffito decoration and  
splashed glaze, Persia, x<sup>th</sup>—xi<sup>th</sup>  
cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



3. Ewer with cobalt blue  
glaze, Raiy, xii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



4. Ewer in the form of a  
lion with cobalt blue glaze  
and lustre, Raiy, xii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



5. Dish with lustre painting,  
Raiy, xii<sup>th</sup> cent. Eumorfopoulos  
coll., London



6. Bottle in so-called Mina'i  
technique, Raiy, xii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Kelekian coll.  
New-York



7. Vase with lustre and  
cobalt (Mother Goddess  
Ishhtar?), Raiy, xii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



8. Mosque lamp, Turkey,  
dated 1549 A.D. London,  
British Museum



9. Fayence tabouret with turquoise  
green glaze, Raiy, xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Kitābdjikhān coll.





1. Fayence dish, Syria, xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



2. Albarelo, fayence with  
lustre decoration, Syria,  
xiii<sup>th</sup>—xiv<sup>th</sup> cent. Frankfurt  
a/M., Kunstgewerbemuseum



3. Fayence dish, xiii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



4. Boar in glazed fayence, Egypt,  
xiv<sup>th</sup> cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



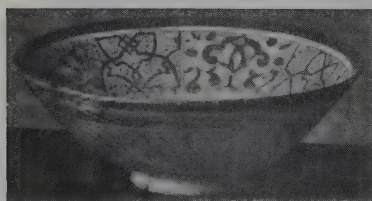
5. Lustre vase, Egypt,  
x<sup>th</sup> cent. Cairo,  
Arab. Museum



6. Fayence dish, Egypt,  
xiv<sup>th</sup>—xv<sup>th</sup> cent. Berlin,  
Staatl. Museen



8. Lustre fayence, Malaga,  
xiv<sup>th</sup> cent. Palermo,  
Museo Nazionale



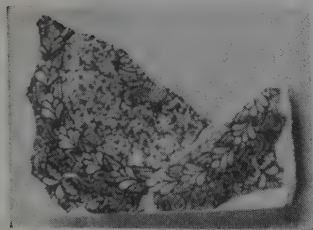
7. Fayence dish, so-called "Malaga",  
xiv<sup>th</sup> cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



9. Fayence dish, Paterna, xv<sup>th</sup> cent.  
Berlin, Staatl. Museen



10. Lustre fayence, Manisco,  
xv<sup>th</sup> cent. Bologna,  
Museo Civico



1. Fayence tile, Sāmarrā, ixth cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



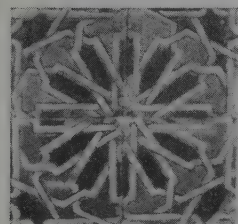
2. Tile in Minai technique, Persia, xiiith cent. Paravicini coll.



3. Lustre tiles, Persia, xiiith cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



4. Fayence tile, Syria, xiiith cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen



5. Fayence tiles, Spain, xvth cent. Berlin Staatl. Museen



6. Mihrāb from Kāshān, dat. A.D. 1226, Berlin, Staatl. Museen



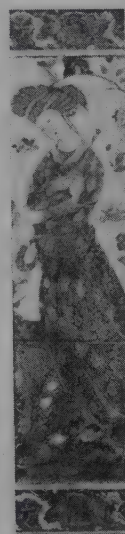
7. Nakhchuwān, Mausoleum



8. Samarkand, Street of the tombs Shāh Sinda



9. Kōniya, Kara Tā'ī Madrasa



10. Fayence tiles, Persia, xvth cent. [Berlin, Staatl. Museen

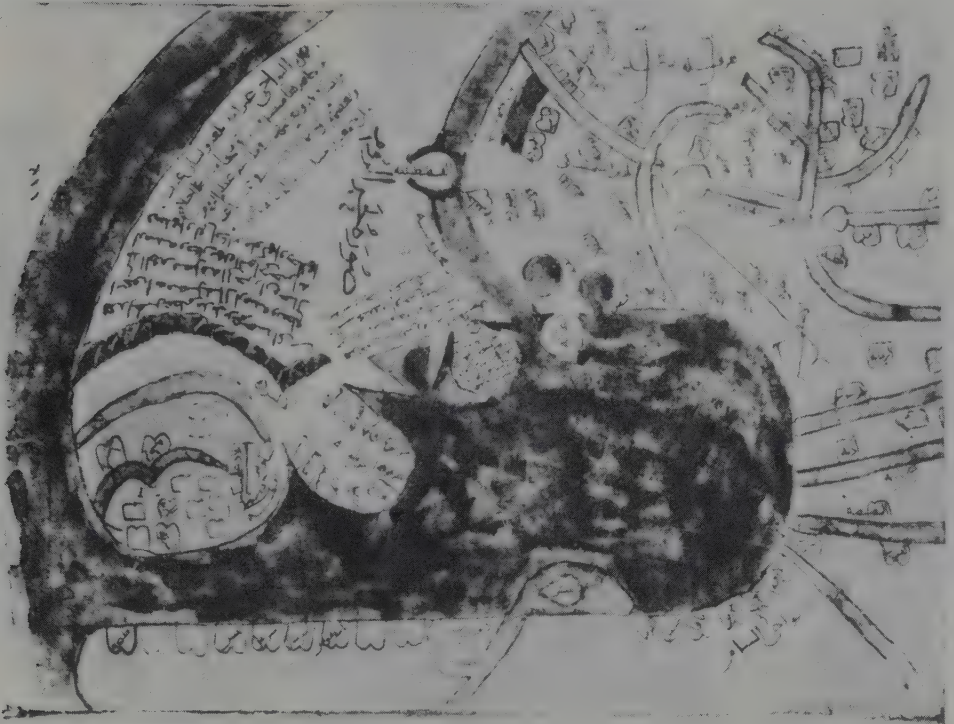


11. Fayence tiles, Turkey, xviiith cent. Berlin, Staatl. Museen





al-Khwārizmī's Map of the Nile  
(from Cod. 4247, dated 428 [1037], of the Bibliothèque de l'Université et Régionale, Strasbourg)



Ibn Ḥawkal's Map of the Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm)  
(from MS. 3346, dated 479 [1086], of the Serail Library, Constantinople)

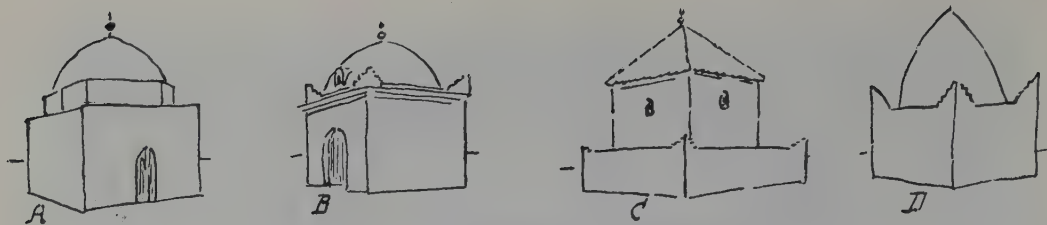


al-İstakhrî's Map of the World  
(from the Arabic MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 1702, dated 589 [1193], of the Legatum Warnerianum, Leiden)



al-Birūnî's Map of the Seas  
(from the Arabic MS. 5666 = Landberg 63, containing the *Kitāb al-Taḥkīm* and dated 635 [1238], of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin)





1. Types of North-African qubbas (G. Marçais)



2. The mosque al-Djuyūshī (Cairo)



3. Tombs of the Caliphs (Cairo)



4. al-Ghūrī (Tombs of the Caliphs, Cairo)

Art. KUBBA



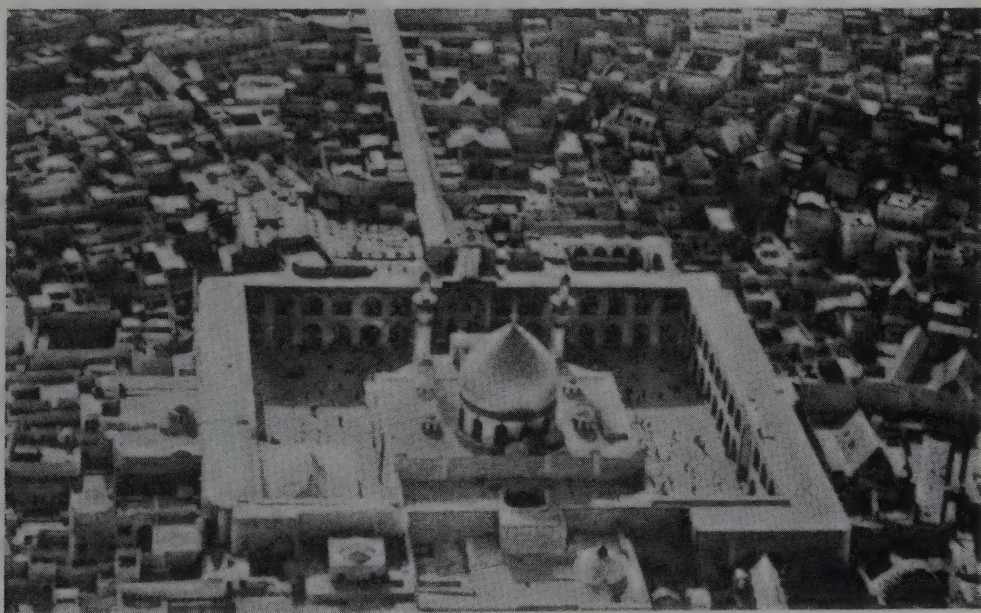


5 Mausoleum (Warāmīn; photograph by A. U. Pope)

Art. KUBBA



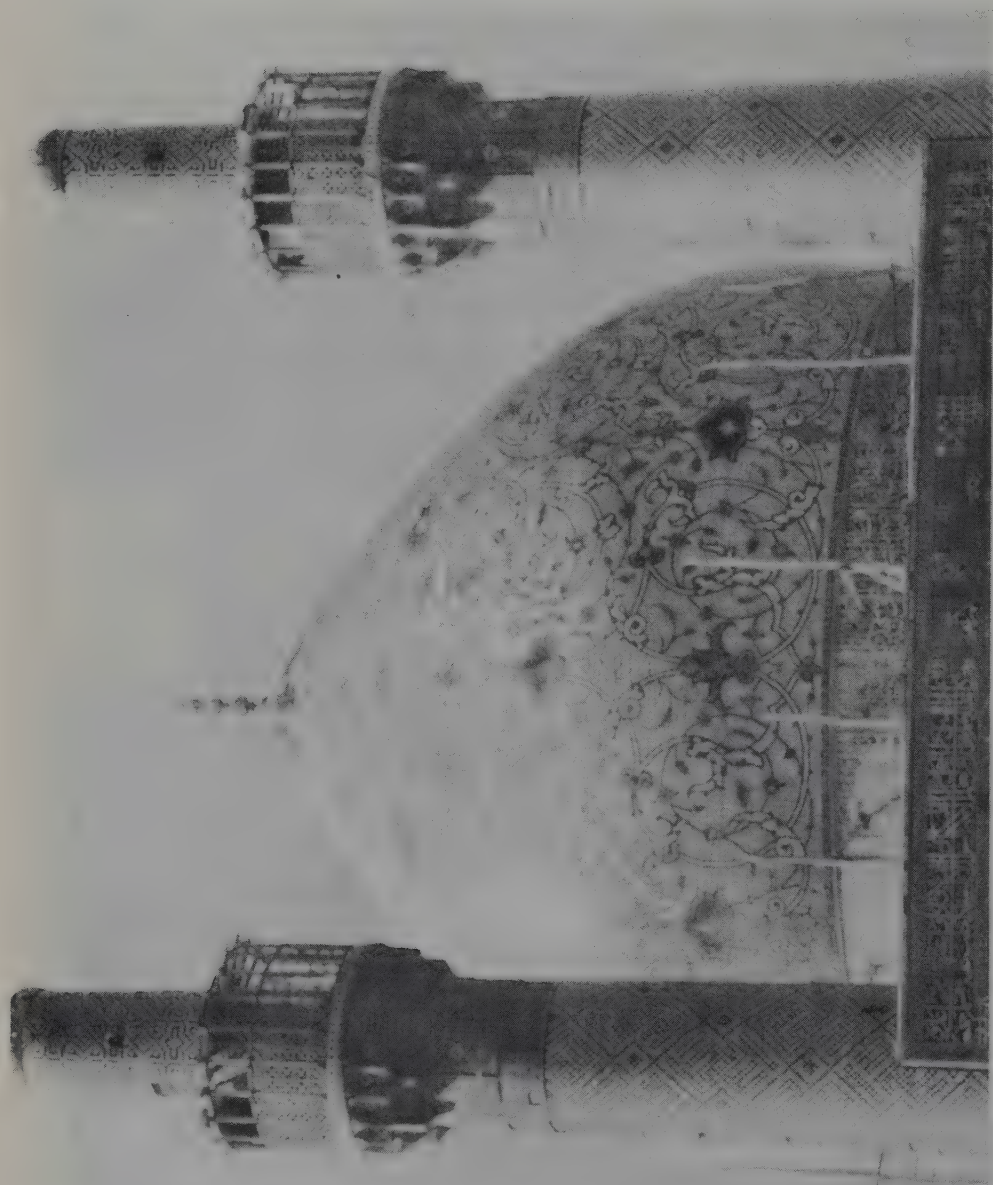
6. The Golden Domes (al-Kāẓimain)



7. Najaf (collection of the Islamic Institute, Leyden)

Art. KUBBA





8. Madrasa Madar-i Shāh (Isfahān; photograph by A. U. Pope)

Art. KUBBA



9. Tomb of Salmān Pāk (Ctesiphon)



10. Mausoleum of ʿAbd al-Qādir Gilānī (Baghdād; collection of the Islamic Institute, Leyden)

Art. KUBBA





11. Car gunbad near Golkonda (photograph by E. Diez)



12. Djāmi' Masjid (Delhi; collection of the Islamic Institute, Leyden)

Art. KUBBA



13. Sulaimāniya Mosque in Stambul (collection of the Islamic Institute, Leyden)



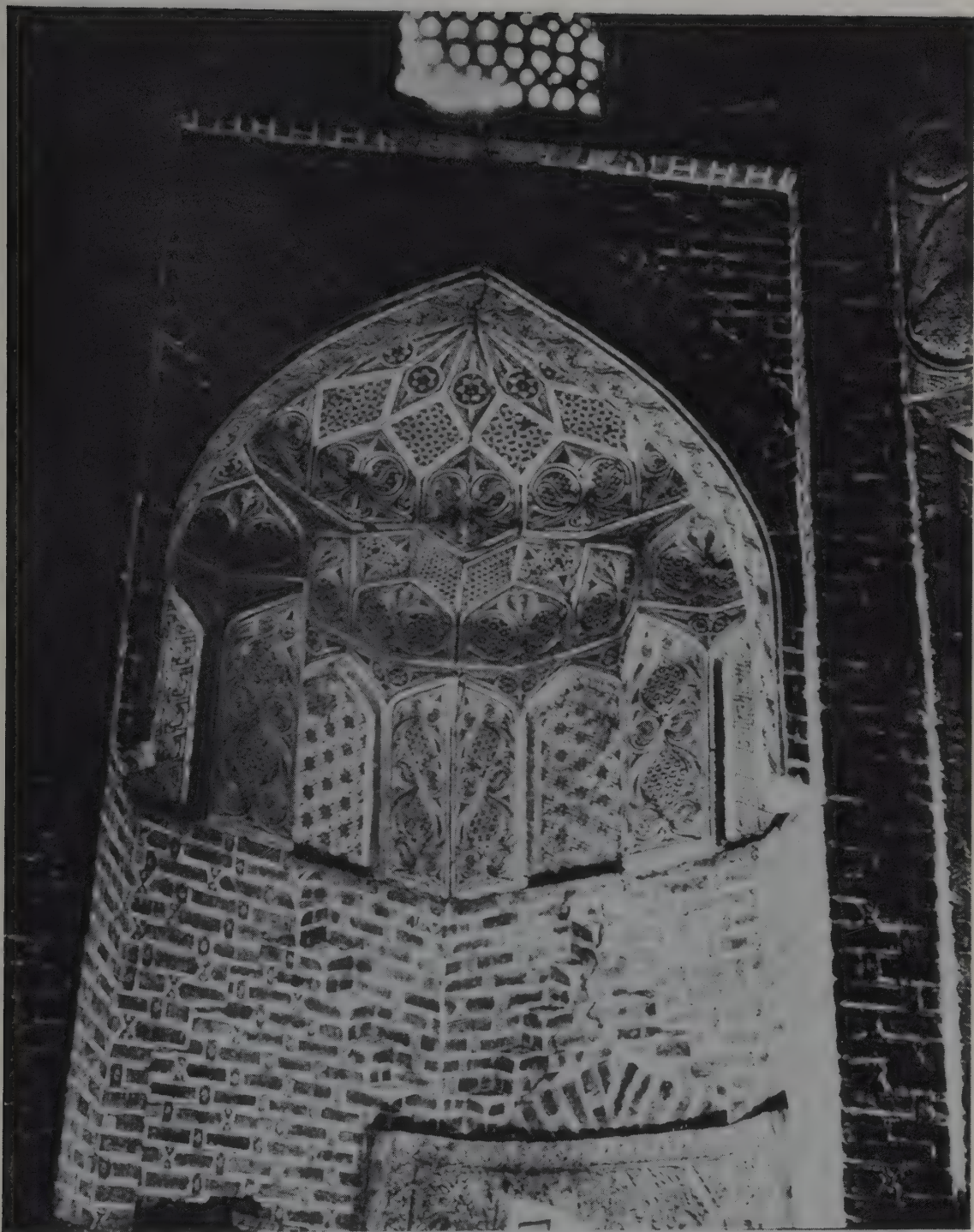
14. Mosque of Aḥmad in Stambul (collection of the Islamic Institute, Leyden)





1. Tomb of Zubaida (Baghdād)

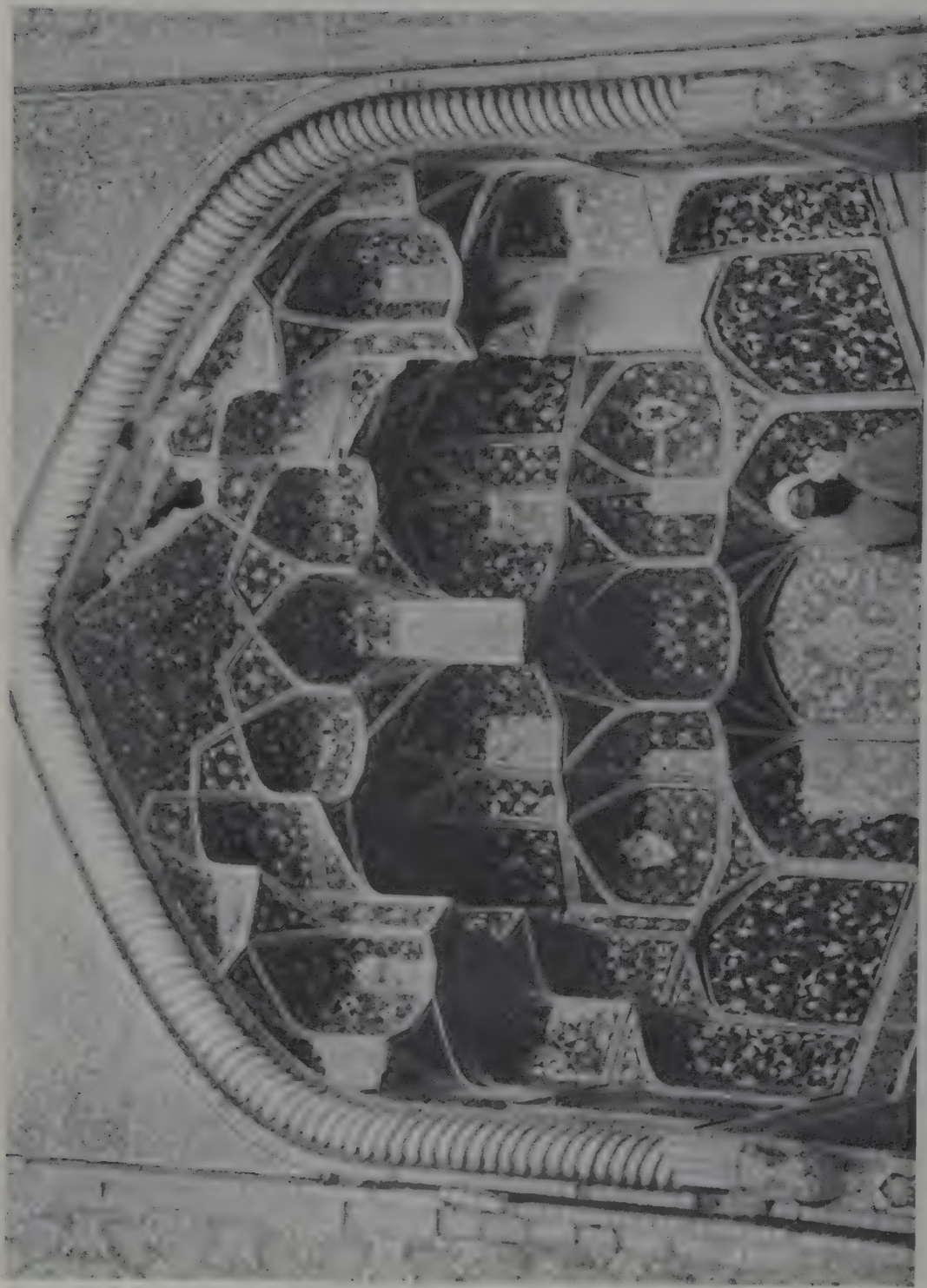
Art. MUḤARNAS



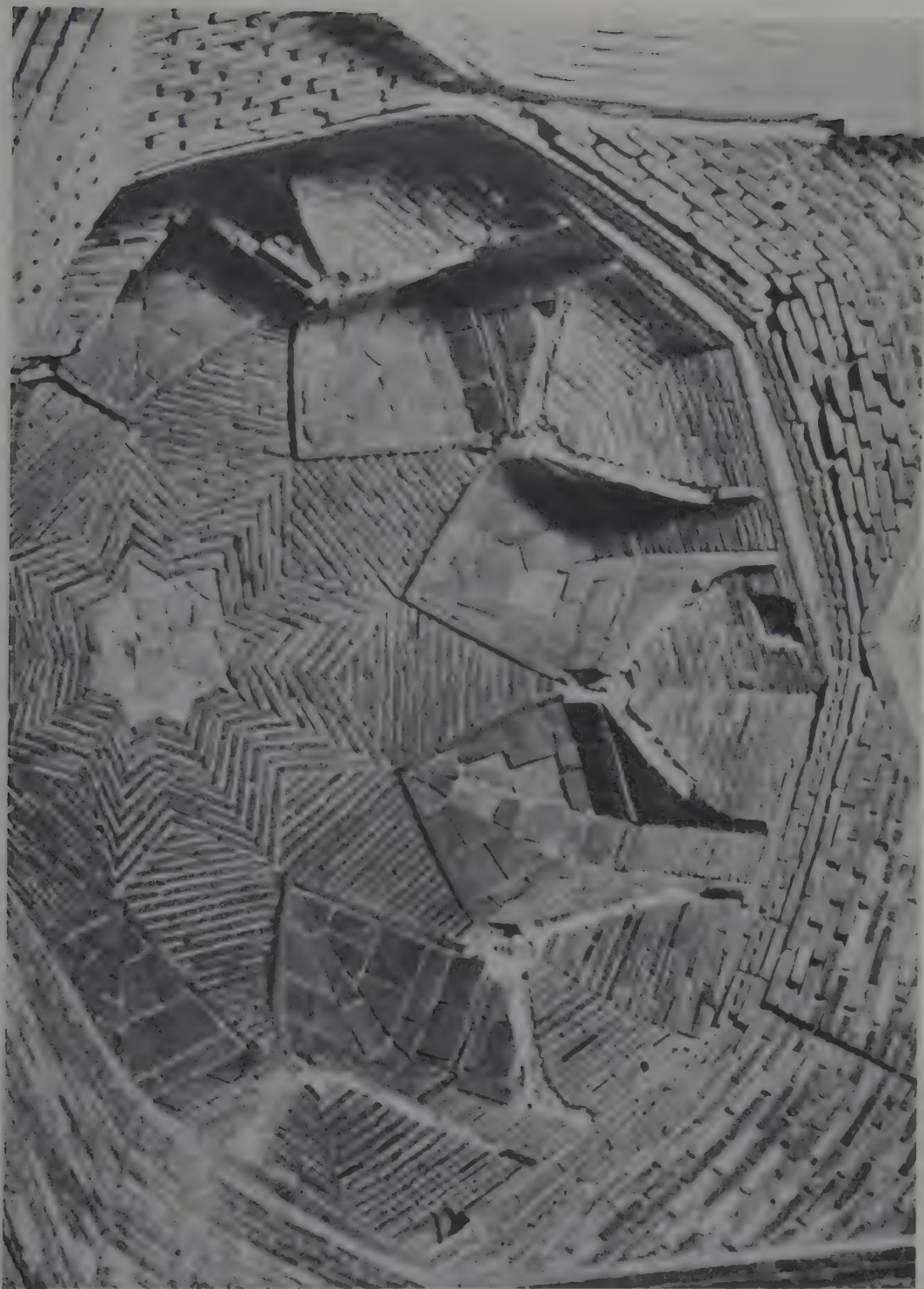
2. Imām Zāde Yahyā (Warāmin; photograph by A. U. Pope)

Art. MUḤARNAS





3. Masjid-i Shah (Isfahān; photograph by A. U. Pope)



4. Masdjid-i D̲jāmi' (Isfahān; photograph by A. U. Pope)

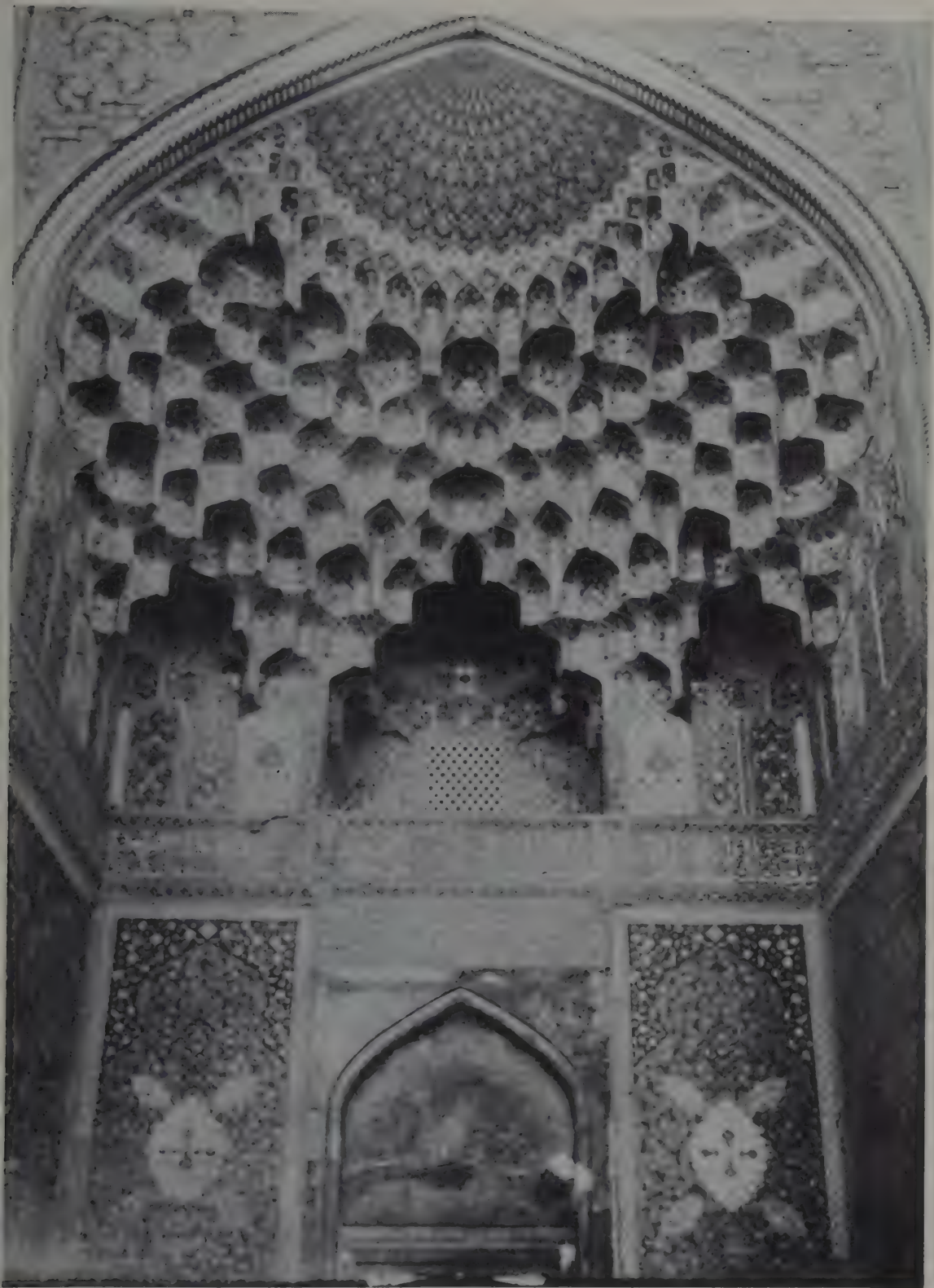
Art. MUḲARNAS





5. Masdjid-i Džami' (Gulpaigān; photograph by A. U. Pope)

Art. MUĞARNAS



6. Masdjid-i Shāh (Isfahān; photograph by A. U. Pope)





Musallā in Persia (aquarelle by E. Diez)











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